

Milosevic & Aanklachten

Map 3C

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Part II

The media covering Milosevic's trial: Tribunal watchdog and Nato agent

By Perrine Faye



Media coverage in February,
opening of the trial

Media coverage a month after

The media coverage of Slobodan Milosevic's trial in the International Criminal Tribunal for the ex-Yugoslavia (ICTY) at The Hague is a crucial element to understand the so-called "pro-Milosevic" argument of a biased trial against the ex-president.

Mr Milosevic and his supporters have strongly criticised news organisations for not covering the trial enough and for being biased against the ex-president. Similarly, they have protested against the little space left for public defence positions in the media, claiming that their voice has been silenced (1).

When analysing the coverage itself, it becomes obvious that their claims are founded despite media denial. Before the opening of the trial on 12 February 2002, the media had promised intensive coverage for what they announced as the biggest war crimes trial since the Nuremberg episode after the Second World War. However, a week after the trial started, it had disappeared from the front pages of all major Western news organisations, and a month later, the so-called biggest trial of the past 50 years was relegated to a minor story. Why did the trial suddenly lose its newsworthiness? Serious evidence indicates that the ICTY, under the influence of Nato (North Atlantic

Treaty Organisation), has deliberately cut the coverage to prevent Mr Milosevic's focus on Nato crimes in Yugoslavia to reach the public.

Nato powers have exploited the media and taken advantage of their privileged position as first sources of news to direct the coverage of the trial against Mr Milosevic. To protect its creator, the Nato-financed ICTY has banned Mr Milosevic and his lawyers from any contact with the press last November, a few months before the opening of the trial, violating the right of all prisoners to be presumed innocent (2).

Additionally, western media have mainly focused on the prosecution point of view, thus assuming that Mr Milosevic is guilty of the 66 war crimes he is being charged with, despite the basic legal principle that a person should be considered innocent until proven guilty. This presumption of guilt questions the process of news selection of major news organisations, which tend to set their agenda in accordance to the dominant Western powers' interests.

The media failure to challenge the information has established a pejorative context in which it is impossible to see Mr Milosevic as potentially innocent. Rather than a new phenomenon, this negative framework appears as the continuity of a long history of media bias against Mr Milosevic and the Serbs in general.

Already during the Kosovo war in 1999, the media had showed great support for their western leaders, demonising the Serbian "enemy" and covering up Nato bombing of Yugoslavia. At that time, Nato leaders had successfully convinced journalists that the battle was being fought by civilised westerners against Serbian barbarians in a "Good versus Evil" rhetoric (Hammond 2000: 19). Today, they have persuaded them that Mr Milosevic guilty of unspeakable atrocities is the "new Hitler" whose conviction is morally and legally unimpeachable.

From a top to a minor story: where has the news worthiness of Mr Milosevic's trial gone?

Before the trial of Mr Milosevic opened at The Hague tribunal on 12 February 2002, the media devoted a lot of space for the coverage what they announced as « the biggest such case since Hitler's henchmen were tried at Nuremberg » (*The Guardian*, 6 February 2002).

The Guardian British daily talked about « a moment of truth » (8 February 2002) for the ICTY, which would have the difficult task of holding the first international judgement of a former head of state. The British *BBC News* warned that trial would be « an epic legal battle that could run for months, if not years » (8 February 2002).

The coverage was mostly filled with “speculations on what the mass media decided was an open and shut case,” as Paul Davidson, London writer and journalist, remarked (3). The main idea was in fact that a war criminal had been arrested and was logically going to be judged for his crimes.

The media published details of Mr Milosevic’s indictment, including 66 war crimes charges committed in Kosovo, Croatia and Bosnia. They also reported his refusal to recognise the ICTY, his intention to call Nato leaders to testify, and there was also guesswork on potential prosecution witnesses.

The Guardian also focused on Mr Milosevic being still popular and influential among Serbs back home (11 February 2002). Previously, *The BBC News* had highlighted the fairness of the presiding judge Richard May, who would not “bow to political pressure” (3 July 2001).

In Serbia, the ICTY dominated the headlines, concentrating on possible Serbian politicians called as witnesses and on possible further extraditions to The Hague. However, it avoided the issue of war crimes committed in Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo to prefer the technical side of the process and Milosevic’s defence strategy. The content of the indictment was largely qualified as “political” and criticised for “dealing too much with history” (Belgrade Media Centre website).

When the trial began on 12 February, the press coverage was still very intense. In Serbia, the trial that was aired live on private TV channel B92 from The Hague got the most time in TV news, some 8.5 hours, double the amount allocated to the Serbian government (ibid).

In the West, the first two days were entirely broadcast live and major news organisations published up to three articles a day at that time.

However, after a week or so, the biggest trial of the past 50 years was relegated to a second-line story. The articles concerning the trial became less frequent and the length of the paper was reduced.

According to Paul Davidson (4), London writer and journalist also member of the International Committee to Defend Slobodan Milosevic (ICDSM), “when it became

clear that Mr Milosevic would not ignore the court but would conduct a vigorous defence, the press became irritated and impatient.”

“It became evident that they had lost interest in covering the trial about the time that Mr Milosevic began to successfully cross-examine the prosecution witnesses,” he added.

Mr Davidson explained that he had a *BBC* radio interview cancelled at short notice in the second week after the beginning of the trial and was told that “other stories had more importance”. A week or two later, *The Guardian* told him that no letters on the trial would be published at that time as “the trial is set to go on for some time and other issues are more pressing.”

“So after two weeks, the so-called trial of the century, compared only to Nuremberg, was no longer breaking news,” he concluded. He said that reports on the trial in major Western countries have been scant after the first two weeks, with perhaps the exception of Greece, considered as more pro-Serbian than the rest of Europe mainly because of their common religion, orthodoxy. Six months after, he said, “we hear practically nothing from the media.”

He concluded: “defenders of Mr Milosevic have tried for six months to put issues to the media, to gain fair coverage of the case and to allow the public defence positions to be aired. However, their voice, as that of Mr Milosevic, has been silenced.”

Christopher Black, Canadian lawyer and chairman of the ICDSM committee of Mr Milosevic legal advisers, noticed the same evolution (5): “It is clear that once the trial started going badly for the prosecution, it dropped off *CNN* and *BBC* almost immediately.”

According to him, contrary to the promises made by *CNN* that it would cover the trial every day, less than a week after it started, it just disappeared from its coverage. The same happened with *The BBC* and all the other major media.

In Serbia, the media were slower to drop the coverage and numerous articles appeared during three weeks after the beginning of the trial. Then, it was also taken off the front pages of newspapers.

In March and April, the focus of the media shifted to the economic consequences of a possible suspension of US financial assistance to Serbia in case it did not co-operate with the ICTY, and the trial of the ex-president received little exposure (Belgrade media centre website). The attention also focused on possible further extraditions to The Hague. However, the trial still took space in Belgrade media, since the ICTY was

portrayed as a tool to judge the entire Serb nation, and also because Serbian people could not help being impressed by the performance of their ex-leader. In May, Mr. Milosevic came again under the spotlight on account of the testimony in the ICTY of Ibrahim Rugova, his political foe of many years and the current president of Kosovo. But social and economic issues were given considerable space in the media (ibid). In July, the interest for the trial increased rapidly due to the appearance of important insiders before the court chamber, but commentaries and analyses were scarce and the trial was covered mainly through agency reports. Also, Serbian media concentrated on the coverage of the presidential electoral campaign scheduled on 29 September.

Though in Serbia, Mr Milosevic's trial received more publicity than in the West, a general impression remains that this massive event suddenly lost all its newsworthiness when it exposed Nato involvement in atrocities committed in Yugoslavia in 1999. The lassitude of the media appeared just after Mr Milosevic made a lot of noise about Nato crimes during the 78-days bombing of Serbia. From this point, which corresponds to a week or two after the opening of the trial, Mr Milosevic immediately disinterested the media.

To be newsworthy (at least in the West), an event like Mr Milosevic's trial has to satisfy a certain number of requirements, defined by Johan Galtung and Mari Holmboe Ruge. Using a simplified psychology of perception and some additional assumptions, they define the concept of "newsworthiness" by 12 factors (Galtung and Ruge 1999: 21). Their theory states that the more factors an event satisfy the higher probability it becomes news, whereas an event that responds to none of those factors will tend to be ignored by the media.

The set of world events, then, is like the cacophony of sounds one get by scanning the dial of one's radio receiver [...]. Obviously this cacophony does not make sense, it may become meaningful only if one station is tuned in and listened to for some time [...]. Since we cannot register everything, we have to select, and the question is what strike our attention. (Galtung and Ruge, 1999: 21)

According to them, for an event to be worth listening to, it should not occur too far away and shouldn't be too complex to understand. It should be interpretable within the cultural framework of the audience, what the authors call "cultural proximity" or ethnocentrism. By that, the authors highlight the fact that an event that corresponds to the culture of the readers or listeners can be more meaningful for them and thus more understandable.

An event should also be in agreement with what the mental pre-image, that is what a person (the journalist) has predicted in order to facilitate the reception in case it does finally take place.

“[...] news are actually olds, because they correspond to what one expects to happen, and if they are too far from the expectation, they will not be registered [...]” (Galtung and Ruge, 1999: 24)

The more an event concerns the elite nations, and the elite people, the higher chance it has to become news worthy. Finally, to be newsworthy, an event should also be seen in personal terms to satisfy the need of the audience to identify a story with someone. According to their theory, the trial of Mr Milosevic does not appear as newsworthy for Western media. Though it satisfies the personification's criterion as the trial is centred on the person of Mr Milosevic, the complex procedures of the ICTY and the length of the event make it very difficult to understand. Similarly, Yugoslavia has always appeared to Western audience as doomed to ethnic hatred and conflict. The situation in the Balkans was seen as extremely complex to understand, and thus not newsworthy according to this definition. Finally, Mr Milosevic surprised the media: nobody expected before the trial that he would successfully defend himself despite the absence of a lawyer and strike back against Nato leaders accusing them of war crimes in Yugoslavia. In the logic of this theory, the trial did not evolve in accordance with the expectation of journalists, who may have thought that Mr Milosevic would remain silent and accept western international justice. Thus, the newsworthiness of the trial has disappeared.

However, this selection of events according to their newsworthiness does not apply naturally. The final choice of publishing information depends on news editors, who decide in accordance with the line of conduct of their organisation.

This line of conduct can be defined by its political orientation, its financial partners (who obviously have a word to say in what is being reported) and its sources of news, that is mainly politicians, and in the case of Mr Milosevic's trial, Nato leaders. This raises the question of Nato influence in the agenda setting of western media and consequently of the impartiality of the media coverage of The Hague trial.

The influence of Nato leaders in the agenda setting of the media: did they cut the coverage?

This looks obvious when one observes Mr Milosevic indictments concerning Kosovo, Bosnia and Croatia (the two latest were added after the transfer of Mr Milosevic to The Hague in order to cover-up the weakness of the first Kosovo indictment).

The media have reported these indictments without challenging their content, though they are, as points out Mr Black (8), a repetition of press releases and propaganda put out by Nato that led to the attack of Yugoslavia in 1999.

The most obvious example is that the alleged Racak massacre perpetrated in Kosovo on 15 January 1999, discredited as being faked, figures among Mr Milosevic indictments. The Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) had accused the Yugoslav army of executing 45 Albanians in cold blood in the village of Racak. Two French journalists, Christophe Chatelot and Renaud Girard, visited the scene and examined the footage taken by an *Associated Press* TV team. Their report, carried prominently in the French press but ignored by the Anglo-American media, suggested the dead had been killed in a battle and not in a massacre (Hammond 2000: 22). However, the Racak massacre was still included in the charges against Mr Milosevic, without any opposition of the media.

The Racak massacre, which is also the only pre-bombing charge, was a decisive element in Nato decision to intervene in Serbia and stop the "genocide" perpetrated by Mr Milosevic. Having raised not a doubt about Racak, the media naturally never questioned it as a basis for the indictment (Herman 2002: Z-magazine website).

The media never hinted the possibility that Nato simply had a political agenda in which Milosevic was the target (*ibid*).

Also, the media regularly noted that the ICTY depended on classified Nato evidence for the indictments, but never pointed out that this evidence had not been independently confirmed by The Hague, nor that its supplier had a conflict of interest. The media, like Nato and the ICTY prosecution, knew in advance that they were dealing once again with "another Hitler" (*ibid*). No mention was made of the new dependence of Milosevic-free Yugoslavia on financial aid from the Nato powers, and the leverage this gives for compelling the turning over of suspects, potential witnesses, and information, in further arm-twisting operations like the one employed in forcing the extradition of Milosevic (*ibid*).

Since the beginning of the trial, the media relied on Nato press releases as authoritative sources and gave solid evidence of pro-Nato bias. Being the main source of news, Nato behaved as a "natural filter of news" (Chomsky and Herman 1988),

chasing the unwanted story of Nato crimes in Yugoslavia out of the media. Journalists failed to challenge the information, though official and government press releases must be treated with mistrust because, as attempts to manipulate and sway the reporter's professional judgement, they interfere with his task of teasing out the political truth (Golding and Elliott 1999). Instead, journalists chose to quickly move on despite serious evidence of close ties between Nato and the ICTY.

When several lawyers brought war crimes charges against Nato in 1999, Nato spokesman Jamie Shea stated in a press conference that Nato had no worries about prosecution by the tribunal because the Nato powers finance the Tribunal and the prosecutor does only "what we allow her to" (Herman 2002: Z-magazine website). However, this was entirely ignored by the media, despite its clear assertion of tribunal subservience to external political control. When in June 2000, ICTY procurer Carla Del Ponte finally decided, without investigation, that the ICTY would not judge Nato for war crimes committed in Yugoslavia, it was also ignored by the media.

Thus, the "free" media tend to ignore stories that impinge upon western geo-political or economic interests (Thussu 2000: 10). Few questions were raised about the legality of 1999 Nato action in Kosovo or the use of radioactive material in some of its weaponry, such as depleted uranium and cluster bombs. Little mention was made about Nato bombing of *Radio Television Serbia* (RTS) in Belgrade, which killed 16 employees inside the building, although Nato admitted that it was intentional to stop the media from reporting (*Emperor's clothes* website 2002). The astonishing condemnation two months ago of the head of RTS programme at that time, Mr Milanovic, to 20 years of imprisonment for "failure to evacuate the building" was also not reported in the media(9).

When Marlise Simons interviewed Carla Del Ponte, who claims to "represent the victims" (*New York Times*, 9 February 2002), she did not ask her about the Serb victims in Bosnia, Croatia, and those killed in Nato-occupied Kosovo. She did not ask why she was not fulfilling her legal obligation and going after Nato's war criminals. She avoided such questions, because her job is to go with the flow of propaganda that, as Nato demands and the tribunal implements, has targeted Mr Milosevic as the latest villain and already convicted him as the best demonstration of western justice:

The Hague trial of Milosevic is a show trial with a demonised villain on stage whose certain conviction will vindicate the Nato war and interventions. After this service,

the tribunal can be dissolved, and the United States is now urging its near-term liquidation (Herman 2002: Z-magazine website).

Despite the lack of evidence and the weakness of the prosecution, Mr Milosevic will be convicted, because the world already believes in his culpability. The mass media, under the influence of their political masters, have already pronounced the sentence through their biased coverage against Mr Milosevic.

Biased coverage against Mr Milosevic and controversial media process of news selection

Western media have already decreed Mr Milosevic's culpability, despite the basic legal principle that a person should be considered innocent until proven guilty.

Since the beginning of the trial, the media have mainly focused on prosecution statements or progress in the trial, while Mr Milosevic's cross-examination was never reported in detail. Instead, the ex-president was accused of bullying the witnesses, who had to "suffer a fresh trauma" because of him (*The Guardian*, 7 June 2002). He was blamed for his insistence to cross-examine every witness and using the maximum time he is allowed, "acting as though he [was] the prosecutor" (ibid). But what the media seem to have forgotten is that pressure and bullying are common and acceptable courtroom practices, especially when the defendant risks a sentence of life imprisonment.

When the trial started, journalists reported opening statements. However, Paul Davidson (10), London writer and journalist also member of the ICDSM, remarked that only the prosecution statement was recounted in details, "especially those aspects laden with emotion that sought to lay maximum blame on the defendant for many alleged atrocities and all without the slightest shred of evidence being presented at that time".

In contrast, continued Mr Davidson, "the defence statement of Mr Milosevic was described with little reference to actual words and was instead padded out with disrespectful adjectives where Mr Milosevic was described for example as having 'ranted for hours'."

Yet, Mr Milosevic showed the court gruesome videotapes of Serb victims of Nato bombing. But the media did not ask why Mr Milosevic's evidence is less proof of war

crimes and genocide by Nato leaders than the current prosecution witnesses prove Mr Milosevic guilt:

That comparison would show both political selectivity and the essential irrelevance of this kind of evidence, except to show that war is ugly and -for the purposes of this trial- to produce a desired moral environment that will sustain a conviction (Herman 2002: Z-magazine website).

Instead, the media presented Mr Milosevic accusations against Nato as part of a strategic defence rather than a possible attempt to reveal any truth. Mr Milosevic was just trying to "justify his actions in the Balkans" by claiming he was the victim of a "terrible fabrication" (*The Guardian*, 14 February 2002). His accusations were simply a "tactic of trying to shift the blame for Yugoslavia's turmoil on to western countries" (*The Guardian*, 15 February 2002).

Mr Milosevic was also accused of raising irrelevant issues. *The BBC News* (15 February 2002) signalled that "two parallel trials" were going on, the prosecution doing its job and showing the evidence on one side, and Mr Milosevic focusing off-indictment topics, Nato crimes and the illegality of the court. The French daily *Le Monde* (13 February 2002) noted judge May answer that "these questions are not pertinent anymore within this trial," as the court had already debated and decided Mr Milosevic's arrest was legal.

As a further evidence of the media presumption of Mr Milosevic's guilt, Mr Davidson, who as a member of the ICDSM publicly defends the ex-president, recalled an interview that Canadian TV conducted with him (11). After some minutes, the interviewer asked him incredulously: "What, are you actually saying that Slobodan Milosevic is innocent? On what basis?"

Mr Davidson answered: "Of course we believe in his innocence, on what other basis could one conduct a defence?"

An example of this presumption of guilt concerns the prosecution allegation that Mr Milosevic had ignited the conflict in the Balkans with an inflammatory speech made on the site known as Kosovo Field in June 1989 (12). Without reprinting the speech or even quoting to it directly, the press faithfully reported that it had been the precursor for ten years of turmoil in former Yugoslavia.

However, when one reads the speech in question, it does not appear as a promotion of division but rather as a call for unity, equality and tolerance among Yugoslav citizens, "irrespective to [their] national or religious affiliation" (Milosevic, 28 June 1989). In

his plea against disunity, Mr Milosevic does express his wish for a cohesive and integrated Yugoslavia, but he is not ultra-nationalistic as the media have accused him to be.

Like the media have assumed that Mr Milosevic is guilty, they also have presumed that Nato powers are innocent of any crime committed in the Balkans. Thus if western media report from time to time negative comments against the prosecution, they almost never write anything condemning Nato powers.

On 26 July, when Serbia former secret police chief Radomir Markovic, a key prosecution witness, testified under cross-examination in favour of Mr Milosevic, a few journalists reported it. But they did not mention the second part of the testimony, in which Mr Markovic said that two western-influenced policemen had tortured him in Belgrade during his 17 months of imprisonment to force him to give false testimony against Mr Milosevic. The media took also little notice of Mr Markovic's revelations that the current Belgrade security police, who work in close co-operation with tribunal prosecutors, had offered him and his family a change of identity and a comfortable new life in a foreign land if he would lie against Slobodan Milosevic. No news organisations reported either the surprising response of Judge May, who interrupted Mr Markovic arguing that his torture to give false testimony was irrelevant with the issue of Kosovo.

According Mr Davidson (13), this proves that western media have been the agents of a massive anti-Yugoslav disinformation campaign, setting a Nato-favourable context for public discussion and creating a public opinion ready to convict Mr Milosevic, without too much concern for the "technicalities" of justice.

This presumption of guilt questions the media process of news selection, often described by the existence of "gatekeepers" who make the decision between "in" and "out" (White 1950). The most powerful gatekeeper, the editor of major news organisations, can reject or accept a story according to his own value-judgements, which demonstrates how highly subjective the communication of "news" really is.

News assemblers (i.e. editors and journalists) check stories out for their worthiness, supposedly reflecting an objective reality "out there" (Molotch and Lester 1999). Having a "nose for news", they build "the index of the reality" consisting of the most important events of the world. However, when the selection of news by news assemblers tends to closely resemble the one of promoters (i.e. governments), the production of news is termed "propaganda" (Molotch and Lester 1999).

"How can the media coverage of Mr Milosevic's trial not be one-sided when the whole event is broadcast by Cable News Network (CNN)?" wondered Misha Gavrilovic (14) from the Serb information office. He referred to the decision of the ICTY to give the exclusive rights of retransmission of the trial to CNN, despite an obvious conflict of interest.

Not only CNN is the largest and most profitable news and information 24-hours companies (Thussu 2000: 11), but it also belongs to the American AOL-Time Warner corporation. Like a filter, CNN (i.e. a Nato agent) can select whatever images and sequences of the trial it wants the world to see (or not to see), and what all the other news organisations can broadcast depends on CNN good will.

However, a few journalists have though managed to pass through the "gates" and produce defiant reports. Among them, John Laughland, British journalist. He accused the ICTY of applying a "victors' justice" to Mr Milosevic and claimed that the trial was rigged to justify Nato's war against Serbia (*The Spectator*, 9 February 2002). He was the only British journalist to report Mr Markovic's account of his torture to testify against the ex-president, and one of the rare reporters to cast doubt upon Mr Milosevic's culpability and notice the prosecution weakness (*The Mail on Sunday*, 27 August 2002).

However, Mr Laughland seems isolated from the rest of the media which, in accordance with their biased coverage since the Kosovo war and before, have established a social space of debate in which Mr Milosevic is the "new Hitler" against whom western justice shall apply.

Negative portrayal of Mr Milosevic: a continuation of the demonisation established during the Kosovo war

The pre-eminent feature of media coverage of the trial has been their uncritical swallowing of the US and Nato public relations policy consisting in a "Good versus Evil" rhetoric, where Mr Milosevic stands as the new villain.

When Mr Milosevic was arrested last year, the media reported it as a triumph of the good guys against the bad guys. *Time Magazine*'s congratulated the West for "Bagging the Butcher" and *Newsweek* referred to Mr Milosevic as "our post-modern Eichmann" (both on 9 April 2001).

Mr Milosevic was effectively demonised far before the trial started. During the Bosnian war, the media portrayed the ex-presented and the Serbs as the new fascists, running "concentration camps" and committing "genocide" (Hammond 2000: 28). The whole media coverage "came to be seen through the filter of the Holocaust" (Simpson 1998), preparing public opinion for a future imperative war against a new Hitler.

In 1999, Nato intervention in Kosovo appeared in the press as a "humanitarian war", justified by the moral imperative to stop another Hitler. The media spread rumours about the existence of mass graves in Trepca (northern Kosovo) and exaggerated the casualties caused by Serbs to create the needed support of western public opinion. British prime minister Tony Blair invoked "a battle between good and evil; between civilisation and barbarity; between democracy and dictatorship" (*Sunday Telegraph*, 4 April 1999).

The Serbian regime was described as totalitarian and the Serbs as inhuman and barbarians. The British daily the *Sun* (14 April 1999) went as far as depicting the Serbs as "animals," who were "an affront to humanity" urging that they be "shot like wild dogs" (in Hammond 2000: 27).

As Mick Hume noted, once linked to the Nazi experience, the Serbs were not just the enemy, they became Evil incarnate, as Mick Hume noted (2000):

Modern societies do not, on the whole, believe in the devil himself [...] What they do believe in, however, are Nazis, as the modern agents of hell on earth (Hume 2000: 71).

The Hitler angle is in fact a very efficient propaganda tool, as in popular rhetoric, Hitler has been transformed into an enormous symbol of evil and danger (Keeble 1997: 66). Moreover, demonisation serves important ideological and propaganda purposes, as it justifies any action undertaken by the good guys. As Edward S Herman noted (2002):

Demonisation, an intense focus on worthy victims, and an automatic acceptance of official perspectives, quickly creates a consensus "truth" that is protected by repetition and an avoidance of incompatible information. Everybody can then repeat

the established line, and anybody who contests it becomes an "apologist for Milosevic." (Herman 2002: Z-magazine website)

According to Marjaleena Repo (1999: Counterpunch website), freelance writer, western media's demonisation of the Serbs succeeded in hoodwinking the public into thinking that Nato use of force was a moral imperative to stop a new Hitler who had attempted a "final solution" on assorted ethnic groups. "After all, because Hitler wasn't stopped in time, millions perished in concentration camps," she noted.

On 6 April 1999, the media repeated German foreign minister Joschka Fisher "revelation" of a Serbian secret plan for genocide in former Yugoslavia ("Operation Horseshoe"), urging ICTY chief prosecutor Louise Arbour to indict Mr Milosevic for war crimes. Yet, the plan was later discovered as being faked by the German government.

A biggest western propaganda coups came over the coverage of the monitored Rambouillet talks between Mr Milosevic and the Kosovo Liberation Army, just before Nato began its bombing of Belgrade (Keeble 2000: 94). The breakdown of the "negotiations" was represented as Mr Milosevic's fault, though it was later admitted (ibid) that they were deliberately designed to fail (one provision naturally rejected by the Serbs was the implementation of a Nato force in the whole of Yugoslavia, not just Kosovo). However, the media reported "the manufacture of a pretext for bombing as a genuine attempt at diplomacy" (Hammond and Herman 2000) and ignored the fact that the Yugoslav delegation had actually accepted provisions for Kosovo's autonomy.

Yet, labelling western enemies as Hitlers and subhuman monsters is a familiar trick from recent history. During the Gulf War, the world was shocked to find out that the "incubator babies" incident, which precipitated western intervention, was in fact a complete hoax. In October 1990, the press reported that a 15-year-old Kuwaiti citizen named Nayirah tearfully told the US Congressional Human Rights Caucus that she had witnessed Iraqi soldiers killing Kuwaiti babies by dragging them from incubators. A year later, it was revealed (without public outcry) that Nayirah was the daughter of the Kuwaiti ambassador to the US trained a part of a major public relations offensive undertaken by the firm Hill and Knowlton, on behalf of the Kuwaiti government (Thussu 2000: 9).

Yet the shock of being duped soon wore off and gullibility returned. American public relations firm Ruder Finn, working for the Croatian and Bosnian separatists, publicly

bragged that it had been able to turn world opinion against the Serbs. In April 1993 on French television, the director James Harff said the firm had succeeded masterfully by targeting the Jewish audience and gaining its support. This was a "sensitive matter," he added, as "the Croatian and Bosnian past was marked by real and cruel anti-semitism. Tens of thousands of Jews perished in Croatian camps [...]" (in Repo 1999: Counterpunch website).

He continued: "When the Jewish organisations entered the game on the side of the [Muslim] Bosnians we could promptly equate the Serbs with the Nazis in the public mind. By a single move, we were able to present a simple story of good guys and bad guys, which would hereafter play itself" (ibid).

He concluded: "Almost immediately there was a clear change of language in the press, with the use of words with high emotional content such as ethnic cleansing, concentration camps, etc, which evoke images of Nazi Germany and the gas chambers of Auschwitz" (ibid).

Jared Israel, an American Jewish journalist who created the *Emperor's Clothes* news website, strongly condemned the position of the American Jewish Committee and the American Jewish Congress, who publicly attacked the Serbs as fascists at the beginning of the Yugoslav conflict (*Emperor's Clothes* 1999, "Who we are").

He pointed out that portraying the Serbs as new Fascists was a non-sense since they had been the greatest resistance fighters against the Nazis and had never persecuted the Jews. When Germans occupied Serbia, they did not find any anti-Semitic feeling or root in the country, because the Serbs (contrary to the Croats) had always considered Jews as brothers, only of a different religion. Mr Israel wrote:

Imagine how the Serbs felt, unjustly demonised in the western media and now attacked by supposed leaders of the people they had died to protect. And because everyone knows Jewish people suffered terribly at the hands of the Nazis, when Jewish leaders called Serbs "the new Nazis" and called President Milosevic "the new Hitler," these lying accusations carried weight (*Emperor's Clothes* 1999 "Who we are")

The "new Hitler", "successfully" stopped, is now standing in the dock of a western Nato-dominated tribunal to face victor's justice. The media, like the rest of us, know that being the target of western hegemonic arrogance, Mr Milosevic has not a single chance to ultimately win.

The media, like the International Criminal Tribunal for the ex-Yugoslavia, have worked harmoniously in Nato's service. From the beginning of the trial, the media have never asked basic questions: Why Mr Milosevic's evidence of Nato crimes in Yugoslavia is less proof than the current prosecution witnesses prove Mr Milosevic's guilt? Why Mr Milosevic is banned from any contact with the press if it is not to hide information that would involve Nato powers?

Instead, the media have simply assumed that justice was being served, with the benevolent Nato properly, perhaps belatedly, trying to bring "another Hitler" to justice. But as Edward S Herman underlines (2002: Z-magazine website), "such assumptions violate the principles of objectivity whose use supposedly differentiates a free from a totalitarian press. It will not do to say that 'in this case' the truth was obvious, because the truth should always be kept open to question."

Accepting to report Nato lies equals being one of its agents and breaching the sacred journalistic principle of impartiality. But remaining silent in front of obvious Nato manipulation contradicts another journalistic imperative: informing the public disregarding of political inclinations. As Kleanthis Grivas, a Greek psychiatrist and intellectual, highlighted (1999), "neutrality equals complicity." If Mr Milosevic is really a war criminal, there should be enough evidence to prove his culpability without the media having to act as the watchdog of the powerful.



Dit is het [NOVA-archief](#). Vind en bekijk de NOVA-reportages, dossiers, en opinie-artikelen.

Milosevic dient klacht in tegen Kay

12 okt
04



Slobodan Milosevic dient bij de Orde van Advocaten in Den Haag een klacht in tegen de Engelse strafpleiter Steven Kay. Dat heeft Milosevic' Nederlandse advocaat, mr. Nico Steijnen, dinsdag bekendgemaakt tijdens een persconferentie.

De klacht betreft de inbreuk op het "fundamentele recht" van Milosevic om zijn eigen verdediging te voeren, aldus Steijnen. Kay werd begin september tegen de wil van de ex-president van Joegoslavië door het Joegoslavië-Tribunaal toegewezen als advocaat. De rechters deden dat na talloze onderbrekingen van het proces wegens ziekte van de verdachte.

Kay heeft zelf ook al een klacht lopen tegen zijn eigen benoeming. Die is aanhangig bij de Kamer van Beroep van het Joegoslavië-Tribunaal. Kays beroep tegen zijn eigen benoeming is nog in de voorbereidende, schriftelijke fase. Kay heeft de rechters om een mondelinge hoorzitting gevraagd zodat Milosevic zich ter zake kan uiten.

Steijnen stelt dat Milosevic "zich op briljante wijze heeft verdedigd", sinds het proces op 12 februari 2002 begon. Door zijn optreden heeft Milosevic aanklagers en rechters "in paniek gebracht", aldus Steijnen. Dat is "de werkelijke reden om mijn client van zijn recht om zichzelf te verdedigen te beroven".

Steijnen stelt dat de Nederlandse tuchtrechtelijke bepalingen ook voor advocaten van toepassing zijn die voor het Joegoslavië-Tribunaal optreden. Dat is immers niet extra-territoriaal en dus Nederlands grondgebied. (Bron: ANP)

van holst en steijnen

From: van holst en steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>
To: <icdsm@aol.com>
Cc: <Emperors1000@aol.com>; <office@globalreflexion.org>; <despot@wishmail.net>; <sigu@worldonline.nl>; <grbic@kub.nl>
Sent: maandag 2 juli 2001 23:03
Subject: Detailed PC-suggestions for legal action of mr. Milosevic against the State of the Netherlands

Dear Friends,

In reply to your reactions on the PC-proposals I must warn seriously, as a lawyer and an authority on the Dutch legal system with an experience of nearly 25 years, for any further delay. It's really NOW or NEVER. We can't waste more time.

If Milosevic don't give an assignment to undertake legal action at the relevant domestic court in the Netherlands now, he will waste once and for all important legal possibilities regarding a potential discrediting of the tribunal and with regard to a potential release.

There's no time left to discuss at length, without the voice of mr. Milosevic himself, the ins and outs of undertaking legal action against the State of the Netherlands, to organize international meetings or to write articles at first.

The only thing that must happen with absolute priority is that there must be taken decisions and mr. Milosevic has to be informed about the legal opportunities at hand. As soon as possible.

TODAY I have finished the content for a writ of summons in Dutch.
So we can issue a summons in this case of mr. Milosevic versus the State of the Netherlands within hours!
AS SOON AS HE GIVES THE GREEN LIGHT.

mr. N.M.P. Steijnen

PC-lawyer

van holst en steijnen

From: Despotovic, Ruza <despot@wish.net>
To: Hans Hupkes <HANS.Hupkes@Planet.NL>; Nico & Neeltje Steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>
Sent: donderdag 5 juli 2001 14:37
Subject: Fw: CBC (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation) interviews Christopher Black of the ICDSM

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

From: Miroslav Antic
To: Despotovic Ruza
Sent: Thursday, July 05, 2001 11:07 PM
Subject: CBC (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation) interviews Christopher Black of the ICDSM

Dear ,
Do you have a set-up on your computer for videos? If so, click on the link below.
It is an interview, taped this morning on Canadian television, with Christopher Black.
Chris is lawyer on the International Committee To Defend Slobodan Milosevic.
Also, for your information, Chris is also a member of the Central Committee of the
Communist Party of Canada. If you cannot play this video on your computer, please forward this to someone who can play it. It is worth
watching. You will how the media here is trying to slander President Milosevic and his defenders. Chris Black does an excellent job in
exposing the NATO lies and getting the truth out, despite a very ignorant and hostile interviewer..

In great solidarity,
Your friend and Comrade,
Martin.

Sent: Thursday, July 05, 2001 4:20 PM
Subject: [C-I] CBC (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation)
interviews Christopher Black of the ICDSM

Clip from CBC Morning, with Mark Kelley

van holst en steijnen

From: Christopher Black <bar@idirect.com>
To: van holst en steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>
Sent: woensdag 1 augustus 2001 19:57
Subject: Re: Legal action

Nico,

I have only seen the writ of summons which you translated. Ohter documentrs sent to me I could not open with my prorammes. I don't know why as I have Windows ME which should read anything in other formats.

As I say the problem is not necessarily your Dutch original but I think just your style of English.

As for your strategy, I agree with it. The only thing holding us up right now is the problem with translation and not just for me or Tremblay but also Prof's. Kuznetzov and Bernadini.

I understand that the longer we wait the weaker our position becomes in the eyes of the judge hearing the case because he will question why, if this matter is so important, we waited to put it into action.

I will consult with the others today and get back to you later today or tomorrow. But as I say I have not seen the other documents. I think Tremblay has but I still have not received anything from him.

Understanding the urgency,

best regards

Chris

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

From: "van holst en steijnen" <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>
To: <bar@idirect.com>
Cc: <agtreblay@videotron.ca>; <office@globalreflexion.org>; <icdsm@aol.com>
Sent: Wednesday, August 01, 2001 1:26 PM
Subject: Legal action

> Dear Chris,
 >
 > I have to apologize for my bad English in the proposed document(s).
 > Nevertheless I wonder - and it worries me as well - which document(s)
 > you're
 > getting at, as you are talking of my use of terms improper for legal
 > documents. This because the only proposed document, translated by myself
 > in
 > English, is the proposed writ of summons regarding M. vs the State of the
 > Netherlands. The two other proposed documents - the proposed summons in
 > that
 > case and the request with summons in the potential case vs. ICTY - are on
 > the other hand formulated by a professional and sworn translator, who is
 > also a jurist himself.
 > So if the legal English of the last two documents is also not correct, then
 > we have an additional problem.
 > Because then we have to find also another translator for the legal
 > documents.
 >
 > If you are meaning that only the writ of summons, translated by me, is
 > incorrect, but the summons itself, formulated by our translator, are
 > further
 > okay, then I strongly suggest to bring out this injunction now AS SOON AS
 > POSSIBLE.
 > The writ of summons is then another story and we can work it out together
 > in
 > better English in the coming days.
 >
 > To summon is an essential part of the procedure and it can be seen as a

- > starting point. So if we bring out the summons on day x and we let it expire
- > after, let's say, a week, then we still have more than a week after the
- > launch of the summons in order to improve the English of the writ of
- > summons, as far as necessary.
- >
- > It is really important to make such a start now.
- > Our point is that what has happened at the abduction was really illegal.
- > Then our position is growing weaker every day, the longer we don't give any
- > OFFICIAL SIGNAL of rejection !
- > At the same time the kind of legal procedure we have in mind are summary
- > proceedings. And it is the object of this type of procedure that, when you
- > opt for it, you must act urgently.
- > So both factors are reinforcing each other !
- > That is the reason that I would like to insist in order at least to bring
- > out the summons now as soon as possible. This as an OFFICIAL sign that
- > further legal action is on the way.
- > As already discussed, it's up to you to take the lead and to put wheels
- in
- > motion from your position in Canada.
- > If you have overriding objections against (the English of) the summons I
- > propose, then it's no problem at all, if you make a summons by yourself.
- You
- > can summon the Dutch State in English as well, no problem at all.
- > But let it happen NOW !
- >
- > I propose then the following time table: we could take for instance a week
- > before the summons expire, so we save then in the first place already a
- week
- > after day x, the day that the summons is going out.
- > Next step is for me to arrange a date for the court session. Depending on
- > the agenda of the President of the District Court in the Hague (the court
- > where we have to deal with), it could take one till three weeks before our
- > case could be treated in court.
- > In the meantime we have to bring out the writ of summons. So we have,
- after
- > the summons, at any rate a few weeks left in order to improve the English
- > text of the writ of summons and for translation of the plea.
- >
- > Putted first and foremost that the summons are already send, it should be
- > also possible to arrange with the President a longer term before the case
- > should be treated. Under the argument that we need more time for
- > communication and translation. That should be an honest reason for
- > postponement, also in the eyes of the judge. But ONLY if we have already
- > made a start by giving a clear signal that legal proceedings are coming.
- > So the key should be: to bring out the summons as soon as possible now !
- >
- > best regards,
- >
- > Nico S.
- >
- > P.S. : There will be oral proceedings in only one session of the President
- of
- > the court, and then, after one or two weeks, a written verdict. The
- > hearing of witnesses is not allowed, but you can bring into discussion
- > written documents and affidavits. So is the procedural regime of this
- type
- > of Dutch summary proceedings.

van holst en steijnen

From: André Tremblay <agtremblay@videotron.ca>
To: van holst en steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>
Sent: woensdag 1 augustus 2001 03:24
Subject: Re: Legal action

Dear Nico,

I rather agree with you and we should move. You have convinced me .

The only problem with translation concerns the WRIT and the Plea. We can fix it later.

I am trying to reach Christ and make it move properly. I am very pleased by your work.

Best regards,

André

--- Message d'origine ---

De : van holst en steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>

À : <bar@idirect.com>

Cc : <agtremblay@videotron.ca>; <office@globalreflexion.org>; <icdsm@aol.com>

Envoyé : 1 août, 2001 17:26

Objet : Legal action

> Dear Chris,

>

> I have to apologize for my bad English in the proposed document(s).

> Nevertheless I wonder - and it worries me as well - which document(s) you're

> getting at, as you are talking of my use of terms improper for legal

> documents. This because the only proposed document, translated by myself

> in English, is the proposed writ of summons regarding M. vs the State of the

> Netherlands. The two other proposed documents - the proposed summons in that

> case and the request with summons in the potential case vs. ICTY - are on

> the other hand formulated by a professional and sworn translator, who is

> also a jurist himself.

> So if the legal English of the last two documents is also not correct, then

> we have an additional problem.

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> okay, then I strongly suggest to bring out this injunction now AS SOON AS

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>

> To summon is an essential part of the procedure and it can be seen as a

> starting point. So if we bring out the summons on day x and we let it expire

> after, let's say, a week, then we still have more than a week after the

> launch of the summons in order to improve the English of the writ of

> summons, as far as necessary.

>

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> Our point is that what has happened at the abduction was really illegal.

> Then our position is growing weaker every day, the longer we don't give

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- > proceedings. And it is the object of this type of procedure that, when you
- > opt for it, you must act urgently.
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- > out the summons now as soon as possible. This as an OFFICIAL sign that
- > further legal action is on the way.
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- > motion from your position in Canada.
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- > propose, then it's no problem at all, if you make a summons by yourself.
- > You
- > can summon the Dutch State in English as well, no problem at all.
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- > before the summons expire, so we save then in the first place already a
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- > Next step is for me to arrange a date for the court session. Depending on
- > the agenda of the President of the District Court in the Hague (the court
- > where we have to deal with), it could take one till three weeks before our
- > case could be treated in court.
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- > the summons, at any rate a few weeks left in order to improve the English
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- > also possible to arrange with the President a longer term before the case
- > should be treated. Under the argument that we need more time for
- > communication and translation. That should be an honest reason for
- > postponement, also in the eyes of the judge. But ONLY if we have already
- > made a start by giving a clear signal that legal proceedings are coming.
- > So the key should be: to bring out the summons as soon as possible now !
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- > best regards,
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- > Nico S.
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- > P.S. :There will be oral proceedings in only one session of the President
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- > the court, and then, after one or two weeks, a written verdict . The
- > hearing of witnesses is not allowed, but you can bring into discussion
- > written documents and affidavits. So is the procedural regime of this
- > type
- > of Dutch summary proceedings.
- >

van holst en steijnen

From: Christopher Black <bar@idirect.com>
To: van holst en steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>
Sent: woensdag 1 augustus 2001 21:09
Subject: M

Nico,

OK, proceed as you indicated. Any problems with translation can be fixed later in amended filings if necessary.

And thanks for being patient with us this end.

Best regards,

Chris

van holst en steijnen

From: André Tremblay <agtremblay@videotron.ca>
To: van holst en steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>
Sent: woensdag 1 augustus 2001 03:45
Subject: Re: secretary

Dear Nico,

It is the former writ of summons that you gave me the first time we met and that contains a specific reference to a proposed law submitted to the Dutch Parliament. This law was intended to regulate the relationships between ICTY and Netherlands. I would like to read again the argument.

Thanks. André

— Message d'origine —

De : van holst en steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>
À : André Tremblay <agtremblay@videotron.ca>
Cc : <bar@direct.com>; <office@globalreflexion.org>; <vlada@sps.org.yu>
Envoyé : 31 juillet, 2001 06:20
Objet : Re: secretary

> Dear André,
> I feel encouraged by your positive comment.
> I don't know exactly wich document you mentioned, so could you specify
> what
> you need ? Isn't it the former writ of summons ? Then it's obsolete by
> now,
> because I made a final version, in Dutch as wel as in English, as you know
> already (you got it). Or were it the proposals regarding legal steps ?
> That's only in a Dutch and Serbian version. So give some further
> clarification, please.
>
> Nico S.
>

van holst en steijnen

From: van holst en steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>
To: André Tremblay <agtremblay@videotron.ca>
Cc: <bar@idirect.com>
Sent: zaterdag 4 augustus 2001 18:02
Subject: Re: Travel

The text of the summons is already known to you, it is the same as proposed. Only the expiration date is different: it is fixed on 8 August. Of course the Dutch text is used.

About your meaning to come over possibly at the end of the month: I can't foresee how things are then, but I really hope that the interim injunction proceeding against the State of the Netherlands

then already is behind us. What we are facing then, who knows.

As already indicated, as soon as possible I will arrange a date for the interim proceeding and a visit to the president of the court for this.

The first thing to do now, seems to me to get a better English text of the writ.

So I hope I can get proposals from you both.

Then soon we can reach an acceptable and final English version.

The other big problem left is the translation of the plea. Last days I was writing on a new chapter. It is about the immunity of a (former) Head of State (see corresponding paragraph in the writ). Now I continue writing on the last chapters (the illegality of the puppet-court and the art 6 European Charter on Human Rights bias by this NATO-court - see also corresponding paragraphs in the writ).

I have no doubts about the quality of my arguments in the plea, but how can we assure that you and other not-Dutch icdsm-people get access to what I am producing ?

best regards,

Nico S.

an hoist en steijnen

From: André Tremblay <agtremblay@videotron.ca>
To: <n.h.van.hoist@freeler.nl>
Sent: vrijdag 3 augustus 2001 03:50
Subject: Tr: Travel

Nico,

It is important for you to know. If we have to meet, it would be on August 21 and 22. Let us know as soon as possible to allow me time to make travel arrangements. I am pleased to see that the summons have been sent. Please, send me a copy of the document by E-Mail.

Thanks
André

----- Message d'origine -----

De : Christopher Black

À : Jared Israel ; Vladimir Krsljanin ; TARGETS ; André Tremblay ; mailservicesnc

Envoyé : 3 août, 2001 04:23

Objet : Travel

I understand Prof. Kuznetzov is proposing a meeting in Moscow in August. I do not know whether I can make that meeting if it takes place as I am now booked to fly to Amsterdam on August 20 where I can stay one or two days if necessary before flying on to see General Ndindiyimana (pronounced Dindili Yimana) in Arusha, Tanzania. My return flight to Amsterdam is September 19. I expect that I will be going to the Congo during that period. I can also stay over in Amsterdam for a few days on my return trip.

Is my presence in The Hague required at either end of that trip? I have to book my connecting flights accordingly and I have to do it now.

Please advise.

Chris

Could some one explain to me the meaning of the second to last item in this summary which states M wrote a letter to the Judges of the ICTY and, in the last paragraph, states he was denied a private consultation with Clark. What goes on here? We were informed that Clark met with him over 3 days privately. This was confirmed to me today by Christian Rohde at the ICTY. What are the facts? And the last part about not having documents necessary to mount his defence doesn't make any sense when he has refused to even look at the indictment. Is this disinformation? Does such a letter exist?

Chris

16 Aug 2001

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

From: "AIM News" <admin@aim.ac.yu>

To: <yugoslaviainfo@yahoogroups.com>

Sent: Thursday, August 16, 2001 7:17 PM

Subject: [yugoslaviainfo] AIM News for Thursday, August 16, 2001

iac

On Mon, 17 Sep 2001 22:18:52 -0700

"van holst en steijnen" <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl> wrote:

> Dear collegue,

> I send you hereby the same comment, this time in Word.

> I repeat my request on you that you would acknowledge the

> receipt of this

> mail. Thank you !

> Nico Steijnen.

van holst en steijnen

From: IAC <iacenter@action-mail.org>
To: van holst en steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>
Sent: maandag 17 september 2001 12:11
Subject: Re: comment on the preliminary motion by Mr. Tomanovic on the formal defects of the indictment against Milosevic

we received your email thank you
iac

On Mon, 17 Sep 2001 22:18:52 -0700
"van holst en steijnen" <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl> wrote:
> Dear collegue,
> I send you hereby the same comment, this time in Word.
> I repeat my request on you that you would acknowledge the
> receipt of this
> mail. Thank you !
> Nico Steijnen.

van holst en steijnen

From: David Jacobs <david@ShellJacobs.com>
To: <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>
Cc: <vlada@sps.org.yu>
Sent: donderdag 4 oktober 2001 07:25
Subject: President Milosevic

Dear Nico:

It was a pleasure to have spoken with you this morning. As I advised you, I would be happy to assist in your actions before the courts in the Netherlands on behalf of President Milosevic. I have experience in international criminal law matters and I am now in the course of an appeal before Judge Jorda and other Judges of the Appeal Chamber of the ICTR. I think that the defence of President Milosevic is critical to the future of international legality and the struggle for peace. Please let me know how I can help.

Warmest regards:
David

David Jacobs
Shell Jacobs Lawyers
672 Dupont Street, Suite 401
Toronto, Ontario
Canada M6G 1Z6
Telephone: (416) 539-0226 ext. 202
Facsimile: (416) 539-0565
E-mail: david@shelljacobs.com
Website : www.shelljacobs.com

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van holst en steijnen

From: Vladimir Krsljanin <vlada@sps.org.yu>
To: van holst en steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>
Sent: zaterdag 13 oktober 2001 14:03
Subject: Information needed

Dear Mr Steijnen,

Although we haven't been so much in direct contact, I feel closeness thanks to communication through our friend Nico Varkevisser. I also strongly appreciate your indispensable work in defense of president Milosevic.

You probably know that Belgrade University law professors have prepared a letter to bars' chambers of England, Netherlands and Yugoslavia requesting sanctions for "amici curiae" due to their decision to accept "quasidefense" against the will and interests of the accused. Could you provide us with the exact name and address of the Dutch chamber to which Mr Wladimiroff belongs? We need that information urgently.

I'd also like to stress personally the importance of your participation in the forthcoming conference in Belgrade. Among other things we are, after numerous burrocatic (in fact political) obstacles, about to establish a foundation in Belgrade, which will secure necessary financial backing of our future (and past) activities. As for the conference funds, at the moment we can offer free accommodation and certain limited assistance in travel costs - meaning one air ticket, which I already offered to Nico.

We all hope to hear from you soon concerning your participation.

With best wishes, yours

Vladimir Krsljanin

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)

5-1-2003

Slobodan M., oorlogsmisdadiger



HET schiet niet erg op. Ratko Mladic en Radovan Karadzic, de nummers 1 en 2 op het verlanglijstje van het door de VN ingestelde Joegoslavië-tribunaal, zijn nog steeds niet ingerekend, en het sinds februari 2002 in Den Haag gevoerde proces tegen de Servische oud-president Slobodan Milošević kan nog wel twee jaar duren; de dictator heeft een kwakkelende gezondheid, maar omdat hij het tribunaal niet erkent mag hij toch zelf z'n verdediging voeren. Er staat het nodige op het spel: Milošević is het eerste gewezen staatshoofd ter wereld dat wordt vervolgd wegens oorlogsmisdaden en genocide, en de uitkomst van het proces is ook van belang voor het eveneens in Den Haag te vestigen Internationaal Strafhof. Maar nu de rechtsgang zo traag verloopt, groeit de twijfel of het ooit tot een veroordeling van Mladic, Karadzic en zelfs Milošević zal komen – de nachtmerrie van hoofdaanklaagster Carla del Ponte.

Filmmakers hoeven de afloop uiteraard niet af te wachten. *Milošević – How To Become A Dictator* van Leslie Woodhead (bekend van *A Cry From The Grave*) biedt een goed overzicht van de opkomst en ondergang van Milošević. De documentaire, die te zien was bij de BBC en tijdens het IDFA, poogt karakter en werkwijze van deze welbeschouwd saaie man te doorgonden en toont hoe hij populair bleef door, vooral via de staatstelevisie, het Servisch nationalisme te bespelen. Ook de grote invloed ten kwade van echtente Mira Markovic op Milošević wordt benadrukt.

In de nieuwe, driedelige documentaire *The Fall of Milošević* van Brian Lapping en Norma Percy gaat het niet om de persoonlijkheid

van de dictator of zijn privé-entourage, maar om de getuigenissen van staatshoofden, regeringsleiders, politici, functionarissen en gewone burgers – ooggetuigen en slachtoffers – die tussen 1995 en 2001 met Milošević of de gevolgen van diens beleid te maken kregen. De 'methode-Lapping', eerder toegepast in onder andere *The Second Russian Revolution*, *The Death of Yugoslavia*, *The 50 Years War: Israel and the Arabs*, resulteerde ook nu weer in het bekende mozaïek van verklaringen, invalshoeken en standpunten, uiteraard omlijst door de nodige archiefbeelden. Verhaald wordt de politieke ondergang van Milošević, de man die als president van Servië drie oorlogen ontketende die honderdduizend mensen het leven kostten en die het begrip 'etnische zuivering' ingang deed vinden.

In 1995 verkeerde Milošević op het hoogtepunt van zijn macht na het mede door hem ondertekende akkoord van Dayton, waarna hij in Belgrado als vredestichter was onthaald. De aanstichter van oorlogen in Kroatië en Bosnië werd door het Westen desondanks beschouwd als de enige die de vrede in voormalig Joegoslavië kon handhaven. In plaats daarvan legde Milošević een 'historische' claim op Kosovo, hief de autonome status ervan op, ontsloeg duizenden Albanese Kosovaren uit overheidsdienst en plaatste de regio onder Servisch gezag. Het Kosovaarse bevrijdingsleger UCK lokte daarna Servisch geweld uit om de aandacht van de internationale gemeenschap te vestigen op deze nieuwe Balkan-oorlog in wording, en om de Navo tot ingrijpen te bewegen. Het verdrag van Rambouillet voorzorg vervolgens in terug-

De Servische oud-president Milošević wordt berecht door het Joegoslavië-tribunaal in Den Haag. Wat hieraan voorafging is te zien in de driedelige documentaireserie *The Fall of Milošević* van Brian Lapping en Norma Percy. Vanaf zondag in VPRO's *Tegenlicht*.

door MAARTEN VAN BRACHT

trekking van Servische troepen, Navo-toezicht op Kosovo, en een referendum over onafhankelijkheid ervan. Milošević weigerde echter te tekenen, en voor de Navo lag toen de weg open om Servië te bombarderen. 'Als de Navo ons bombardeert, vallen er in Servië misschien veel doden, maar er zullen dan in Kosovo geen Albanese over blijven', besluit vice-premier Seselj het eerste deel van *The Fall of Milošević*.

In het tweede deel vertellen Clinton, Blair en Chirac over de oorlog in Kosovo (maart-juni 1999), die veel langer duurde dan verwacht omdat de Navo-bombardementen kennelijk te weinig of zelfs een averechts effect sorteerden: er vielen ook veel burgerslachtoffers, en de schade aan huizen, wegen en bruggen was enorm. Maar liever bombarderen dan grondtroepen inzetten, bleef het motto. Milošević capituleerde, Servië zat aan de grond. Maar zolang hij kans zag president te blijven wist Milošević zich veilig voor het Joegoslavië-tribunaal, dat hem had beschuldigd van oorlogsmisdaden.

Het derde en laatste deel toont hoe Milošević de door hemzelf uitgeschreven verkiezingen verloor, hoe oppositiegroeperingen samenspannen tegen een president die weigerde af te treden, en hoe deze na veel tumult toch plaats maakte voor opvolger Kostunica. Pas na twee mislukte pogingen zag men in april 2001 kans Milošević te arresteren, waarna hij werd uitgeleverd aan het Haagse tribunaal.

► ZONDAG NED 3 21.05-22.00 UUR
(Vanaf zondag 5 jan ook op BBC2)

<http://tegenlicht.vpro.nl>

Sagittarius

Van: "Vladimir Krsljanin" <vlada@sps.org.yu>
Aan: <Undisclosed-Recipient:@smtp.sps.org.yu;>
Verzonden: dinsdag 31 december 2002 2:09
Onderwerp: New Year at The Hague: President Milosevic's
 COURAGE, EFFICIENCY, INITIATIVE, PERSISTENCE
 and happiness for your families, were the wishes of President Slobodan
 Milosevic for the New Year sent to his comrades and associates from
 SLOBODA/Freedom Association.

The wishes were expressed with his always vivid and sound spirit that gives strength and self-confidence to everyone who had luck to get in direct contact with him.

As for our concerns, they are still and extremely big. At present, we are in uneasy struggle with absent (due to Christmas brake) Tribunal stuff to finally get the approval for the team of medical specialists from the Military Medical Academy in Belgrade to go to The Hague and make necessary medical examinations of the President's health, after the last deterioration. The original request for this visit was sent on November 9.

Many of those who sent their written appeals to the Tribunal receive these days replies. The lies told in these replies about the medical care provided to President Milosevic should be exposed.

Pressure should also concentrate on UN High Commissioner for Human Rights in Geneva, who should react immediately and soundly on human rights violations within the UN system.

Weekends and long holidays are the time when we all particularly worry. One can not forget that Dr Milan Kovacevic, Jasenovac survivor, with known heart disease, died at The Hague in a weekend night, after hours of agony, with no one even attempted to help. Here are few lines from BBC News report of August 1, 1998:

"...tribunal spokesman Christian Chartier denied that the tribunal was lax in its care or surveillance of jailed suspects. He said it recognised the stress they were under, and said that Dr Kovacevic had been under regular care by a heart specialist. (...)

The [defense] legal team also argued that their client should be released because he was suffering from a life threatening heart condition. "

Does this sound familiar?

RECENT INTERNATIONAL REACTIONS AND APPEALS

1. International Action Center, New York
2. German Communist Party
3. A Slovenian MP at WEU Parliamentary Assembly
4. New Worker on the London support meeting
5. Journal of the Dutch Bar Association on the process
6. CANA London

7. Reactions on a Guardian article on The Hague process
8. A Column from Antiwar.com

1. International Action Center, New York

Free Slobodan Milosevic!

The International Action Center demands the immediate release of former Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic from detention in NATO's maximum-security prison near The Hague in the Netherlands.

Milosevic was kidnapped and transported from his homeland to stand trial for alleged war crimes during NATO's wars on the Balkans. He's been representing himself since mid-February at The Hague, where the U.S.-funded pro-NATO International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia sits.

The former president has defiantly refused to recognize the authority of a court that was illegally established--international war crimes tribunals can be constituted only by treaty among nations--and is waging a strong political and legal defense, often turning the tables on pro-NATO prosecutors.

Milosevic, who suffers from cardiovascular illness, has been conducting a convincing defense, but his life is being endangered. Exhausting, all-day court sessions, and the lack of specialized medical care, has worsened his health, in addition to the repressive conditions of his incarceration. The NATO prison has, in fact, already caused the deaths of inmates through inhumane treatment and lack of proper medical care.

Milosevic was president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) in 1999 when that country heroically attempted to resist the latest imperialist aggression in the region on behalf of big business. The FRY was the last remaining obstacle to total re-colonization of the Balkans.

The 78-day terror bombing unleashed against the FRY deliberately targeted not only the Yugoslav military but also bridges, life-sustaining infrastructure and civilians. Thousands perished in the high-tech pounding.

Whole industries, hospitals, schools and other institutions vital to life were devastated. The Chinese Embassy was purposely attacked, as was Radio-TV Serbia and Novi Sad TV. All were occupied at the time.

Since 1991, when the Clinton White House and the U.S. Congress instigated civil war in the Balkans, tens of thousands have perished. Multi-national unity has been

ipped apart for capitalist exploitation, neo-colonial plunder and NATO's expansion east.

The U.S.-led NATO alliance now needs scapegoats and show trials to justify their murderous aggression on Yugoslavia. The Hague tribunal was established to deflect attention from the fact that Washington and its NATO allies are the real war criminals in the Balkans--not Slobodan Milosevic who, as the symbol of resistance, was first demonized and then abducted to stand trial. Ever wonder what became of the "mass graves" that NATO used to justify the bombing of Yugoslavia and occupation of Kosovo?

Milosevic has been forced to work under harsh conditions. But he has still succeeded in turning the show trial into an expose of NATO's crimes against Yugoslavia-crimes against humanity and crimes against peace.

The International Action Center joins other organizations and individuals worldwide in demanding in one voice that Slobodan Milosevic be immediately released.

Solidarity and support comes from the Baghdad Conference of May 7-9, 2002; May 17-19, 2002 European Peace Forum; Dec. 11, 2002 Declaration of the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation; 10,000 protesters at the Nov. 19, 2002 demonstration in Belgrade, the Yugoslav capital; doctors' organizations in Germany; and members of the International Committee for the Defense of Slobodan Milosevic.

Free Milosevic now! Abolish NATO!

International Action Center
December 17, 2002

2. German Communist Party

**FOR THE ABOLITION OF THE "HAGUE TRIBUNAL" -
FOR THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC!**

(Resolution adopted by the 16th Congress of the German Communist Party (DKP)
in Duesseldorf, December 1st, 2002)

The German Communist Party demands the immediate abolition of the so-called "tribunal" for the former Yugoslavia.

This "tribunal" was created by an unauthorized organ - UN Security Council, in violation of the UN Charter. It is not a legal institution, but the continuation of the NATO aggression, poorly camouflaged with pseudo-judicial requisites. Its purpose is not only to fabricate false

legitimacy for the illegal NATO-war, but also to prepare new wars. The US at the same time negates the jurisdiction of the legally founded International Criminal Court, announcing even the military intervention in The Netherlands if a US citizen would be brought before the ICC, presses Yugoslavia to cooperate with the NATO court martial and threatens to establish another ad-hoc-tribunal in the case of Iraq.

By his sovereign appearance at The Hague, Slobodan Milosevic produced a fiasco for the NATO prosecutor. Since the "tribunal" cannot defeat Slobodan Milosevic by "legal" means, it tries to threaten his health and life by inhuman court and prison conditions. We support the appeal of German and international physicians that Slobodan Milosevic has to be released in order to get adequate therapy in Yugoslavia by the doctors who took care about his health for years.

After, at the beginning of the "trial" even mainstream journalists had to draw parallels with the German fascist Reichstag-fire trial against Georgi Dimitrov, there is media silence about The Hague process now. The many years of media demonization of Slobodan Milosevic was part of war propaganda. Today, Slobodan Milosevic is the highest ranking political prisoner of NATO and as such he deserves solidarity of all anti-imperialist forces.

The German Communist Party supports the struggle of Slobodan Milosevic and the Socialist Party of Serbia against the "tribunal" of NATO criminals.

The NATO aggressors have to be put on trial, Yugoslavia needs to get comprehensive reparations for war damages!

We demand the immediate abolition of the "Hague Tribunal" and the immediate release of Slobodan Milosevic and of all prisoners of the illegal "Tribunal"!

3. A Slovenian MP at WEU Parliamentary Assembly

Mr. Zmago Jelincic, president of the Slovenian National Party put two unpleasant questions to the leading representatives of NATO. The answers were without answer. But the questions become the main subject of discussion in the couloirs during the whole session. We quote the questions from the official transcript.

ASSEMBLY OF WESTERN EUROPEAN UNION
THE INTERIM EUROPEAN SECURITY AND DEFENCE ASSEMBLY

FORTY-EIGHTH ORDINARY SESSION, Paris, 2-4 December 2002

Mr Antonio MARTINS DA CRUZ, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal,
Chairman-in-Office of the WEU Council

Mr. JELINCIC: Portugal is soon to lead the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe, and because it is not possible to create stability, security and peace without discovering the reality of past events, I should like

to put the following question: The medical condition of the former Yugoslav President, Mr. Slobodan Milosevic, has seriously deteriorated, to the degree

to
which it is questionable whether he will even survive to the end of the
trial
in The Hague. Given that, we must ask ourselves what is in the best
interests of
truth. Will Mr. Milosevic's death contribute to a fair trial or to the
credibility of the international court? Will he still be able to reveal
information that is crucial to the truth? I think not. With his death, the
truth
will be lost. Do you not think that it would be for the best if the Assembly
appealed to the international community and competent organisations to
release
Mr. Milosevic, enabling him to receive proper medical care?

Mr Guenther ALTENBURG, NATO Assistant Secretary-General for Political
Affairs, representing Lord ROBERTSON, Secretary General

Mr. JELINCIC: On the subject of the
widening of the EU and NATO, we cannot avoid the question of security in the
neighbouring countries. The current Yugoslav Government has no trust among
the
people - with justification, it would seem. Violence and criminality in
Yugoslavia are increasing day by day, and the demands of the separatist
minority
parties are getting more and more recognition. On the other hand, the
government
is doing nothing to establish a stable and prosperous environment. It
behaves
passively, and even cooperates with those parties. Such a situation could
easily
lead to further violence, such as that caused by Albanian separatists in the
recent past. Yugoslavia in its current state cannot afford to fall into
another
war, but that is bound to happen if nothing is done. Due to its
inappropriate
behavior, the current government has lost the confidence of the nation that
elected it. There must be new elections to clarify the situation. Naturally,
the
government will not declare elections, so it is in the hands of responsible
national organisations to call for new elections. Do you agree that Europe
should demand the clarification of the political situation in Yugoslavia
through
elections?

4. New Worker on the London support meeting

New Worker Online
New Worker International News - 20/12/2002

Defend the life of Slobodan Milosevic!
by Elizabeth Farrell

SLOBODAN Milosevic faces a torrent of lies and abuse in the dock of the

so-called International War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague. This is beginning to seriously damage the health of the former Yugoslav President, who had been diagnosed with a heart condition and suffers from very high blood pressure. He is not only fighting for justice, he is also fighting for his life, warned the International Committee to Defend Slobodan Milosevic at a meeting in London Conway Hall last week.

Paul Davidson chaired the meeting, and speakers included Brian Denny from the Campaign Against Euro-Federalism, Serbian activist Stan Gasparovski and Christopher Black, Milosevic's legal advisor.

Denny raised his concerns about the 'Corpus Durus' system that is used in the trial, which means that the judge is also the prosecutor. There is no jury, and - unlike any trial in Britain - the defendant is guilty until proven innocent. He also mentioned the conditions under which Milosevic is imprisoned.

"The days in court are long, and Milosevic is only given a sandwich and a bad coffee for lunch. By the time he gets back, he has missed his evening meal."

Stan Gasparovski, who had recently been to The Hague to attend the trial, told the meeting about that visit. He warned us about Milosevic's health, saying that his heart condition, 'Essential hypertension with secondary organ damage and hypertrophy of the left ventricle', is life threatening and needs immediate treatment. Stan pointed out that, so far, Milosevic has only been allowed to see the prison GP, and has been refused an examination by specialists, and medical treatment.

Despite all this, he said, "Milosevic is very determined and confident - because he has the truth on his side."

The last speaker was Chris Black, Milosevic's legal advisor.

He told us that Nato's main weapon was to demonise the Serbs and destroy Milosevic, by using propaganda to justify their aggression against Yugoslavia.

He also pointed out that the prosecution's main witness, former head of Serbia's Secret Services Rado Markovich, spoke in favour of Milosevic instead of against him. When he was asked whether Milosevic had given orders to start ethnic cleansing of Albanians in Kosovo, Markovic replied: "No such orders were ever given, and no ethnic cleansing took place."

The only evidence against Milosevic, Chris Black rightfully said, "is that he is not guilty."

To join the struggle for justice for Milosevic, contact the International Committee in his defence at www.icdsm.org

5. Advocatenblad - Journal of the Dutch Bar Association on the process

The appointment of the Friends of the court by The Yugoslavia tribunal

countervails Mr Milosevic's right to conduct his own defense. This is the view advocated by N.M.P. Steijnen, an attorney of Milosevic in the "legal affairs outside the tribunal".

N.M.P. Steijnen, attorney in Zeist and member of the ICDSM.

The right to conduct one's own defense ("to defend himself in person") is a minimum basic right (Art. 6 ECHR, Art. 14 ICCPR; see Art. 26 ICTY Statute). It is doubtful whether counsel can ever be imposed. The Dutch system goes a long way toward recognizing this right but does not make it absolute, as is demonstrated by the imposition of a counsel in criminal trials in the last instance. The European Court also allows the legislator to impose a counsel in some cases where the nature of the proceedings so requires. On the other hand, if the right to defend oneself has been explicitly recognized in certain kinds of proceedings (as in the trials before the ICTY) this right has to be respected in full. This principle should also apply to Milosevic, who has repeatedly emphasized that he wants to conduct his own defense.

Objective perspective

The tribunal has now appointed three amici curiae in Milosevic's case at the request of the Dutch attorney Wladimiroff. In *Advocatenblad* 2001-16 (21 September 2001) Wladimiroff explained his appointment: "It seemed to me that someone like that [amicus curiae] could also see to the defense in Milosevic's case, with the difference that Milosevic is not the client. We give the objective perspective of the defense independently of the suspect." (p. 621) It is of course a profound mystery how any defense can exist without a client. It is equally nonsensical to say that something called "the objective perspective of the defense" could exist "independently of the suspect". If it is not Wladimiroff and his co-amici who decide what the "objective perspective of the defense" is, then who is it? This goes to show that the "objective perspective of the defense" is perfectly subjective and, as a bonus, "independent of the suspect", i.e. quite impervious to what the suspect thinks about it.

Why has the ICTY decided to allow such a construction? The motivation given in the decision of appointment is that it was considered "desirable" and "important to secure a fair trial". The tribunal could thus give the impression of being properly concerned about Milosevic's "fair trial". That was of utmost importance in order to mask what happened to the right "to have adequate facilities for the preparation of his defence" (Art. 6 ECHR, Art. 14 ICCPR and Art. 21 of the ICTY Statute).

Adequate facilities

Milosevic wanted to conduct his own defense but did not waive his right to have adequate facilities for the preparation of his defence. Already during his detention in Belgrade and before his transfer to The Hague he had at his disposal an international team of attorneys, ICDSM, to assist him in the preparation of his defense. However, the administration of the tribunal has been systematic in its attempts to sabotage and prevent Milosevic's cooperation with this team.

First, the access to Milosevic was limited as much as possible by simply refusing to respond to a request for admission. If, after repeated requests,

the permission for a visit was finally granted, it was done out of magnanimity far transcending anything to which the tribunal was even remotely obliged. The length of the visit was then severely limited, confidential contact was made impossible and the exchange of documents was prohibited. One often found out that the correspondence sent to Milosevic did not reach him. Ultimately, the Canadian lawyer Chris Black was completely banned by the administration of the tribunal, because he had relayed some statements made by Milosevic to the Dutch press.

Finally the tribunal decided, without any notice and without consulting those concerned, to appoint Ramsey Clark and Livingston as Milosevic's "permanent legal advisers" with the exclusive right to function in this capacity. Clark, who is associated with the ICDSM, was incapable of crossing the ocean frequently simply due to his age, whereas Livingston is unknown to both the ICDSM and Milosevic. From the outset it was quite clear that this solution was completely unacceptable to Milosevic. With this strategem the administration of the tribunal managed to close the door definitively to the legal advisers who Milosevic had chosen for himself.

I was subjected to more or less the same treatment, but because I worked as Milosevic's lawyer in Dutch legal proceedings, my contact with the client could not be completely banned. The limited access that I was granted was subject to the explicit restriction that we could discuss only the Dutch legal proceedings and every contact was being monitored. The latter restriction was removed only after Milosevic authorized me to initiate legal proceedings in the European Court of Human Rights. Even then, the administration of the tribunal was willing to change its mind only when pressured with impeding interlocutory injunction proceedings and only after it had reminded us that the tribunal was not strictly speaking bound by this Agreement, because it was not a party to the treaty.

When the trial began, Milosevic was also in a desperately isolated position. He had only a fixed telephone line with his party rank and file in Belgrade and his two personal lawyers Tomanovic and Ognjanovic. After repeated complaints, the tribunal relaxed somewhat the contacts with the Yugoslav lawyers. This does not mean that Milosevic's enormous handicap in comparison to the powerful and extensive machinery of the Prosecution has narrowed. Milosevic tries to make the best of his preparation whatever it takes.

Outmanoeuvred

With the appointment of the amici curiae all this got camouflaged. First and foremost, the amici curiae are part of the household of the tribunal, which controls them, whereas the ICDSM advisers belong to the Milosevic camp and are beyond the tribunal's disciplinary measures. The three amici were granted all the rights which are normally afforded to the chosen lawyer, including the right to table various "motions" and make "submissions", perform cross-examination and further act "in any other way designated counsel considers appropriate in order to secure a fair trial". The tribunal thus has a number of pseudolawyers, who countervail Milosevic's procedural strategy contingent on the illegality of the tribunal.

An example. Milosevic has repeatedly insisted that his abduction from Yugoslavia and his detention in Scheveningen were illegal and he regarded the tribunal as an illegal institution. The Trial Chamber finally asked

Milosevic to set all this in writing. Immediately the amici curiae also set to work in order to express their objections to the legality, but unlike Milosevic, they called this paper explicitly a "preliminary motion". This way, they gave the tribunal the chance to regard the papers by Milosevic and by the amici curiae as a joint "preliminary motion" without any distinction, and hence as a document subject to the rules of procedure of the tribunal. This way, the tribunal could regard the subsequent review as a formal session, which could also look into the question of habeas corpus, which is not subject to any specific rule in the tribunal's basic documents. Milosevic was thus quite unaware that it was now possible for the tribunal to rule on the request of habeas corpus. He was caught unprepared and was outmanoeuvred on this point.

Munition

The statements attributed to Wladimiroff by the Trial Chamber have again caused Milosevic to take action against the amici. The discharge of Wladimiroff is not the ultimate objective, the ultimate objective is the discharge of all the amici. In spite of the recent discharge, Milosevic wants the disciplinary organs of the Dutch law society to make a ruling on Wladimiroff's conduct, which he expects will provide munition against the rest of the amici.

Endnote on the functions of Mr Steijnen

In this connection he appeared in interlocutory injunction proceedings which Milosevic had initiated against the Dutch State after his transfer to and detention in The Hague; in this connection, he was authorized by Milosevic to initiate proceedings in the ECHR together with the French attorney Vergès, the Canadian lawyer Black and others.

6. CANA London

To the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia

24th December 2002

Dear Sirs

I refer to reports which I have received tonight that the health of the former President of Yugoslavia, Mr Milosevic is again worsening, & the Tribunal has done nothing, despite protests from all over the world, to ensure that the prisoner is seen by competent specialist physicians independent of the Tribunal & neither will the Tribunal grant bail.

I have written to the Tribunal on previous occasions, without receiving any acknowledgement, pointing out that the decisions of Judge May constitute prima facie a criminal case under section 134 of the Criminal Justice Act 1988. He is complicit in torture, & not merely complicit but the main instrument.

I have told the Law Officers that I will be lodging as soon as convenient an Information @ Highgate Magistrates Court with the view to the prosecution of

the said judge May.

The Information is currently being prepared but should Mr Milosevic die I will upgrade it to a charge of murder against both Judge May & the other judges hearing this case.

I think the behaviour of your Court is deplorable. Primary responsibility is on the Netherlands Government for hosting your Court & on the United Nation Security Council for refusing to engage in any form of monitoring of their own creation. We believe an enquiry should be instituted by the Security Council & the General Assembly into (inter alia) the illegal financing of this Court, (the expenses of which should be met from the normal UN budget, but @ least in part they are met by Mr Soros. Is this not correct?)

We also blame Amnesty International, which organisation has altogether failed in terms of protecting the interests of prisoners of conscience. We call on AI organisations world wide to take up such an obvious case of political persecution & to hear the concerns of so many people about this farce of international justice, the WTE, (Washington's Tribunal in Europe).

CANA UK believes that Mr Milosevic's life is in imminent danger, not least because of the imminence of the pre-planned aggression on Iraq.

The American Government has taken a leaf out of the Stalinist book. Trotsky was finally eliminated in 1940, as the German armies were marching through France. There is no doubt in my mind that the object of the Tribunal, now that it has not been able to find a case against the President, is to kill him, in the most expeditious & least publicised manner possible & also at the most opportune time.

Judge May's tenure @ the Hague, in his NATO- EU role, of supreme torturer, as well as prosecutor, judge & in all probability executioner, should go down in history as the most obscene misapplication of judicial power by a British judge anywhere in the world since Judge Jeffreys & the Bloody Assize.

British judges have built up an entirely fallacious reputation for being fair minded, when in fact as a group, & with few exceptions, they are invariably corrupt, as Judge May's handling of this so called trial proves, & as do many other cases known to me.

The Law Officers consistently refuse to investigate all the numerous instances of judicial corruption brought to their attention every year. If they are indolent, in their refusal to grasp this nettle, this is not surprising, when the UK judiciary as a collectivity believe themselves to be above the law. The psycho-pathological problems which afflict them as a caste are accentuated in the case of Judge May as he is currently removed from the jurisdiction, (although he remains an official of the UK Government - whatever undertakings he may have entered into with regard to this continent so called Court, he remains bound by judicial oath to Her Majesty).

I also paste below a copy of a letter sent to the Guardian + copy to Geoffrey Robertson QC which highlights a deficiency in the Court as an

institution, quite apart from its procedures.

Yours Sincerely

William Spring

7. Reactions on a Guardian article on The Hague process
(Sent but unpublished letters to the Editor)

from Colin Meade
53 Florence Rd
London
N4 4 4DJ

Dear Sir,

In his article on the Milosevic trial (19 December), Geoffrey Robertson QC writes as if he knows that Milosevic is the main author of the tragic events in the former Yugoslavia. If he has this information, he should pass it on to the Hague Prosecutors, who clearly have no such evidence.

In his self-defence, Mr Milosevic has effectively demolished the received wisdom about his country's fate, using arguments and facts. He has among other things destroyed the credibility of many witnesses claiming to be "victims of his policies". His performance should lead rational people to question their prejudices.

As for a "fair trial", there can be no such thing without the requirement for the parties to produce compelling and consistent evidence and the presumption of innocence. In relation to the trial of Milosevic, far too many responsible people seem to have forgotten these elementary principles.

Yours faithfully

Colin Meade

To the Editor
The Guardian

Dear Sir

There is at least one colossal flaw in the logic of Geoffrey Robertson's argument, (Guardian 19th December) favouring the standards of supposed international justice exemplified by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia. No justice can be justice if not applied equally to all. I am not a Yugoslav citizen. My first concern isn't with Mr Milosevic, but with the activities of my Government, of Blair, Cook, & Straw, for example, all of whom I regard as war criminals.

in the case of the first two, in May 1999 I sought to press criminal charges before Magistrates, one, for encouraging terrorism in a foreign state contrary to section Five of the Criminal Justice Act, and two, for conspiracy to murder & to cause explosions in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The Magistrates declined to issue the proceedings citing insufficient evidence.

What I find remarkable is the Hague Court entertaining the testimony of NATO war criminals, when in 1999 NATO didn't even have the figleaf of a United Nations resolution to legitimise military action. How can such a Court be just, which only hears the accusations of the victors, themselves law breakers, & ignores the cries of the vanquished? Don't dead or mutilated Yugoslavs, Afghans, or Palestinians, nor those shortly to suffer in Iraq, count for anything? Don't they deserve an advocate? If they do, it shouldn't be Mr Robertson. His view of justice is inexorably skewed, in favour of wealth, power, & the ruthless use of propaganda & military force by humanitarian warriors.

Yours sincerely

William Spring

CANA UK Christians Against Nato Aggression UK

1 Scales Road London N17 9HB

Telephone 0208 376 1454

re: Playing the Odds in the Justice Game
by Geoffrey Robertson QC
Dec 19, 2002--The Guardian

After reading Mr Robertson's account of his brief visit to The Hague Tribunal one can only assume that this field trip to 'the aquarium' is his only experience with the Milosevic trial--and that his ever being weaned from the tit of the British mainstream media is not very likely--if not completely beyond hope.

All his talk of fairness, even excessive judicial fairness [sic], the moral implications of procedural niceties, such as Milosevic's cross-examining witnesses actually ceding legitimacy to the Tribunal, and linkages between WWII Germany and Serbia/Yugoslavia of the 90s, Dr Seselj's Radical Party of Serbia and Fascism, and Hermann Goering and Slobodan Milosevic, bespeak a superficial sense of recent history and a misunderstanding of contemporary geopolitical forces so contorted by the ignorance and expediency of the consensus reality of pop culture as to be more befitting a lager lout than a QC.

The illegality of the foundations and procedures of the Tribunal are of no concern to Robertson: Its birth by untimely ripping from the desiccated womb of a gang-raped and brain dead UN-- midwifed by Mad Albright and her

seven dwarves (Clinton, Rubin, Cohen, Zimmerman, Holbrooke, Gelbardt, and Soros); its outrageous private financing by the chief sponsors of global terrorism: Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Iran, Turkey, and the US; its total neglect of the very time-honoured principles, i.e., presumption of innocence, the right to face one's accusers, equal consideration before the law, that Robertson seems so proud to represent--and not just their neglect, but the aggressive inversion of these principles each time Richard May berates President Milosevic for his cross-examinations and cuts off his mike, each time a hopelessly under-rehearsed secret witness (but usually a spy, warlord or terrorist, very well known to all in Serbia!) is fuzzed over the tv monitors, and each time stale and thoroughly refuted media lies, like Roy Gutman's award-winning hearsay of the Bosnian Death and Rape Camps or of the misattributed Croatian, Bosnian Muslim and KLA atrocities, are presented as fresh-baked . . . media lies: All of these are beyond Robertson's considerations.

He seems concerned with "Justice" and especially "International Justice". And certainly he is exercised over the a priori villain Milosevic's not turning the court's kindness, its fairness, into its weakness by demonstrating just how this Tribunal, rather than adjudicating crimes against humanity, actually covers up and perpetuates such crimes. He says nothing of how the Tribunal has refused to hear of the monstrous acts committed by its sponsors against the people of Serbia and Yugoslavia and against the person of Slobodan Milosevic, first with their generous application of Depleted Uranium missiles and now with their iatrogenocidal concerns for the state of his health.

Obviously Maitre Robertson exists in some para-reality; some ethereal world connected to the physical world that constrains the rest of us working stiff's only by a Murdochian/Orwellian news network where the interests served are neither those of Historical Truth nor International Justice nor even the Reality Principle, but only those of naked, ugly Geopolitical Power.

He seems to think that if he can stand with the strong, by parroting their infantile, delusional myths of how things are, he will be all right.

But I'm afraid, from start to finish, he is dead wrong.

Mick Collins
Cirque Minime/Paris

8. A Column from Antiwar.com

More Dirty Lies
Courtesy of The Hague Inquisition

Just recently, this column examined the many facets of falsifying history, noting in passing the role of the Hague Inquisition in currently the largest such effort in the world. Indeed, the ICTY is an endeavor more massive even than the current campaign to conjure a reason for invading Iraq, and it seeks not merely to modify history, but to rewrite it wholesale.

Lubyanka, not Nuremberg

Its main thesis, that Slobodan Milosevic and other Serb leaders organized a vast conspiracy, a "joint criminal enterprise," to murder, expel or conquer other Balkan peoples and "defy the West" in the process, is a transparent attempt to recast Balkans actors as modern-day Axis and Allies. In this production, Slobodan Milosevic is starring as Hitler, his fellow Serbs as Nazis, and Albanians, Croats and Bosnian Muslims as their innocent victims, while the ICTY invokes the spirit of Nuremberg.

Apart from this being a deeply ironic role reversal from the original production, which ran in blood from 1941 to 1945, the "Tribunal's" methods and practices reflect far more the Soviet show trials of the Stalin era. It doesn't help that the accused are presumed guilty until proven innocent, just like those in Lubyanka, or that its "holding facilities" in Scheveningen were used by the Nazis to imprison Dutch patriots.

For almost a year, however, Milosevic has been making a mockery of the prosecutors' efforts to railroad him. He has successfully demolished every witness and every argument brought out against him, while refusing to recognize either the Inquisition's authority or its rules. Milosevic's outspoken defense made a striking contrast to the conquered Balkans, where the Empire had managed to silence virtually all the voices of dissent and resistance.

Beria's Heirs

Having failed in a head-on confrontation, despite playing with heavily loaded dice, the Inquisitors tried a different route. In September, they managed to extort a confession from a former Bosnian Serb leader, Biljana Plavsic, in which she not only admitted to participating in the planning of atrocities, but also implicated Milosevic and other Serb dignitaries.

Bits of Plavsic's plea cited by the media sound like they were written by the prosecutors:

[She] acknowledged she covered up crimes, ignored widespread allegations of criminal acts and "publicly rationalized and justified the ethnic cleansing of non-Serbs" in a document setting out facts underpinning her guilty plea.

"Mrs. Plavsic embraced and supported the objective of ethnic separation by force and contributed to achieving it," said the document admitting her role in killings, expulsions and cruelty inflicted by Bosnian Serbs on non-Serbs in 1992. . (Reuters)

It's as if the Inquisitors took lessons in purging "traitors to the Party" directly from Lavrenti Beria's NKVD. Such extorted confessions are part and parcel of any show trial, but even the ICTY has not been this blatant before.

Why Plavsic confessed is a mystery. She claims it was remorse, and that Serbs committed crimes out of fear, but both explanations sound more pathetic than reasonable. She does have a strong dislike for Milosevic, and she enthusiastically collaborated with Bosnia's NATO occupiers between 1996 and 1998. Plavsic's true motives may be an enigma, but the Inquisition's are not. They have seized upon the confession to re-launch allegations of Nazi-like

conduct by the Serbs, while "rewarding" Plavsic with a "lenient" sentence of life imprisonment.

'Nazi' Slander Resurrected

The assault came this week, at Plavsic's sentencing hearings. One of the Inquisitors' star witnesses was no other than Madeleine Albright. The former U.S. Secretary of State has never tried to hide her Serbophobia, nor has she ever expressed an ounce of remorse for masterminding the criminal act of NATO aggression in 1999, which led to the present occupation of Kosovo. In fact, she has been outright proud of it, as well as of her support in establishing the Inquisition.

Albright was supposed to testify to Plavsic's willingness to collaborate with the NATO occupiers, but also to provide the association between the alleged Serb crimes and the Holocaust. Events in Bosnia were "reminiscent of pictures that reminded one of World War II," she said, adding, "We saw pictures of people being taken into what could only be labeled as concentration camps."

Reinforcing the Nazi analogy further was Holocaust celebrity Elie Wiesel. Even during the war, Wiesel sided with the Bosnian Muslim campaign to depict their side as the victim of "Serb Nazis," despite the fact that many Muslims joined the actual Nazis sixty years ago. Since he neither knew Plavsic or possessed intimate knowledge of the alleged atrocities in Bosnia, Wiesel's testimony was intended purely for emotional value in absence of real arguments.

In case anyone missed the point, the prosecutors then showed the pictures of emaciated Muslims in Serb "death camps," recycling that 1992 canard long after its expiration date. The photo, actually depicting a tuberculosis-ridden Muslim standing in front of a chicken-wire fence with barbed-wire top, was debunked as a malicious camera trick by 1997. Trotting Albright to the stand, invoking Wiesel's fame and recycling trashy propaganda photos only goes to show that, while the Inquisition's vitriolic assault on Serbs as "genocidal Nazis" shows no sign of slowdown, the actual case against Plavsic - or Milosevic, for that matter - is pretty much nonexistent. The only "joint criminal enterprise" is between them, NATO and the Empire.

Champions of Falsehood

But that is not all. Having long since collapsed into itself under the burden of lies and fabrications, like a black hole, the ICTY attracts ever more such material from all over the world. The following two cases come from the UK, but there is plenty of hypocrisy to go around.

As the Plavsic hearings unfolded and the Milosevic trial continued, the London Guardian published a tear-jerking piece by Jadranka Cigelj, a "rape victim" of a "Serb death camp." Cigelj's passionate diatribe is a masterpiece of propaganda. It blames Milosevic for horrendous atrocities without a shred of evidence, while also damning the "West" for its supposed inability to stop him then, or punish him now.

Though an author of a book about her alleged ordeal (for it was never proven

in court), and a prominently featured celebrity victim, Jadranka Cigelj is also a high official of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), party of the late Croatian president, ardent Serbophobe and Holocaust revisionist Franjo Tudjman. She also worked for the Croatian Information Center, a propaganda arm of the HDZ aimed at Western reporters, and single-handedly provided most of the "evidence" for stories of mass rape and genocide in Bosnia, none of which have ever been proven. In other words, Ms. Cigelj is a professional propagandist and a committed Croatian national-socialist. Her story, however tempting, ought to be taken with healthy skepticism.

Speaking of accomplished propagandists, one cannot ignore the real champion in the category, the London-based Institute for War and Peace Reporting. Their take on reporting about the Inquisition simply reeks of falsehoods. They dare use such terms as "hate speech," "misconceptions" and "negative propaganda," even as their own coverage is nothing but. One look at their Balkans report page is enough: tabloid-style headlines heading columns of malicious drivel. Lascivious services of media hacks have been a powerful factor in the rise of the modern repressive State, but IWPR has taken shameless prostitution of journalism to a whole new level.

Truth? You Can't Handle the Truth!

It is disturbing to see the ease with which outlandish concepts such as the "Tribunal" itself and the outrageous lies it peddles are accepted by the general public in the Empire and elsewhere. But the sad fact of human nature is that violations of truth and justice are seen as somehow less despicable the more they are committed.

The sheer gall of the violators seems to know no bounds. One of the Inquisitors actually said, "It is only through the establishment of the truth that the unhealthy shackles of revisionism that debilitate the former Yugoslavia and that foster suspicion, ethnic hatred and civil unrest can be broken."

Everything in this sentence is a lie. The Inquisition does not establish truth, but rather forges those very shackles of revisionism, making sure that the debilitating miseries of former Yugoslavia are perpetuated!

Burden of Fiction

Since its illegal inception in 1993, the "International Criminal Tribunal" has faithfully pursued its one and only purpose: to serve the Empire's interests in the Balkans. It has done so in part by usurping the authority of sovereign states and subverting international treaties and accords, but its focus has been on fabricating a recent history of the Balkans that would justify Imperial intervention, occupation and war.

What makes the ICTY's lies and hypocrisy so hard to swallow is the fact that many Balkans atrocities they claim to be prosecuting actually happened - but not in the way they present them, and not to the degree alleged by the combatants or the media. By manipulating very real crimes into false history, the Hague Inquisition is poisoning the well of collective memory for generations to come.

Driven by their demented obsession to falsify facts by casting Serbs (and

Sometimes others, for the sake of "diversity" and political expedience) as evil incarnate, the Inquisition and its patrons have come to willfully ignore reality. And in reality, their actions have disastrous consequences, perfectly exemplified in the recent terrorist attack on Pristina's Bill Clinton Avenue, and the situation in Kosovo in general.

Those who seek to control things that by nature cannot be controlled are doomed to fail. When the truth finally emerges, and it has a nasty habit of doing so when least expected, there will be Hell to pay.

- Nebojsa Malic

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Sagittarius

Van: "Vladimir Krsljanin" <vlada@sps.org.yu>
Aan: <Undisclosed-Recipient:@smtp.sps.org.yu;>
Verzonden: dinsdag 31 december 2002 15:57
Onderwerp: Slobodan Milosevic: UNITE THE FORCES OF

**"THERE IS A GROWING CONSCIOUSNESS IN THE WORLD OF
THE NEED TO UNITE THE FORCES OF RESISTANCE"****Slobodan Milosevic**

Slobodan Milosevic wrote a Preface to the Yugoslav/Serbian edition of the Michael Parenti's book TO KILL A NATION - THE ATTACK ON YUGOSLAVIA that just appeared from the press in Belgrade.

The book appeared as a result of the initiative and work of a group of patriots, which included the private publisher MEDIAGRAF, who financed the edition. President Milosevic gladly accepted the request of the group to write a preface.

To order a copy of the book, one should contact the publisher:

MEDIAGRAF, Simon Simonovic (director) tel/fax +381 11 473 338, mobile +381 63 238 880, E-mail: solvayyu@net.yu

English translation of the President Milosevic's preface (full text) is given below.

PREFACE TO YUGOSLAV EDITION

I congratulate all those people who gave their contribution to translating and publishing of the book - TO KILL A NATION - THE ATTACK ON YUGOSLAVIA - in our country. Its author, Michael Parenti, is an American to whom every true veracious inhabitant of the Planet ought to be grateful for the great courage and ability to see and understand the events that marked the last decade of the twentieth century.

His fellow country man, Ernest Hemingway, wrote in 1948 in the introduction to his novel "Farewell to Arms" (which was, actually, published for the first time in 1929): "...wars are created, caused and started by the economic differences, and they are

waged by the pigs which are trying to benefit from them".

For the killing of Yugoslavia, all media, political, economic and military means were used.

The war against Yugoslavia was conducted on behalf of the great powers (Vatican, Germany, America...) because Yugoslavia stood in the way of their interests. It stood as an obstacle to the goals of the new world oppressors, the new colonialism. It represented "a bad example" for all those countries and peoples who wished to stay free and independent, and who wish to have the international relationship on the equality basis.

The powers which preempted the name - the International Community, only had understanding for those who supported them. They didn't even want to hear for the ones who didn't share their point of view and for the ones opposing the New World Order.

The International Community, meritorious for the breaking of Yugoslavia, encouragement of extreme nationalism in all Yugoslav republics (especially in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina) and responsible for the national conflicts, accused others for such actions; the ones that stood as an obstacle to their intentions, the ones who were the victims of these intents - it accused Serbs for the evil which it itself caused and performed.

This was not just the immorality of the International Community, that is, of a certain part of it which advocated such immorality, but it was a crime of that certain part of the International Community as well. In a certain way this was a crime towards Croats and Muslims too, because they were pushed back to the past, to irrational nationalistic savagery. But, this crime, targeted against Serbs, was the greatest of all crimes ever directed towards any of the peoples in the second half of the twentieth century in Europe.

Even the military support and involvement of Islamist extremists bothered no one despite they were the first Mujahideens ever appearing in the military conflicts in the European domain till that time. Nor was the military support of the regular Croatian Army given to the Croatian military units in Bosnia-Herzegovina of any interest to anyone.

It was only Serbia's material and moral help to the Serbian population living in warring Bosnia-Herzegovina that was causing rage and disgust of the so-called International Community to such extent that actions against "tyrannical and militant" political authorities in Belgrade were immediately taken, being in the shape of brutal economic and all other sorts of sanctions which were imposed to the just reorganized FR Yugoslavia, along with the military intervention against Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1995 and against FR Yugoslavia in 1999, in the collaboration with the Albanian terrorists and separatists. Today Serbs in Croatia and Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbs in Serbia and all Serbs in general are guilty for the crimes of

which they were the victims.

The war against Yugoslavia was and still is waged without any moral scruples. Illegal "Court" in The Hague is one of the means of that war and the proof that it (the war) is still ongoing.

But the events, contrary to the intentions of the creators of the New World Order and of The Hague "Court", show every day that there is a growing consciousness in the World of the need to unite the forces of resistance to the new oppressors.

Michael Parenti is among those people who undoubtedly gave great personal contribution to that resistance.

The Hague, October 17, 2002

Slobodan Milosevic

Publisher's note: *This text is the property of the publisher of the Serbian edition of the book: 'To kill a Nation: The Attack on Yugoslavia' written by Michael Parenti, and the recipients by e-mail are not allowed to make financial profit from it, by using it in web, press or TV presentations without previous written permission of the publisher.*

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Van: "Vladimir Krsljanin" <vlada@sps.org.yu>
Aan: <Undisclosed-Recipient:@smtp.sps.org.yu;>
Verzonden: maandag 23 december 2002 12:50
Onderwerp: URGENT ALLERT: Milosevic health worse again despite the adjournment

URGENT PRESS STATEMENT FROM SLOBODA

Sloboda/Freedom Association informs the public that the health condition of President Milosevic has been deteriorate again. His blood pressure during the weekend has been up to 230/120 mmHg.

For that reason we have sent to the Tribunal an urgent demand for the team of medical specialists from the Military Medical Academy (VMA) in Belgrade to go to The Hague immediately. First request for the visit of this medical team has been sent to the Tribunal on November 9.

It is obvious that the Tribunal attempts by all means to hide the truth about the medical condition of President Milosevic and to prevent him from getting the cure. The fact that President's health condition is bad even now when the process is adjourned proves that the all statements and so-called conclusions and decisions of the representatives of the Tribunal are an attempt to fool the public and to hide the organized crime. But the responsibility for that crime can not be hidden.

Sloboda/Freedom Association calls upon all citizens and all responsible domestic and international factors to act immediately and do everything necessary in this dramatic situation.

Text of Sloboda fax sent to The Hague Tribunal:

Mr. Hans Holtuis, Registrar

Ms. Monica Martinez

Legal officer to the Registry

ICTY

The Hague, The Netherlands

TOP URGENT

c/o: Judge Claude Jorda, President
Judges Richard May, Patric Robinson,
O-Gon Kwon, Trial Chamber III
Mr. Branislav Tapuskovic, Mr. Steven
Kay, Amicus Curiae

*Subject: Medical team to visit president Milosevic (Our faxes of November 9,
10, 11, 12, 13)*

Dear Mr. Holtuis and Ms. Martinez,

The medical condition of President Milosevic is again in acute worsening.

We urge you to APPROVE IMMEDIATELY the visit of the team of medical specialists from the Military Medical Academy (VMA) in Belgrade, requested in our November faxes.

There is no rule nor condition that could prevent responsible persons from appropriate action to protect a human life.

The team of doctors from Belgrade is ready to go to The Hague any minute.

We are expecting your call at +381 63 8862 301 or fax at +381 11 630 549.

Belgrade, December 23rd, 2002

On behalf of the Freedom Association

Bogoljub Bjelica, president

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Van: "Vladimir Krsljanin" <vlada@sps.org.yu>
Aan: <Undisclosed-Recipient:@smtp.sps.org.yu;>
Verzonden: zondag 22 december 2002 1:33
Onderwerp: Hague: Outrageous verdict and their way to hide

In absence of both - text of the "Trial Chamber" decision and transcript of December 18 hearings - here is semi-official "Overview of Proceedings", quoting basically the words of Richard May in "last three minutes". What follows is PR of "Carla style" staged in order to hide the deadly verdict. Note that UN SC also has a role. Carla insists that "export of the Presidents" should go on. Carla admits that they don't have a case against President Milosevic. Carla is angry that her followers in Belgrade have not produced some "evidence". And Carla wants to help them by attacking them. How controversial!

OVERVIEW OF COURT PROCEEDINGS

Update No. 248 - 20 December 2002

MILOSEVIC Case ("Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina")
Trial Chamber III - Judges May (Presiding), Robinson and Kwon

12th week of the Prosecution case (only on Wednesday 18 December).
 On 18 December 2002, the following witness was examined by the Prosecution and subsequently cross-examined by the Accused and one of the *amici curiae*:
 · Witness Petar Poljanic

The Trial Chamber gave its conclusions as to the future conduct of the proceedings:

- 1. The trial will proceed according to timetable, due allowance being made for illness and such rest days as appropriate. There will be no other extension of time for the Prosecution case.**
- 2. Defense counsel will not be imposed upon the accused against his wishes in the present circumstances. It is not normally appropriate in adversarial proceedings such as these. The Trial Chamber will keep the position under review.**
- 3. The Accused will not be provisionally released, as he has asked, during the course of these proceedings.**

The trial was then adjourned until **9 January 2003**.

Press Release . Communiqué de presse
(Exclusively for the use of the media. Not an official document)

OFFICE OF THE PROSECUTOR

BUREAU DU PROCUREUR

The Hague, 20 December 2002
 FH/P.I.S./ 721-e

**ICTY PROSECUTOR, CARLA DEL PONTE ADDRESSES ONCE AGAIN
"THE UNSATISFACTORY CO-OPERATION" OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA
WITH THE OFFICE OF THE PROSECUTOR**

Please find below the statement delivered by the ICTY Prosecutor, Ms. Carla del Ponte, at a press conference held at the Tribunal on Friday 20 December 2002:

I regret that I have to address once again the issue of unsatisfactory co-operation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia with my Office.

Just two days ago, the President of the UN Security Council on behalf of the Council issued a statement reminding all relevant States, and Yugoslavia first of all, to co-operate fully with the ICTY. It was a result of the Report of the President of the ICTY, Judge Claude Jorda, to the Security Council regarding non-compliance of Yugoslavia with its international obligations.

The Presidential statement of the Security Council stresses the obligation of Yugoslavia to comply with the requests of the Tribunal for arrest and transfer of indictees, to make witnesses available and to assist in ongoing investigations. I would like to underline the paragraph of the statement which "insists that dialogue or lack of dialogue between the Tribunal and the Governments must not be used by the States as an excuse for failure to discharge their obligations to co-operate fully with the Tribunal as required by the UN Security Council Resolutions".

My statement today is triggered by the fact that the Yugoslav Foreign Minister and President of the National Council for Co-operation, Mr. G. Svilanovic refused to speak to me yesterday exactly on the issues of co-operation. So much for a dialogue. Instead, as reported by the media and if it is reported correctly, Minister Svilanovic stated that the Tribunal is "a stone on the neck of Yugoslavia", that "co-operation with Prosecution was never at the lower level", also that the "Prosecution betrayed the confidence of the authorities in Belgrade" and finally that "all co-operation might stop" due to the wrong assessment of the situation in Yugoslavia by the Prosecution. It is obviously not my duty to assess the situation in Yugoslavia.

I am truly disappointed by such inappropriate political statement of the person who is in charge of co-operation with the ICTY. It is also not true that my Office was asking for general access to all archives in Yugoslavia. My Prosecution teams have to meet demands of the Trial Chambers and have to duty to comply with particular schedules. We are given limited time to present the prosecution case in each trial. The Requests for assistance and information send to the authorities in Belgrade are concrete about the documents sought, as it is for instance clear from the recent Prosecution's application under Rule 54 bis in the Milosevic case. It is clear from this application that there are number of outstanding Requests, some of which are 20 months old. The best results and fair results in the criminal trials of such importance as here in The Hague are only possible to achieve if best possible documents are made available in timely manner.

The difficulties faced by the Prosecution in Milosevic case with access to the documents and witnesses came to the point when it was not possible to wait any longer, while the Trial Chamber had to be informed about the problems faced by us. I want to repeat, in the limited time given by the Trial Chamber in particular case the Prosecution team must bring the most important witnesses and most important documents before the court.

Finally, I would like to inform you that I sent yesterday a letter to the Yugoslav authorities in regard to the accused M. Milutinovic to ensure his surrender to the custody of the ICTY and his transfer to The Hague immediately upon the expiry of his term of office.

Thank you.

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Verzonden: zondag 22 december 2002 0:46
Onderwerp: Guardian Playing the odds in the justice game (2).html

Dear friends,

Again and again - the same old 'catch the thief' story. But still its kind of brave that they still appear with such stories. It would be good if someone could reply to it. And how this guy can call himself - a lawyer?

Vlada

Milosevic the advocate

Playing the odds in the justice game

Geoffrey Robertson QC concludes our series by looking at the impact of the Serb leader's decision to defend himself

Geoffrey Robertson QC
Thursday December 19, 2002
The Guardian

Visit the dimly-lit public gallery of the Hague courtroom, and at first you have the sensation of entering an aquarium. You peer through thick bullet-proof glass at the denizens of a brilliantly back-lit tank, where black-gowned lawyers flap like manta rays while the big fish hovers in a corner. A sudden Tannoy announces the entry of the judges and brings the scene into focus: prosecutors, judges and defendant exchange polite "good mornings", and another day begins in the trial of Slobodan Milosevic.

When I visited last Wednesday, the evidence mainly concerned the shelling of Dubrovnik in 1991. The city's mayor painstakingly tracked the thousand-plus shells that exploded on the roofs of the old town, a world heritage site, and identified the civilians found dead in the rubble. The defendant was hundreds of miles away at the time, and the best the witness could do to implicate him was to quote a hearsay boast by a Serb commander ("Slobo told me this, Slobo told me that").

The prosecution seeks to prove that he had "command responsibility" for the army that committed this cultural crime against humanity. Its case, which holds him accountable for a decade of war crimes in Kosovo, Croatia and Bosnia, will continue well into next year.

The trial began last February, when the crucial question was whether the Hague court could slough off the rebuke of "victors' justice" and provide a fair trial for this demonised defendant, who seemed determined to play no part in it. Ten months on, and that question has been answered, although other problems for international justice have surfaced in this, its teething time, before the advent of the international criminal court.

The most remarkable feature of the trial so far is how Mr Milosevic has become a willing and enthusiastic party. At the beginning, he adopted the tactic of King Charles I, refusing to plead on the ground that the court was unlawful. This tactic would have sabotaged the trial and the judges were worried enough to engage an expensive team of amici curiae counsel to take every available point in his favour.

But once the trial opened, the defendant changed his position: he made a rabble-rousing opening statement and began to cross-examine witnesses vigorously and sometimes effectively; he seems now to preen himself on his ability as an advocate. Unlike Charles I, who preserved his martyr status by resisting all temptation to enter the forensic fray, Mr Milosevic's participation in the proceedings has served, ironically, to legitimise them.

23-12-02

A similar volte face happened at Nuremberg, where Hermann Goering initially told his fellow prisoners to make only one statement to the judges - a defiant catchcry of one of Goethe's warrior heroes, loosely translated as "kiss my arse". But as the day of trial came closer, the defendants became fascinated by the fairness of the adversary procedures, and decided to play the justice game after all.

The Hague proceedings have become almost excruciatingly fair, since any point that the defendant overlooks in cross-examination (and he overlooks quite a few, since he often prefers to make speeches than challenge testimony) is picked up by the amici team: an English QC, an Australian law professor, and a leader of the Serbian bar. As David Shayler discovered, no one who self-defends at the Old Bailey would ever receive this degree of support.

Conspicuous fairness

In its conspicuous fairness, the Milosevic trial is a reminder of how notions of due process have changed for the better since Nuremberg. There is no death penalty, and the defendant has a right of appeal and is entitled to full and advance disclosure of all prosecution evidence. For all the hi-tech wizardry of the courtroom, however, the plodding orality of the English criminal trial has been unnecessarily preserved. The mayor of Dubrovnik was led through his evidence in chief over three hours of painstaking questioning: it would have been much quicker to summarise his witness statement, then tender him for cross-examination.

There are signs of problems ahead. Although Mr Milosevic looks in robust health, the judges have expressed anxiety about his medical condition, which will be reviewed after the Christmas break. If he becomes too ill to continue, they have contemplated going on with the amici representing him. But this expedient would be denounced as a "show trial". Since abandonment of the trial would abandon victims of the Balkans war, a better alternative would be to adjourn the proceedings then require the prosecution to proceed on a limited indictment.

If, unhappily, the defendant does become terminally unfit, the only sensible way forward would be for the proceedings to continue, but as a "truth commission" rather than as a court. Such a metamorphosis would require a change in the UN statute which established the tribunal.

For the present, however, the most commonly voiced fear is not that the trial is unfair but that it is too fair, since it provides Mr Milosevic with a television link to Serbia, where his proteges in the neo-fascist Radical party may reap electoral benefit from his defiance. The effect of televising the trial is difficult to gauge; his domestic political stock rose after his opening speech, but 10 months of prosecution evidence has reduced it.

The crunch will come next summer, when the prosecution closes its case and the defendant must decide whether to go into the witness box to face cross-examination - the step that destroyed Goering.

He may instead make an opening statement which could be used as a platform for a political harangue.

This prospect makes it ironic that the court is located in a nondescript plaza named after Winston Churchill, who was all for assassinating Nazi leaders, rather than giving them a trial which he feared they would use as propagandist platform. (He was outvoted by Truman, who had an idealistic faith in due process, and by Stalin, who enjoyed show trials where all defendants were shot at the end).

The risk that the witness box will become a soapbox exists whenever a political leader is arraigned, because justice must be seen to be done and every defendant must be given his day in court. But if the procedures remain fair and the judicial reasoning is compelling, a conviction by this tribunal should carry conviction, even in Serbia.

My concerns about fairness to Milosevic will strike victims of Serb aggression such as Jadranka Cigelj, who wrote about her experiences in Tuesday's Guardian. But you do not uphold human rights by denying them to those you believe have abused them. Milosevic is, for the present, entitled to due process and a legal presumption of innocence.

If he is convicted of a crime against humanity, of course, the position then changes. His lack of remorse should disentitle him to a "soft option" cell in Finland for a sentence of "life that means life" imprisonment. He might be ordered to serve it in Mali or in the Falkland Islands or St Helena.

For all its pettifogging progress, the trial does signal the end of the age of impunity, when tyrants left the

bloodstained stage with an amnesty and their Swiss bank accounts intact. Whether, at the end of the day, Milosevic is acquitted or convicted, the proceedings thus far give no serious reason to doubt that the international shift from appeasement to criminal justice is not only right in principle, but is workable in practice.

• Geoffrey Robertson QC is president of the UN special court hearing atrocity cases in Sierra Leone, and the author of Crimes Against Humanity

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Sagittarius

Van: "Adriaan van Luttkhuizen"
Aan: "Sagittarius" <sagitar@hetnet.nl>
Verzonden: zondag 22 december 2002 15:16
Onderwerp: Re: hartelijke groeten

— Original Message —

From: Sagittarius
To: henk@csl.nl
Cc: adriaan@csl.nl
Sent: Monday, December 16, 2002 2:47 PM
Subject: hartelijke groeten

Beste Nico en Neeltje

We hebben jullie e-mail met de dagvaarding ontvangen. Henk heeft het aandachtig doorgelezen en was er zeer content mee.
Het gaat wel goed met hem, alhoewel hij alie natuurlijk blijft missen.
We hebben momenteel prachtig weer en daarom is hij ieder dag met zijn kettingzaag aan het houtzagen.
Met Edith en mij gaat het ook prima, binnenkort komt mijn zuster, wat voor Henk natuurlijk ook een welkome afleiding is.

Prettige feestdagen en tot ziens.

Adriaan

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Het symptoom Milosevic

Als hij er niet geweest was, hadden ze hem moeten uitvinden

21-12-2002

Adam LeBor: Slobodan Milosevic.

Balans, Amsterdam. ISBN 9050184820; 496 blz. 22,50 euro

Slavoljub Djukic: Milosevic & Markovic of het einde van het Servische sprookje. Mets & Schilt, Amsterdam. ISBN 9053303367; 258 blz. 18,50 euro

Lenard Cohen: Serpent in the Bosom - the rise and fall of Slobodan Milosevic. Westview Press. ISBN 0813340233. 492 blz. 25,00 euro

Slobodan Milosevic en zijn vrouw zijn in diepe slaap verzonken als een vreemd geluid Mira Markovic doet wakker schrikken. Ze loopt naar het raam van hun slaapkamer, werpt een blik naar buiten en raakt in paniek. „Er staan vreemde mannen in de tuin!” Slobodan doet een oog open en gaapt. „Niks aan de hand”, sust hij, terwijl hij zich op zijn andere zij draait, „dat zijn de nieuwe grenswachten.” Zelden had een mop – hij deed de ronde tijdens de donkerste dagen van de Kosovo-crisis – zo'n voorspelende waarde. De bewegingsruimte van de voormalig president van Joegoslavië en Servië is inmiddels al ruim anderhalf jaar zwaar beperkt. De man die ooit hooghartig kon kiezen welke buitenlandse coryfee hij audiëntie zou verlenen, is geworden tot een kermisattractie: in de afgelopen zomer stonden de toeristen in lange rijen bij de ingang van het Haagse Joegoslavië-tribunaal. Zoals de toeristen nu, zo was de Servische journalist Slavoljub Djukic destijds nieuwsgierig naar de essentie en wording van 's mans karakter. In zijn 'On, ona i mi' (Servisch voor 'Hij, zij en wij', 1997) probeerde Djukic tot een beschrijving te komen, als een van de eersten. Voorzien van een nieuw hoofdstuk verscheen het onlangs in een Nederlandse vertaling onder de titel 'Milosevic & Markovic of het einde van het Servische sprookje'. Jarenlang volgde Djukic van nabij opkomst en ondergang van het curieuze paar, al had de journalist – toen hij Milosevic in 1983 voor het eerst ontmoette – niet kunnen vermoeden dat de man nog eens het wereldnieuws zou halen en zelfs domineren. Milosevic was een uitgesproken onopvallende man – geen rare gewoontes, geen bizarre hobby's. Maar hij wist met uitgekende politieke machinaties de macht in de Servische communistische partij te grijpen. Vervolgens wist hij, door handig gebruik te maken van het nationalistisch discours, een grote populariteit te verwerven. Een discours waar hij, zo laat Djukic zien, echter ook weer precies op tijd afstand van kon nemen, dankzij een bijna feilloos instinct voor overleven. Journalist Adam LeBor (in 'Slobodan Milosevic') en hoogleraar politieke wetenschappen Lenard Cohen (in 'Serpent in the Bosom') maken dankbaar gebruik van het werk van



MIRA MARKOVIC BEGROET HAAR ECHTGENOOT NA ZIJN TERUGKEER UIT DAYTON IN 1995. FOTO UIT 'SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC'

Djukic en voegen er eigen elementen aan toe. Dat is soms interessant. Zo geeft LeBor een intrigerende beschrijving van de relatie tussen Milosevic en zijn Kroatische evenknie Franjo Tudjman. Zoveel wordt wel duidelijk: de twee, die elkaar soms tutoyeerden, begrepen elkaar. Soms, niet minder vaak, roepen de vele opgeroepen details over Milosevic' privé-leven vragen op. Met name LeBor heeft er een handje van ogenschijnlijk onschuldige gedragingen van allerlei negatieve kanttekingen te voorzien, en aan kleine voorvallen allerlei karakterologi-

sche conclusies te verbinden. Zo beschrijft hij hoe Milosevic in 1981, tijdens een verblijf bij het IMF in Washington, rondliep met een vrekkelde broek. Een oudere vrouwelijke collega – Milosevic werkte toen als bankier – bood aan de strijkbout te voorschijn te halen. De man sribbelde tegen ('bel roomservice maar'), maar gaat uiteindelijk overstag. LeBors conclusie: „Zoals veel Balkanese mannen wist Milosevic wanneer het gemakkelijker was zich te onderwerpen aan het gezeg van een vrouw.” Cohen laat zich gelukkig veel min-

der verleiden de amateur-psycholoog te spelen. Al meent ook hij een Belgradose professor te moeten citeren die verklaart dat „je één ding goed moet begrijpen over Milosevic: anders dan de meeste mannen op de Balkan is hij maar met één vrouw naar bed geweest”. Het is zeer de vraag of dit Milosevic dichterbij haalt. Het is trouwens óók zeer de vraag of beter begrip van Milosevic' karakter de crisis op de Balkan verklaarbaarder maakt. Zelfs LeBor moet toegeven dat Milosevic op zijn minst waardige tegenspelers had. Niet alleen in de

Kroaat Tudjman, maar ook in de Sloveense president Milan Kucan, die zich minstens zo bedreven toonde in het ondermijnen van de Joegoslavische federatie als Milosevic. Kucans nationalisme acht LeBor minder verwerpelijk, omdat Slovenië praktisch etnisch homogeen was en is. De Serviërs woonden verspreid door het oude Joegoslavië, en dus, zo schrijft, LeBor, impliceerde het nationalisme van Milosevic een wijziging van de grenzen tussen de deelrepublieken. En daarmee begon het kwaad. De vraag waarom de binnengrenzen van het oude Joegoslavië – destijds toch veelal niet 'zo-maar' vastgelegd – zoveel onaantastbaarder zouden moeten zijn dan de buitengrenzen, laat hij echter onbeantwoord. Cohen analyseert, gelukkig, méér dan Milosevic' karakter en dat van zijn directe tegenspelers. Na een weinig verrassend betoog over de politieke ontwikkelingen in Servië in de laatste decennia van de 20ste eeuw, komt hij in het laatste hoofdstuk met een interessante kanttekening, die om nadere uitwerking vragen. De crises op de Balkan zijn niet alleen te wijten aan 'kwaadwillende elites', schrijft hij. Een van de opmerkelijke kanten van Milosevic was dat hij gedurende een groot deel van zijn bewind geen klassieke dictator was. Hij appelleerde vooral aan de angsten van de Serviërs, angsten die deels voortkwamen uit oude ervaringen, deels uit mythes, maar deels ook uit directe en concrete bedreigingen in het dagelijkse bestaan.

De Belgische Balkan-deskundige Raymond Detrez maakt in zijn voorwoord bij het boek van Djukic korte metten met de fixatie op Milosevic. Het kwam veel mensen wel goed uit, dat ze hem alle schuld in de schoenen konden schuiven. „Dat deden zijn politieke tegenstanders in Servië, al deelden ze bijna allen zijn nationalistische opvattingen; dat deden de politieke leiders in de andere Joegoslavische deelrepublieken, die met het autoritaire bewind van Milosevic hun separatisme legitimeerden; dat deed de internationale gemeenschap, die de mislukking van veel van haar interventies en 'oplossingen' gretig toeschreef aan Milosevic' pogingen 'om de regio te stabiliseren'.” Milosevic was veeleer product dan oorzaak van de Joegoslavische crises, aldus Detrez. Het wordt tijd zijn persoon en politiek genuanceerder te benaderen dan als die van een 'gevaarlijke, machtsegeile gek'. Detrez legt echter de vinger op de zere plek, als hij de reden aangeeft waarom dit tot nu toe nauwelijks is gebeurd: het wekt al gauw de indruk van 'goedpraten'. Toch moet iemand het karwei opknappen, meent hij. De vraag is: wie durft.

Nicole Lucas

Del Ponte eist uitlevering Milutinovic

21-12-2002

Joegoslavië-tribunaal stelt ultimatum

DEN HAAG - Zodra zijn mandaat op 5 januari 2003 afloopt, moet president Milan Milutinovic van Servië worden overgedragen aan het Joegoslavië-tribunaal. Dit ultimatum heeft hoofdaanklagster Carla Del Ponte gesteld in een brief aan de Joegoslavische minister van Justitie, Savo Markovic.

Milutinovic, sinds 1997 president, is in mei 1999 aangeklaagd wegens oorlogsmisdaden en misdaden tegen de menselijkheid. De 50-jarige jurist is een medeverdachte van Slobodan Milosevic in de Kosovo-aanklacht. Hij is de laatste van Milosevic' trawanten die nog een hoge functie bekleedt in Joegoslavië.

Del Ponte vraagt Markovic veilig te stellen dat Milutinovic na het verstrijken van zijn ambtstermijn 'onmiddellijk' wordt overgedragen aan het tribunaal.

„De samenwerking van de Federatieve Republiek Joegoslavië (FRJ) met het Joegoslavië-tribunaal blijft onbevredigend”, heeft Del Ponte gisteren opnieuw gesteld. De staten en entiteiten in ex-Joegoslavië zijn krachtens internationaal recht verplicht samen te werken met het VN-hof. De slechte samenwerking is echter al jaren een probleem.

Del Ponte zou donderdag telefonisch overleg hebben met de Joegoslavische minister van Buitenlandse Zaken, G. Svilanovic,

maar die weigerde de Zwitserse te woord te staan. Del Ponte is ook vervolgd over Svilanovic' verklaringen dat het tribunaal 'een steen om de nek van Joegoslavië' is en dat 'alle samenwerking zou kunnen stoppen' omdat zij de situatie in Joegoslavië verkeerd zou inschatten. Ook weigeren de deelstaten vertegenwoordigers van het tribunaal dikwijls inzage in documenten en archieven. Sommige aanvragen daartoe zijn al meer dan 20 maanden oud.

De gebrekkige samenwerking van Belgrado belemmert de bewijsvoering van de aanklagers in het Milosevic-proces, die in de zomer van 2003 moet worden afgerond. Volgens de Brit Geoffrey Nice, die Del Ponte vertegenwoordigt in het proces tegen de ex-president van Servië en Joegoslavië, krijgt hij de zaak ook zonder de documenten rond. Maar zonder de stukken zullen de gebeurtenissen minder goed worden gedocumenteerd voor de geschiedschrijving, aldus Nice. AP, REUTERS

Belgrado geeft documenten aan VN-hof

DEN HAAG - Joegoslavië gaat geheime documenten van de Opperste Verdedigingsraad aan het Joegoslavië-tribunaal geven. Het beschikbaar stellen van de documenten maakt de getuigenis mogelijk van oud-president Lalic in het proces tegen zijn opvolger Milosevic. Lalic zei tot nu toe niet te kunnen getuigen omdat hij bij terugkomst in Belgrado mogelijk vervolgd zou worden wegens schending van staatsgeheimen.

Sagittarius

Van: "CDSM" <cdsm_b@btopenworld.com>
Aan: <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>
Verzonden: vrijdag 20 december 2002 20:02
Onderwerp: Fw: Defend the life of Slobodan
 — Original Message —
From: NCP London
To: cdsm_b@btopenworld.com
Sent: Friday, December 20, 2002 10:37 AM
Subject: Defend the life of Slobodan Milosevich!

Dear Paul,

Please find the following report that we published in the New Worker of this week's successful meeting.

Best wishes,

Robin

New Communist Party - London District
 Website - www.londoncommunists.org

Workers of all countries, unite!

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 by Elizabeth Farrell

<http://www.londoncommunists.org/19408/index.html>

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The only evidence against Milosevich, Chris Black rightfully said, "is that he is not guilty."

To join the struggle for justice for Milosevich, contact the International Committee in his defence at www.icdsm.org

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Van: "Sagittarius" <sagitar@hetnet.nl>
Aan: <vlada@sps.org.yu>
CC: <Emperors1000@aol.com>; <Jaredl@aol.com>; <despot@wishmail.net>;
 <misaognjanovic@yahoo.com>; <cdsm_b@btopenworld.com>; "Jari Nousiainen"
 <nousiainenjari@hotmail.com>

Verzonden: vrijdag 20 december 2002 13:34

Onderwerp: Fw: SM

THIS MESSAGE IS IMPORTANT !

This original mail in Dutch, send to me by my friend Ruza Despotovic, mentions the fact that the Yugoslav government is not (enough) cooperative with the tribunal in the Milosevic case, so that the prosecutor were intending now to summon members of the Yugoslav (and Serbian ?) government, in order to force them, by this way, to cooperate and to hand over documents.

INFORM ALL PEOPLE POTENTIALLY TARGETTED BY THIS INTENTION AND/OR INTERESTED WITH THIS ISSUE THAT THERE WILL BE NO REASON TO LET THEMSELVES BE INTIMIDATED BY THIS PLAN !

They can keep themselves straight, since the prosecutor has attempted this before. And failed ! This was in the Blaskic-case. The Croatian government was constantly refusing to hand over documents, asked for by the prosecutor, and was also otherwise obstructive. The Prosecutor then summoned the Croatian minister of defense, but the Croatian government appealed against this move. The tribunal then issued a verdict that the prosecutor can only issue 'a binding warrant'. However, when the States concerned refuse then to comply with this 'binding warrant', the only step left to the prosecutor is to inform the UN Security Council.

This verdict is dated 29 October 1997.

The then Croatian UN-Ambassador, Ivan Simonovic, declared in response to this ruling that this verdict "symbolically underlines the sovereignty of Croatia".

So, the only thing which has to be done, in response to this "threat", is to remind the (members of) Yugoslav and Serbian government to this former failure of the prosecutor ! And to tell them that they should take the same stand like Croatia in the Blaskic case.

Nico S.

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

From: Ruza

To: Speerpunt ; Jan Beentjes ; Nico Steijnen

Cc: RuzaD

Sent: Saturday, December 07, 2002 10:59 PM

Subject: SM

Milosevic krijgt geen advocaat opgelegd

DEN HAAG (ANP) - De rechters in het Milosevic-proces hebben het verzoek van hoofdaanklaagster Carla Del Ponte afgewezen om een advocaat op te leggen aan Slobodan Milosevic. Voorzittend rechter May maakte het besluit woensdagmiddag bekend.

Tevens is het verzoek van de ex-president van Joegoslavië afgewezen om tijdens het proces op vrije voeten te mogen zijn.

Milosevic verdedigt zich zelf. Het proces, dat in februari begon, is al vijf keer onderbroken geweest wegens ziekte van de verdachte. De 61-jarige Milosevic lijdt aan hoge bloeddruk en uitputtingsverschijnselen.

een medewerking

Ondanks tientallen verzoeken van hoofdaanklaagster Carla Del Ponte van het Joegoslavië-Tribunaal weigert Joegoslavië de medewerking waartoe Belgrado is verplicht. Het land draagt documenten niet over en het tribunaal krijgt geen toegang tot archieven en getuigen.

Daardoor wordt de voortgang van het Milosevic-proces „ernstig belemmerd", aldus de Brit Geoffrey Nice, die Del Ponte in het proces tegen de ex-president vertegenwoordigt. Nice heeft de rechters gevraagd Belgradose regeringsfunctionarissen te dagvaarden om over het probleem tekst en uitleg te komen geven.

In het document, dat woensdag is gepubliceerd, schrijft Nice dat overdracht van de documenten kan leiden tot een „zeer substantiële beperking van de duur van het proces". Het Milosevic-proces dreigt jaren te duren.

Geactualiseerd om 13.52 uur

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Milosevic herkozen als leider socialistische partij

3-3-2003
BELGRADO - Slobodan Milosevic is zaterdag op een congres van zijn Socialistische Partij van Servië (SPS) herkozen als partijvoorzitter, ook al zit hij in een cel in Scheveningen. Hij was de enige kandidaat. Toch werd Milosevic' persoonlijke afgevaardigde uitgeroemd toen hij een brief van de leider wilde voorlezen waarin deze het congres opriep enkele gematigde leden uit de partij te zetten. Milosevic belt vanuit zijn cel geregeld met de partijleiding om orders te geven. (AP)

Excuses van politie Servië

2003
BELGRADO, 14 JAN. Een hoge Joegoslavische politicommandant, kolonel Zivko Trajković, heeft zijn excuses aangeboden voor het excessieve geweld van de politie tegen betogers die eind 1996 drie maanden lang elke dag demonstreerden tegen het bewind van Slobodan Milosevic. Trajković, indertijd commandant van de gehate speciale politie die tegen de betogers werd ingezet, gaf gisteren ook toe te hebben geweten dat in een van zijn eigen trainingskampen in 1999 honderden door Serviërs vermoorde Kosovo-Albanen in een geheim massagraf werden begraven. „Het was niet leuk daar te trainen”, aldus Trajković. (AP)

Nog geen uur daarvoor na de Joegoslavische ex-president Slobodan Milosevic in dezelfde stoel gezeten. Het proces tegen Milosevic was twee weken onderbroken omdat de verdachte voor de zesde keer ziek was. Milosevic zag bleek, had een opgezwollen, vlekkerig gezicht, maar gedroeg zich even zelfverzekerd als eerder. Hij reageerde met een minachtend glimlachje op antwoorden van de getuige die hij ondervroeg, de Kroatische oudminister Petar Kristić. 22-2-03
Opnieuw liet Milosevic, die heeft geweigerd een advocaat te benoemen, zien dat hij niet is geïnteresseerd in een serieuze verdediging. Hij toonde in de rechtszaal videobeelden van een groep Kroaten, de meesten gekleed in onderbroek, die een fascistische eed aflegden. De Britse rechter May reageerde geïrriteerd. „Het is mij niet duidelijk wat u wilt aantonen met beelden van deze mannen die er niet erg militair uitzien.” Milosevic deed geen moeite om het wél duidelijk te maken en stelde de getuige er bijna geen vragen over. De beelden waren bedoeld voor het publiek. Dat moest begrijpen dat Kroaten agressief waren en de Serviërs hadden geprovoceerd.

Milosevic ziek

2003
DEN HAAG, 13 JAN. Het proces tegen Slobodan Milosevic voor het Joegoslavië-tribunaal is vandaag uitgesteld: de Joegoslavische ex-president is ziek. Volgens een bron bij het tribunaal heeft hij koorts. Milosevic wordt door een arts onderzocht; op basis van diens bevindingen wordt vervolgens een besluit genomen over het schema van zittingen van deze week. (ANP)

- Wednesday January 29, 2003 at 1:07 am
Would you believe, Monday and Tuesday there were *another two witnesses for Dubrovnik!* The first one was Petar Kriste, former Croatian Minister of Defence and subsequently Minister of Trade, who finished Tuesday, and Ivo Simunovic, a Dubrovnik businessman and wartime deputy of the city's defence commander (the latter started to testify today and is to continue Wednesday). To include more Dubrovnik witnesses is getting increasingly counterproductive, because the whole scheme of the Croats of planning and provoking war is coming out in each its dirty detail. And Milosevic was more than good (for Simunovic he was at its best), while Tapuskovic drove May crazy for Kriste.

Kriste is a meek man, one of those who stumbled into politics for reasons unknown, unless it's the necessity of political sharks to have fumbling, Alice-in-Wonderland underlings who are needed to honestly say 'I know nothing of it'. He actually explained some actions by General Spigelj and Tudjman saying they 'wanted to avoid war and conflicts with the JNA!' The notorious Spigelj, who is on tape planning individual killings of the JNA officers at their homes way before the war and who later on submitted an official plan to the Government to remove the JNA from CRO. And equally notorious Tudjman, who is on tape giving the speech on the Ban Jelacic Square in Zagreb in May 1992 saying 'there would have been no war if we hadn't wanted it'. Both tapes were already played in the courtroom months ago, but Kriste wasn't doing his homework. When asked about Spigelj by Milosevic, Kriste said that his plan 'was never officially accepted'. Milosevic quipped: "But it was carried out." Kriste blurted: "Well, yes, some army barracks were blocked and taken over, but it was the only way for us to obtain weapons." When asked about Tudjman by Tapuskovic, Kriste actually said that he did not know 'what was Tudjman saying in 1992' (!). As his Minister of something, he was most probably at that square, more like it.

What did Kriste say in his examination-in-chief that justified his

being summoned? I couldn't pinpoint anything significant. Maybe it was his answer to the question from Uertz-Retzlaff: "Why, then, was Dubrovnik attacked?", when he rehashed the good ole Greater Serbia slander. Or maybe his contribution was a new angle, a historical claim by the Serbs over Dubrovnik, which they called 'Serbian Athens'? Or was it quoting from the book by General Kadijevic, the former Federal Chief of Staff, about the secured lines of withdrawing the JNA, which the eager Kriste interpreted as the lines of attack and the planned lines of political division? Uertz-Retzlaff introduced the book as the exhibit, proving how desperate the Prosecution is. Even May was exasperated by that and wanted to know whether he had any knowledge other than that book about all this being a part of some plan. When Kriste started to mumble that 'this is all well known, the abolishing of the autonomy of Kosovo...', May actually said: "These are all parts of the general knowledge and of what you have subsequently concluded. But, do you have any specific knowledge, proofs, reports...?" Poor Kriste had to say: "There were no such proofs, we have just discussed all that at the Cabinet meetings..."

Everything else that he said has brought more damage than benefit to the Croatian cause. For instance, he testified that he came to Dubrovnik before the fighting started, together with two Croatian MPs, and they brought *an articulate truck full of mines and explosives*. Later during the cross-examination Milosevic put to him this has been used to mine all the access roads from Montenegro, way before any clashes began. Kriste also testified about his own and other Croatian politicians' numerous comings and goings to and from Dubrovnik before and during the battle (he was in Mesic's famous propaganda convoy of ships). All those politicians, Kriste included, took part at one time or another in negotiations with the JNA about its withdrawal from Split and about Dubrovnik ceasefire, port de-blocking and reparations of water and electricity supply. He declared that the 'first skirmishes were on the eastern line towards Herceg Novi' (and what about

the official version that there were no such things, only a handful of attacked defenders inside the town?). When he first came (with the truckload of explosives), he said he found some 300 defenders. And the ex-Mayor Poljanic testified there were merely 50. Kriste, not doing your homework again!

His strong point should have been his eyewitness testimony of the infamous attack of 6 December ('the greatest tragedy in the 2000-year history', as Poljanic described it). Yes, our Kriste-in-and-out was again in Dubrovnik on that significant day, and watched 'the heavy shelling' from the roof terrace of his hotel 'Argentina'. He gave to the Prosecution an amateur video, made by the receptionist of the hotel and few moments of it were shown in the courtroom. Again, more damage to the cause than benefit: no heavy shelling, only few mild 'poufs' near the town ramparts, looking more like firecrackers, and some of them definitely going *upwards*; a small black fire was burning near the car park; added to this footage were few frames taken from the Montenegrin TV, showing a JNA officer, claiming all this is a set-up, explaining how mines were placed into holes much earlier and then activated - it really looked that way. Miserable, Uertz-Retzlaff complained that what was shown is just a small part of the whole footage and asked the witness: "Were the shells' incoming trail visible on the original whole tape?" Kriste answered: "Yes." Hildegard then pleaded with the judges: "Your honours, that was not seen here in the courtroom, but if you yourselves take a look at the whole tape, you'll be able to see it." How do you like that!? Hildegard proceeded to 'fortify' her case: "We have heard that the mines were activated. Was that true?" Kriste, naturally, answered in the negative. *Ditto* when she asked him whether rubbers were burned. But, where did she find that, it was not mentioned on the tape? Although, that smouldering little flame surely looked like one burned tyre.

Kriste managed to mention that the next day another negotiations with the JNA took place, ceasefire had been agreed and two JNA

officers with a cameraman were sent to the city to film the alleged damage. There were no more fights, 'only sporadic incidents' and in the summer of 1992 JNA started withdrawal, which was completed in October.

Then Milosevic cross-examined and Kriste was exposed as a flabby, misinformed dunce. He claimed that the Serbs in CRO 'never lost anything' with the 'change of the wording in the Constitution'. To the question of unlawful nationality-based dismissals from jobs, he stated 'the Serbs were over-represented' and 'some changes were necessary'. His personal history showed him to be embittered Croatian nationalist in 1972, 'prevented to take his Doctor's thesis'. But, when Milosevic asked whether he was prevented by the Serbs or by the Croatian police, Kriste had to consent in was the police to be blamed. [This notorious 'Croatian Spring' or 'Maspok' was an early nationalist uprising mostly among Croatian intellectuals, but Tito swiftly and rudely suppressed it; Tudjman and Mesic, among others, were imprisoned.] Even here, silly Kriste tried to justify: 'Maspok was not nationalistic, but just wanted Croatia to be equal to others...' Ah, Kriste, Kriste, and I remember how Maspok members managed to infiltrate into some municipalities and temporarily took over, Vukovar was one such municipality, and the first thing they did was to form lists of all employees of all the companies and the lists of schoolchildren *by their nationalities!* Before that, many didn't even know which nationality they belong to!

The ultimate proof of how much of a political ninny he was Kriste gave when he tried to disentangle himself from two short conversations he had with Tudjman and Gojko Susak. Obviously, nobody was telling him anything, although he was a Minister of Defence for few months (Milosevic ridiculed him that he became a civilian Minister of Defence to promote new democratic orientation of CRO, as he himself boasted, but that democracy had been short-lived, because he had been promptly replaced by Spegelj). So, the poor man had to gather information in passing

brief one-liner conversations in corridors and on stairs. Thus he once met Tudjman in 1989, who told him that he considered the Muslims actually as being the Croats and that the eastern border of CRO should be on the river Drina [all of the Bosnia&Herzegovina included]. But Kriste promptly explained these were just 'historical - philosophical meditations', which were never acted upon. Milosevic instructed him of the well-documented intrusions of Croatian ZNG units into B&H, the first such being the notorious Sjekovac case (Bosanski Brod municipality on the Sava river), when the whole Serb village was killed; there were no armed incidents before that in the whole Bosnia & Herzegovina. Milosevic then produced the Croatian magazine NACIONAL dated 3 Dec. 2002 with the big interview by Kriste and quoted: 'Tudjman as early as 1989 planned the border on the Drina'! I can imagine how it is for the former Tudjman collaborators in CRO: they have to do the washing in public, criticizing Tudjman (only up to the point, not touching his role as the 'father of the nation'). Kriste did this rather late, only a month ago. More funny quotations from the interview followed, all opposing the testimony just given, with mocking of the type 'you must have told all that to Tudjman, being his close friend and collaborator and as such having the guts to warn him of being wrong'. Kriste squirmed that 'it was not Tudjman's politics and practice, it was just one conversation we had'; Milosevic pressed with another quotation 'right here you said it was his politics and you found fault with that'; Kriste just took a sip of water and kept quiet. The other staircase-conversation was with Susak; Kriste asked him how come he's in such a good mood, and Susak answered he had just come from the meeting with *Stari*=Old Man [Tudjman tried desperately to emulate Tito in everything, he even adopted his nickname!]; and the annexation of Herzegovina to CRO had been decided. Kriste testified about that conversation in order to connect it with the meeting Tudjman - Milosevic in Karadjordjevo, where they allegedly agreed the partition of B&H. But, when questioned, Kriste had to admit these were only rumours and when more quotations from the interview were read,

would you believe that May asked whether Milosevic would like to introduce it as evidence *and it was admitted!* As I said before, the 'judges' are in serious trouble with hearsay: they have to admit everything now.

And Dubrovnik? It was nearly forgotten, since Kriste single-handedly ruined his testimony by stating damning things for his own part. Even when Milosevic asked few questions regarding the letter of General Kadijevic to Lord Carrington, Kriste couldn't stop being foolish: of course, all that the General claimed was untrue, but anyway 'we had to use all possible means, even to take over that Army installation in Kupari'. Milosevic also stated the obvious, namely that Cavtat was not attacked nor damaged at all, since nobody from there was shooting, and Kriste had to agree. He also had to agree when Milosevic put to him that the first quantities of ammo arrived at the Dubrovnik airport on 24 Jan. 1991, that the Crisis Staff was established in September, and the plans for minefields were executed in August, all this well before any 'attacks'. Kriste's only explanations were 'it was our territory', 'we had to defend ourselves', 'we knew we would be attacked'. When faced with some previous statements from Croatian witnesses re deployment of weaponry and soldiers in the town, his only defence was 'impossible'. Milosevic asked what about Ivanica on 24 Sept. in the territory of B&H, was it razed to the ground by the Serbs perhaps? Kriste started stuttering seriously.

But, when Tapuskovic got his time as *amicus curiae*, Kriste was demolished. Tapuskovic presented the written statement of the Croatian General Nojko Marinovic, who was announced as yet another witness re Dubrovnik, but who perhaps will not testify after all. Marinovic was the former JNA officer who deserted from the position of Trebinje garrison Commander and came to Dubrovnik to organize things well in advance and became the defence commander of the town. This whole statement is one big damage to the Croatian side; perhaps this guy is plain stupid or just boastful. Whichever he is, Tapuskovic quoted just few

paragraphs and it destroyed Krste. The Croatian delegations never really negotiated truce with the JNA, as the naïve Krste claimed, but 'our strategy was always just to gain time, in order to smuggle in additional men and weapons during the ceasefire', as Marinovic wrote. May tried to save the witness: 'maybe that was something that only the General was involved in', but Tapuskovic held forth: "Marinovic was the defence commander, Krste came to negotiate for the Croatian Government." Re the number of soldiers in the town at the very beginning, it was not 50 as Poljanic said, nor 300 as Krste testified, but 680 as Marinovic wrote. Tapuskovic established that Marinovic treated Krste as he would mushrooms: kept him in the dark and... never told him any specifics before the negotiations, only the most general notions ('our forces are inferior'). He didn't inform the negotiator about his forces deployed at the border with Montenegro, about cannons at the town hotels, buildings and fortresses (all specified in his statement). May again tried to stop that embarrassment, but Tapuskovic said: "Your Honours, Marinovic may not testify at all and I believe all this has to interest you." May said: "Mr Tapuskovic, the time is limited. The accused asked questions for more than 2 hours, you have used up already 20 minutes..." Tapuskovic just proceeded, I couldn't believe the nerve of the man: "You have testified you brought a truckload of mines and explosives; did Marinovic tell you he used all that to mine the roads to Montenegro?" He quoted from Marinovic's statement that 'the artillery was mainly directed at Mt. Srdj'. May went crazy: "Do you claim that Dubrovnik was not shelled? Let's stick to what this witness saw, he was just an observer." Tapuskovic calmly responded he wasn't claiming anything, but just asking the witness precisely that. Tapuskovic said that he himself was in Dubrovnik many times, since Krste was at the terrace of the 'Argentina' hotel with a good view of Srdj, 'did you see that the artillery shelled Srdj from Dubrovnik?' Krste denied he saw that. [Remember this; the next witness will show a video explaining it and indirectly confirming Marinovic's statement.]

Uertz-Retzlaff got a chance to patch up the damage, but her additional questions twirled around those two stupid corridor-conversations with Tudjman and Susak; she made Kriste state that he 'was not a close collaborator' of Tudjman (?!). And she even made him explain the second passing conversation with Susak, this time the latter being sour-faced, and explaining it by the current bad relations with the Muslims; when the well-meaning Kriste asked was there anything that could be done to improve that, the mean Susak answered that one unit is now on the move from Prozor and 'there will be no prisoners'. The clever Kriste thereby concluded that 'the escalation is on the way'. I really don't understand why the Prosecution had to pull out such a conversation, quoting these damning things by leading Croatian officials. Perhaps to prove that Kriste 'was not a close collaborator' of Tudjman? Who cares?

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- Wednesday January 29, 2003 at 3:16 am
Back to the 300.000 pages. If the prosecution's original intent was to proceed

- Wednesday January 29, 2003 at 3:16 am
Back to the 300.000 pages. If the prosecution's original intent was to proceed with written depositions, are these 300.000 pages (and still counting) the written depositions that the prosecution was going to present to the judges? Would the judges have protested if presented with about half a million pages of documents (that must be about 50 metres shelf space)? Obviously, the stack of documents has only increased because Milosevic wanted witnesses. If the purpose of the cross-examination of witnesses was to subject the original documents to closer scrutiny, the prosecution should not undermine the proper course of the trial by expanding the whole original stack thousands of times over! (Does it have something to hide?) The judges would never have accepted such massive amounts of documents, but it seems that the judges are happy as long as the accused is suffering too.

At least one would expect the amount of documents to be regulated by the prosecution's own capacity to read what it produces, but this is obviously not the case. And considering that Nice has admitted the poor quality of the witnesses and still insisting on calling on as many witnesses as possible, isn't it obvious that his plan is to suffocate Milosevic, if only by the paper mountain that every new witness entails? Think about it: 300.000 pages is more than most people will read in their life times. Let's see how even-handed the judges are when it is Milosevic's time to present the prosecution with his documents.

29-6-2003

Milosevic klaagt over papierberg in zijn cel

DEN HAAG - Oud-president Milosevic van Joegoslavië heeft zich dinsdag voor het Joegoslavië-Tribunaal beklaagd over de enorme hoeveelheid onvertaalde documenten die hij ontvangt. Milosevic zei dat hij vorige week 40 duizend pagina's te verhapstukken kreeg. Het totaal aantal pagina's dat hij sinds het begin van het proces heeft gekregen staat op 300 duizend. Hij weigert advocaten in te schakelen. (ANP)

- Tuesday January 28, 2003 at 5:42 pm

Just a little bit of math:

Lets assume and agree that everybody in the ICTY was working for 300 days last year and that the bottleneck of the trial are the judges and that Mr. Milosevic is convicted on 60 counts of war crimes and that the judges are not doing anything else but riding the provided documents and watching the videos. Each judge has to read and watch all the videos submitted to the trial chamber in order for the trial to be fair. Let's further assume that the pile of documents provided buy the prosecution is 300,000 pages long and that the length of videos is 1,000 hours. Let's assume that these are the only facts that the judges have to deal with.

So our honest judges have read 1000 pages of documentation per day and watched videos for 3.33 hours a day. The prosecution has provided 5000 pages of documentation per crime committed by Mr. Milosevic and 16.7 hours of videos per his crime.

I think that our "friends" Mrs. Del Ponte and Mr. Nice are begging for mistrial. If Mr. Milosevic dies before defense stage of his trial there will not be a mistrial pronounced. If Mr. Milosevic lives, it is very likely that a mistrial will be pronounced just before the beginning of the defense phase of his trial. By that time we will hear all the evidence and there will be never a chance given for the evidence to be properly challenged. Just remember the WGJ article and its point how trial of Mr. Karadjic even in his absentia would be beneficial.

Pera Bora
Ottawa

Sagittarius

Van: "CDSM"
Aan: <Undisclosed-Recipient:>
Verzonden: maandag 3 februari 2003 17:51
Onderwerp: ICTY - Analysis of Testimonies
 (Analysis of the testimonies of Petar Kriste, below)

<http://www.slobodan-milosevic.org/news/martinovic013003.htm>

Analysis of the Testimonies of Ivo Simunovic

By: Vera Martinovic in Belgrade, Yugoslavia
 January 29, 2003

The second of the last two witnesses for Dubrovnik, Ivo Simunovic, is the total opposite to meek Kriste: a former Managing Director of a company, then a private businessman (an occupation bordering on gangster in all of the ex-YU), a reserve officer of the JNA and a wartime deputy defence commander of Dubrovnik. He began testifying on Tuesday and finished on Wednesday, a lot less confident and cocky than when he started, causing headache to the Prosecution. The apple of discord was a witness/non-witness, the Croatian General Nojko Marinovic (defence commander of Dubrovnik) and his written statement amply quoted by Milosevic and Tapuskovic.

Simunovic is clearly quite common, rude person, who tries hard to sell himself as refined. Yet, his rudeness and his vulgar type of chauvinism seeped through while he was asked about the Serbs: he explained twice how he regards them as 'the Croats of another religion'; when a Serb name was mentioned as the one who gave a statement to the Prosecution, he would dismiss it with a scorn of the type 'this one can not be trusted'. Simunovic was gradually becoming so enraged that he started to address Milosevic as 'Mister Accused', acted out fits of forced laughter and tried to stop by himself the line of questioning that was cornering him, so that May had to sharply reprimand him.

Simunovic started merrily enough, describing the 'defence strategy' of Dubrovnik under the command of Marinovic, a JNA defector from Trebinje, 'a Croat by his nationality', as the witness felt the need to add. He stated the defenders had 300 men, 3 faulty cannons and some hand guns, while the JNA had up to 8,000 men, artillery, tanks, warships, airplanes., 'an intimidating force, but we were not to be intimidated easily'. His thesis was that the JNA was not a good army and that's why Dubrovnik was not conquered. It took them some 15 days to come through from the Herzegovina direction and more than 20 from the Montenegro direction, to join forces and to start attacking the town itself, i.e. the Mount Srdj. Simunovic said Srdj was heavily shelled by cannons (in clear contradiction to what was seen on the video shown by Kriste the day before: mere firecrackers). This Srdj is a crucial point: the only rise in the area never conquered by the JNA. Even Nice, during his examination-in-chief, said that the 'Mt. Srdj remained unconquered, with good luck and various other circumstances'. That's just the point: the JNA never wanted to conquer it, it is too close to the Old Town and the Croats themselves shelled Srdj, as Tapuskovic quoted from the statement of General Marinovic!

So far, Simunovic calmly described their civilian casualties, his own participation in the negotiations with the JNA, the famous JNA attack on 6 December, the subsequent agreement to send in 2 JNA officers and a cameraman to film the alleged damage and his own escorting them around the town. Then, a rather long piece of video was shown (some 15 minutes), capturing the Old Town damage already known, showing

also those 2 JNA officers in plain clothes, taking notes all the time in their little booklets ('people didn't know who they were, we had to take care of their safety'), the witness himself in uniform, looking like a sausage, the JNA cameraman while filming. and then, the most telling frame: the Minceta tower and just above it, Mount Srdj. You have to picture this: a smallish mountain, more a larger rock, denuded of greenery, with an ancient fortress on top, and the Old Town literally plastered to its base. And now imagine the shelling going on between Srdj and the JNA positions, across the Old Town. It is a wonder that the Old Town was damaged so slightly with all that going on. Until I saw that video, I have simply forgotten the actual position of Srdj in relation to the Old Town: they are glued together. So, the Croatian side can claim all it wants that there were no forces within the Old Town. Maybe it's true, but they were on Srdj all the time, shooting at the JNA. Another important fact: on the video the various fragments of shells were shown: they were all small-calibre mortar shells, you know, the ones with a star-shaped tail, like the feathers on an arrow at the end (stabilizers I think it's called), only few centimetres in diameter. The damages shown were consistent with that: it would most certainly look quite different if the heavy cannons did hit those railings, ramparts, tiles and pavement slabs. And you should have heard the rage of Simunovic when Tapuskovic quoted an EU observer, describing ricocheted shells in another similar situation later on! The famous under-the-ramparts car park was shown, too, all the while with the running comment of the witness how 'as you can see, the cannon shells fell there and all the cars were burnt'. Well, I looked hard, and no, there were no shell damage to be seen at all.

After 15 minutes of that telling video, Nice asked few more rhetoric questions of the type 'were there soldiers in the Old Town?', to which it was duly answered 'no', Robinson wanted to have some 'proofs that the town is actually protected by UNESCO' (the first time that I heard Robinson to ask a wool-gathering question) and the witness was handed over to Milosevic.

He wanted to know how come the JNA never conquered Dubrovnik, with all that power, and Simunovic arrogantly reiterated his belief in their poor quality: 'they had the power, but no courage'. Milosevic then put to him the well-known fact of the existence of the order by General Kadijevic that Dubrovnik is not to be conquered. Nevertheless, the witness continued to peddle his impressions as testimony. When questioned on the basis of what proof Serbia and Milosevic personally could be connected with the clashes between the Croatian paramilitaries and the JNA, the witness actually described how Milosevic used to come to Dubrovnik for his summer holidays and once at the restaurant 'Sarajevo' in 1989 he had the Army security protecting him! So, there you have it: the plot between Milosevic and the JNA! Milosevic explained he did regularly visit Dubrovnik, but was never protected by anybody, on the contrary he used to walk about the streets of Dubrovnik alone with his family and his Dubrovnik friends. Then he asked why Simunovic declared in his statement that the Serbs were over-represented in Croatia and in the Dubrovnik local power structures, and the answer was that he was 'just trying to explain the general situation to the investigators' and besides, he considers them 'to be the Croats, but of another religion'. This signified the beginning of a long string of documents that Milosevic submitted, all issued by CRO (police records and reports, customs documents, official letters, sworn statements of judges and officials); they were all very descriptive of the general situation in Dubrovnik way before any hostilities began. There were orders to demolish 'illegally built houses, but especially those of the Serbs', there were reports of houses demolished by bombs, of wounded inhabitants and released criminals incorporated in the Croatian armed forces. The witness tried to dismiss the statement by the local judge

Dragan Gajic ('knowing him, I shouldn't say his reports could be accurate' - i.e. the guy is a Serb - or rather 'a Croat of another religion'). But here May stepped in and said the statement of Gajic has been already introduced as evidence. The witness retreated, but clumsily: "We were particularly trying not to violate the rights of the loyal citizens. of all the citizens of Croatia which are of another religions." Milosevic took the opportunity: "Mr Simunovic, you know very well that in those 10 years only in Serbia care was taken not to violate the rights of the citizens of other nationalities". There were more reports of 'sniper practice shooting' for which a permission from the police had been requested, to which Simunovic answered all is legit, because there were many hunters in the area (!?). Shooting rabbits with a sniper gun? Then followed documents telling about the systematic militarization of the Dubrovnik area, starting in February 1991: establishment of the Crisis Staff, calling out of the reserve police force and activation of TO. Simunovic tried to deny, saying this was done only in August and that he has 'no time to read the document now ant to burden the court'. Can you believe that May stepped in, saying 'just a moment' and ordering the witness to read the document and 'tell us what it is!' (This day was significant for that, too, because Robinson as well as Kwon, on the other hand, asked silly questions, the latter being recorded to ask whether "Gregoric was another name of Tudjman?" - he saw the name of the Croatian Prime Minister on one of the documents and he was patiently instructed these two are two different people and functions). Scolded that way by the judge, the witness tried to dismiss these Croatian documents by saying this was 'normal procedure' and that the reserve was that of the police, its special forces ZNG, and not TO, which were the armed forces. This is more than significant, because here the witness explains ZNG [Zbor narodne garde=National Guard Corps] as some kind of police force, but later on, when it suits him better, he speaks of them as the 'regular armed forces of Croatia'. Which is it?

So, Milosevic concluded sardonically, 'judging by the evidence, it seems that all didn't start with the alleged clashes with the Army, but with much earlier militarization', and he produced few more Croatian documents: ammo and weapons requisition lists, official customs note on imports, official complaints by the Staff Commander on the chaos in weapons procuring, individual weapons receipts. Simunovic went ballistic: "Mister Accused, I'd like to ask you not to present some evidence here, because this is not what this trial is about." And May again stepped in heavily: "Mr Simunovic, it is ours to determine what is evidence." Witness kowtowed: "I'm sorry. I'll try to explain to you. This is nothing strange that the equipment has been issued. All airports have security services. I can't comment these reports." Milosevic: "An automatic rifle and 200 rounds per person?!" May: "I believe we shall admit these documents." Wow! Is it due process emerging? Or is it just another whitewashing?

And the next document submitted by Milosevic was a bombshell: an Order by the Croatian Ministry of Defence of 30 July and 1 Aug 1991 to the local defence staffs to block all the JNA facilities, to disconnect electricity, water supply and telephones. Pretty much the same as the telegram-order that I have mentioned before when writing about the Stakic case, only that the wording of the Bosnian authorities was a bit more reckless: here the Croats avoided the words 'launch combat activities'. Simunovic tried to wiggle as he did once before, when May helped him by stating he's here to answer only about Dubrovnik: "Excuse me, does this apply to Dubrovnik?" Milosevic: "Of course this applies to Dubrovnik as well." So, Simunovic started to name some JNA facilities, said he's not aware whether they were blocked and disconnected, but that he does not see 'anything negative in this document', since this was only meant for the 'purpose of defence'. Milosevic: "Defence against whom, when

you have not even been attacked?" Simunovic: "Well, we in Dubrovnik have not been." [Simunovic surely wanted to repeat his story from the examination-in-chief how they were looking at the events in Slovenia and therefore prepared themselves, but this would probably sound like a confirmation of the militarization, so he stopped.]

Milosevic: "Thank you very much."

Another 2 documents submitted: an official letter from the Crisis Staff of Dubrovnik, putting at the disposal of the 116th ZNG Brigade all its men and equipment; and a detailed drawing of mine-fields network on the roads by the Montenegrin border. In his attempt to dismiss that, Simunovic now switched the nature of the ZNG, turning them to the 'armed forces of the Republic of Croatia', forgetting what he said only half an hour ago. According to him, it was 'normal and nothing terrible'. Except perhaps that the alleged police unit suddenly became an army. And as Milosevic put it: "Except that all this was happening in June, when you were not in any danger, as you yourselves just said." Please, note later when Tapuskovic questioned the total number of armed men, the police is again excluded, in order to explain the discrepancy with the statement of General Marinovic! As to the minefields, Simunovic tried to make Vitaljina, the mined village at Prevlaka peninsula, to be some 5-6 km away from Montenegro, so Milosevic had to remind him that 'the whole Prevlaka is not 5-6 km long.'

Then, Milosevic turned to the initial border incidents which were a provocation against the JNA. The witness vehemently denied. Milosevic introduced all those previously admitted statements of the Prosecution's witnesses and some ITN reports, describing the heavy weapons deployment in the town. The witness denied, denied, denied. Milosevic pointed out the discrepancies between the testimonies of Poljanic and Simunovic re the dates and the alleged number of shells, and finally introduced the General Nojko Marinovic's statement, quoting from it and asking the witness how come there are so many discrepancies, when 'you were his deputy'. Simunovic toiled among police and armed forces men and various types of artillery that he tried to represent as machine-guns (when the fact that Milosevic has finished the artillery military school emerged, and the witness actually praised his command of the topic!). But, despite the apparently friendly atmosphere, there remained a lingering impression that General Marinovic's spectre will haunt this procedure further.

May announced Milosevic will have another 25 minutes tomorrow for this witness and then they discussed the mountains of documents (the link that Gogol already provided). What I remembered the most was the irony of Milosevic's commentary: "I have no illusions, I just want this to be said for the record as the indicator of the equality of both sides, on which you so much insist." He also told the judges that their 'former friend Wladimiroff' continues to abuse his previous presence in these rooms, indicating his recent interview to WSJ. Gogol, can you pls check?

The next day, Milosevic and Simunovic were outwitting one another some more by trying to be smart and nonchalant, but the last quip by Milosevic was a nice cue for Tapuskovic: "You are talking about Srdj which was left empty at one moment, but the JNA have not conquered it after all. Is it not telling you they didn't even want to conquer it?"

Tapuskovic began by addressing the judges, reminding May of his inappropriate remark of whether Tapuskovic denied Dubrovnik was shelled, which is entirely for them to discuss and decide and of his actual task to help them do that. Then he reintroduced the crucial statement of General Nojko Marinovic. The great upheaval happened in the courtroom, maps and copies of the statement started to circulate,

and when finally everyone had his copy, Tapuskovic quoted and quoted, and the witness practically never answered anything, just got more and more nervous. Check one of those quotations: "We had to direct our fire towards our own positions on Srdj, to prevent the JNA from conquering it. We ordered our men to hide within underground rooms." Particularly waxing for Simunovic was the quotation of the statement by the EU observer, one Paul Davis, about the incident when the Croats fired at the JNA position, the shells ricocheted into the harbour and some boats got burned. For Simunovic, all that was 'ridiculous'. The statement was submitted. Tapuskovic returned to Marinovic statement, according to which 75 km of roads had been mined well before the fights. The witness jumped at Tapuskovic: "Yes, but not one of your vehicles was damaged!" Tapuskovic: "My vehicles?!" Simunovic: "Well, you are representing this other side." Tapuskovic: "I'm not representing anybody, just helping the court." Tapuskovic ended by putting to the witness that 6 tanks actually were destroyed and many JNA soldiers killed, which Simunovic proudly confirmed.

Then, Nice got his redirect questioning, which started by his asking May to grant him few minutes of private session! Problems with General who is refusing to come, no doubt. When they came back, May stated that 'we usually do not admit statements', but this one has been used and claimed to contradict today's witness. He went on to say that 'we do not agree with the suggestion of Mr Kay to admit just its parts, which would additionally complicate things. Therefore we shall admit this statement, and we still advise to summon this witness after all.' What do you think of that? Nice used his half hour time completely in the attempt to smooth the discrepancies and he practically forced his witness to admit he agrees and accepts the data re men, weapons and their deployment as given by the General, and not his own, previously given data. Finishing this, he stated all's well and that he 'can not understand the cross-examination, claiming there were shooting from the Old Town, and as far as I can see, that was impossible'. Nice, this is not very nice, this is imputation: nothing like that was said, there were only some statements quoted. And if such a conclusion can be drawn out of them, who is to be blamed? 'Mister Accused'?!

The whole shebang ended in Robinson's solemnity: 'The Trial Chamber encourages you to try your best to make this witness come and testify after all.' And 'it is important to present evidence about the UNESCO protection of Dubrovnik'.
<http://www.slobodan-milosevic.org/news/martinovic013003.htm>

Analysis of the Testimonies of Petar Kriste

By: Vera Martinovic in Belgrade, Yugoslavia

January 28, 2003

Would you believe, Monday and Tuesday there were another two witnesses for Dubrovnik! The first one was Petar Kriste, former Croatian Minister of Defence and subsequently Minister of Trade, who finished Tuesday, and Ivo Simunovic, a Dubrovnik businessman and wartime deputy of the city's defence commander (the latter started to testify today and is to continue Wednesday). To include more Dubrovnik witnesses is getting increasingly counterproductive, because the whole scheme of the Croats of planning and provoking war is coming out in each its dirty detail. And Milosevic was more than good (for Simunovic he was at its best), while Tapuskovic drove May crazy for Kriste.

Kriste is a meek man, one of those who stumbled into politics for reasons unknown, unless it's the necessity of political sharks to

have fumbling, Alice-in-Wonderland underlings who are needed to honestly say 'I know nothing of it'. He actually explained some actions by General Spegelj and Tudjman saying they 'wanted to avoid war and conflicts with the JNA'. The notorious Spegelj, who is on tape planning individual killings of the JNA officers at their homes way before the war and who later on submitted an official plan to the Government to remove the JNA from CRO. And equally notorious Tudjman, who is on tape giving the speech on the Ban Jelacic Square in Zagreb in May 1992 saying 'there would have been no war if we hadn't wanted it'. Both tapes were already played in the courtroom months ago, but Kriste wasn't doing his homework. When asked about Spegelj by Milosevic, Kriste said that his plan 'was never officially accepted'. Milosevic quipped: "But it was carried out." Kriste blurted: "Well, yes, some army barracks were blocked and taken over, but it was the only way for us to obtain weapons." When asked about Tudjman by Tapuskovic, Kriste actually said that he did not know 'what was Tudjman saying in 1992' (?!). As his Minister of something, he was most probably at that square, more like it.

What did Kriste say in his examination-in-chief that justified his being summoned? I couldn't pinpoint anything significant. Maybe it was his answer to the question from Uertz-Retzlaff: "Why, then, was Dubrovnik attacked?", when he rehashed the good ole Greater Serbia slander. Or maybe his contribution was a new angle, a historical claim by the Serbs over Dubrovnik, which they called 'Serbian Athens'? Or was it quoting from the book by General Kadjevic, the former Federal Chief of Staff, about the secured lines of withdrawing the JNA, which the eager Kriste interpreted as the lines of attack and the planned lines of political division? Uertz-Retzlaff introduced the book as the exhibit, proving how desperate the Prosecution is. Even May was exasperated by that and wanted to know whether he had any knowledge other than that book about all this being a part of some plan. When Kriste started to mumble that 'this is all well known, the abolishing of the autonomy of Kosovo.', May actually said: "These are all parts of the general knowledge and of what you have subsequently concluded. But, do you have any specific knowledge, proofs, reports.?" Poor Kriste had to say: "There were no such proofs, we have just discussed all that at the Cabinet meetings."

Everything else that he said has brought more damage than benefit to the Croatian cause. For instance, he testified that he came to Dubrovnik before the fighting started, together with two Croatian MPs, and they brought an articulate truck full of mines and explosives. Later during the cross-examination Milosevic put to him this has been used to mine all the access roads from Montenegro, way before any clashes began. Kriste also testified about his own and other Croatian politicians' numerous comings and goings to and from Dubrovnik before and during the battle (he was in Mesic's famous propaganda convoy of ships). All those politicians, Kriste included, took part at one time or another in negotiations with the JNA about its withdrawal from Split and about Dubrovnik ceasefire, port de-blocking and reparations of water and electricity supply. He declared that the 'first skirmishes were on the eastern line towards Herceg Novi' (and what about the official version that there were no such things, only a handful of attacked defenders inside the town?). When he first came (with the truckload of explosives), he said he found some 300 defenders. And the ex-Mayor Poljanic testified there were merely 50. Kriste, not doing your homework again!

His strong point should have been his eyewitness testimony of the infamous attack of 6 December ('the greatest tragedy in the 2000-year history', as Poljanic described it). Yes, our Kriste-in-and-out was again in Dubrovnik on that significant day, and watched 'the heavy shelling' from the roof terrace of his hotel 'Argentina'. He gave to

the Prosecution an amateur video, made by the receptionist of the hotel and few moments of it were shown in the courtroom. Again, more damage to the cause than benefit: no heavy shelling, only few mild 'poufs' near the town ramparts, looking more like firecrackers, and some of them definitely going upwards; a small black fire was burning near the car park; added to this footage were few frames taken from the Montenegrin TV, showing a JNA officer, claiming all this is a set-up, explaining how mines were placed into holes much earlier and then activated - it really looked that way. Miserable, Uertz-Retzlaff complained that what was shown is just a small part of the whole footage and asked the witness: "Were the shells' incoming trail visible on the original whole tape?" Kriste answered: "Yes." Hildegard then pleaded with the judges: "Your honours, that was not seen here in the courtroom, but if you yourselves take a look at the whole tape, you'll be able to see it." How do you like that!? Hildegard proceeded to 'fortify' her case: "We have heard that the mines were activated. Was that true?" Kriste, naturally, answered in the negative. Ditto when she asked him whether rubbers were burned. But, where did she find that, it was not mentioned on the tape? Although, that smouldering little flame surely looked like one burned tyre.

Kriste managed to mention that the next day another negotiations with the JNA took place, ceasefire had been agreed and two JNA officers with a cameraman were sent to the city to film the alleged damage. There were no more fights, 'only sporadic incidents' and in the summer of 1992 JNA started withdrawal, which was completed in October.

Then Milosevic cross-examined and Kriste was exposed as a flabby, misinformed dunce. He claimed that the Serbs in CRO 'never lost anything' with the 'change of the wording in the Constitution'. To the question of unlawful nationality-based dismissals from jobs, he stated 'the Serbs were over-represented' and 'some changes were necessary'. His personal history showed him to be embittered Croatian nationalist in 1972, 'prevented to take his Doctor's thesis'. But, when Milosevic asked whether he was prevented by the Serbs or by the Croatian police, Kriste had to consent in was the police to be blamed. [This notorious 'Croatian Spring' or 'Maspok' was an early nationalist uprising mostly among Croatian intellectuals, but Tito swiftly and rudely suppressed it; Tudjman and Mesic, among others, were imprisoned.] Even here, silly Kriste tried to justify: 'Maspok was not nationalistic, but just wanted Croatia to be equal to others.' Ah, Kriste, Kriste, and I remember how Maspok members managed to infiltrate into some municipalities and temporarily took over, Vukovar was one such municipality, and the first thing they did was to form lists of all employees of all the companies and the lists of schoolchildren by their nationalities! Before that, many didn't even know which nationality they belong to!

The ultimate proof of how much of a political ninny he was Kriste gave when he tried to disentangle himself from two short conversations he had with Tudjman and Gojko Susak. Obviously, nobody was telling him anything, although he was a Minister of Defence for few months (Milosevic ridiculed him that he became a civilian Minister of Defence to promote new democratic orientation of CRO, as he himself boasted, but that democracy had been short-lived, because he had been promptly replaced by Spegelj). So, the poor man had to gather information in passing brief one-liner conversations in corridors and on stairs. Thus he once met Tudjman in 1989, who told him that he considered the Muslims actually as being the Croats and that the eastern border of CRO should be on the river Drina [all of the Bosnia&Herzegovina included]. But Kriste promptly explained these were just 'historical - philosophical meditations', which were never acted upon. Milosevic instructed him of the well-documented

intrusions of Croatian ZNG units into B&H, the first such being the notorious Sjekovac case (Bosanski Brod municipality on the Sava river), when the whole Serb village was killed; there were no armed incidents before that in the whole Bosnia & Herzegovina. Milosevic then produced the Croatian magazine NACIONAL dated 3 Dec. 2002 with the big interview by Kriste and quoted: 'Tudjman as early as 1989 planned the border on the Drina! I can imagine how it is for the former Tudjman collaborators in CRO: they have to do the washing in public, criticizing Tudjman (only up to the point, not touching his role as the 'father of the nation'). Kriste did this rather late, only a month ago. More funny quotations from the interview followed, all opposing the testimony just given, with mocking of the type 'you must have told all that to Tudjman, being his close friend and collaborator and as such having the guts to warn him of being wrong'. Kriste squirmed that 'it was not Tudjman's politics and practice, it was just one conversation we had'; Milosevic pressed with another quotation 'right here you said it was his politics and you found fault with that'; Kriste just took a sip of water and kept quiet. The other staircase-conversation was with Susak; Kriste asked him how come he's in such a good mood, and Susak answered he had just come from the meeting with Stari=Old Man [Tudjman tried desperately to emulate Tito in everything, he even adopted his nickname!]; and the annexation of Herzegovina to CRO had been decided. Kriste testified about that conversation in order to connect it with the meeting Tudjman - Milosevic in Karadjordjevo, where they allegedly agreed the partition of B&H. But, when questioned, Kriste had to admit these were only rumours and when more quotations from the interview were read, would you believe that May asked whether Milosevic would like to introduce it as evidence and it was admitted! As I said before, the 'judges' are in serious trouble with hearsay: they have to admit everything now.

And Dubrovnik? It was nearly forgotten, since Kriste single-handedly ruined his testimony by stating damning things for his own part. Even when Milosevic asked few questions regarding the letter of General Kadijevic to Lord Carrington, Kriste couldn't stop being foolish: of course, all that the General claimed was untrue, but anyway 'we had to use all possible means, even to take over that Army installation

Sagittarius

Van: "CDSM"
Aan: <Undisclosed-Recipient;>
Verzonden: woensdag 5 februari 2003 10:51
Onderwerp: SAS after war crimes suspects
Reuters, February 02, 2003

SAS after war crimes suspects

A controversial right-wing politician and ally of former President Slobodan Milosevic claimed today that members of Britain's Special Air Service had come to Yugoslavia to help police arrest war crimes suspects, including top fugitive Ratko Mladic.

The government denied the claims made by Vojislav Seselj, the leader of the opposition Serbian Radical Party. Britain's Ministry of Defence declined to comment, saying it never discusses the activities of the service, known as SAS.

The office of British Prime Minister Tony Blair's office also declined to comment.

Seselj told a news conference that "a group of SAS agents has arrived in Belgrade with the aim to train Serbian policemen and to jointly arrest Ratko Mladic" and other war crime suspects. He declined to say how he learned about the agents.

The Interior Ministry said it was considering filing a lawsuit against Seselj for "spreading false information."

Seselj already faces several such lawsuits and has been convicted in at least one case.

Mladic commanded Bosnian Serb troops during the 1992-1995 war in Bosnia and is among the UN war crimes tribunal's most wanted suspects. He is presumed hiding in Serbia, the main Yugoslav republic.

Seselj claimed the British agents brought automatic rifles, rocket launchers, stun grenades, snipers and flack jackets.

Serbia's assistant interior minister, Nenad Milic, called Seselj's claims "absolutely untrue" and added that Yugoslav police were capable of making the arrests but were still trying to find the fugitives.

Serbian authorities have arrested several suspects and persuaded several more to surrender voluntarily to the UN tribunal in The Hague, Netherlands, but remain under Western pressure to hand over all wanted suspects. Crucial US financial support hinges on a full cooperation the tribunal.

<http://www.balkanpeace.org/hed/archive/feb03/hed5453.shtml>

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5-2-2002

- De geheime getuigenverhoor wordt niet gepubliceerd. Dit maakt fabricaties mogelijk → in strijd met openbare rechtspraak
- May heeft de pers bekendheid niet te maken te maken over het proces
(dreiging fines vanwege content of Court

- arrangement dat de stapel documenten 300.000 pagina's is en de lengte van de video's 1000 uur
dat het de recht is arrangement dat het de enige feitelijke
zijn hun verhoor is te worden, 1000 pagina's per dag
te lezen en 3.33 uur video te bekijken.



Feb. 6, 2003. 12:21 PM

Damaging letter rattles Milosevic defence

Communication disputes assertion that Serb leader had no control of rebels

THE HAGUE (AP) — UN prosecutors introduced a key piece of evidence at Slobodan Milosevic's war crimes trial Thursday, a letter that implied he had power over rebel Serb troops responsible for atrocities in Croatia.

If authentic, the document contradicts one of Milosevic's key defence assertions that as president of Serbia during the 1991-1995 Croatian war, he had no real control over the Serb-dominated Yugoslav army, or Serbs forces outside his territory.

Milosevic faces 66 counts of war crimes before the UN tribunal for alleged crimes during three Balkan wars. He is conducting his own defence and likely won't have a chance to challenge the letter until next week.

The letter, dated June 9, 1993, asks Milosevic to "put pressure" on the Yugoslav army to supply equipment and men to assist Serb rebels fighting in Croatia. It was signed by the then political head of the breakaway Serb-held Krajina region, Milan Martić.

The letter was shown during testimony by former Yugoslav army Gen. Aleksander Vasiljevic who said under regular circumstances it would have been addressed to the president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, who in theory controlled the Yugoslav army.

"He (Martić) is actually addressing the person he believes has factual influence, and could issue orders through the general staff for granting the equipment Martić has requested," Vasiljevic said.

Martić's letter also asked Milosevic to use his influence over Belgrade media to increase sympathy within Serbia for the Croatian Serb cause.

Judith Armatta, an expert on war crimes law at the Coalition for International Justice who follows the trial closely, said Vasiljevic's testimony has been some of the most important so far in Milosevic's trial.

"He's the highest-level insider we've had," she said. "He's been systematically connecting Milosevic with what was going on in Krajina."

Vasiljevic, who headed the Yugoslav military's counter-intelligence unit through the early stages of the Croatian war, also testified Thursday that Serbian paramilitary units in Croatia obeyed the command of Milosevic's interior minister rather than those of the Yugoslav army officers.

Vasiljevic, a Serb, is one of 15 people named as co-conspirators on Milosevic's indictment and was named by prosecutors as one of Milosevic's inner political circle. However, Vasiljevic has not been indicted, allowing him to testify without fear of arrest.

Milosevic's trial began in February 2002 and is not expected to end until sometime in 2005.



Milosevic court indicts journalist

A newspaper editor who disclosed the name of a witness testifying against Slobodan Milosevic has become the first journalist to be indicted by the war crimes tribunal in The Hague.

Dusan Jovanovic revealed the name of a witness in his daily Dan newspaper, based in Podgorica, Montenegro, in knowing violation of a court order, the court said.

The witness, codenamed K-32 to protect his identity, later received telephoned death threats.

If found guilty of contempt of court, Mr Jovanovic could face up to seven years in prison, a fine of 100,000 euros (\$100,000), or both.

Mr Jovanovic is expected to show up voluntarily for the hearing in the Netherlands, but if not the tribunal will issue an international warrant for his arrest, the tribunal said in a statement.

Face distorted

K-32 testified in July 2002 that he served as a lorry driver with a Yugoslav army unit.

He said he had witnessed the systematic execution of villagers in the rebellious province of Kosovo in 1998 and 1999.

His face was electronically distorted on court monitors as he gave evidence.

Former Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic faces charges relating to atrocities carried out in Kosovo in 1999, crimes against humanity in Croatia between 1991 and 1992, and alleged genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina between 1992 and 1995.

Story from BBC NEWS:
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/europe/2930463.stm>

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Jan. 9, 2003. 12:31 PM

Serb assassin testifies against Milosevic

Shrouded witness was member of Red Berets, admits killing warlord Arkan

THE HAGUE (AP) — A dreaded Serbian paramilitary force known for its brutality during the Balkan wars was under the direct command of Slobodan Milosevic, a former member of the so-called "Red Berets" testified as the former Yugoslav president's war-crimes trial resumed.

Milosevic, acting as his own defence attorney, sought to discredit the witness by wringing an admission from him that he was involved in the slaying of a Serb warlord known as Arkan, the highest-profile assassination since the end of the Balkan wars.

The trial of the former Yugoslav resumed at the war-crimes tribunal in The Hague after a three-week break over the holiday season. Milosevic, who doctors say has high blood pressure and is at risk of a heart attack, looked relaxed and well-rested.

The witness, identified only as "K-2" for his protection, told the court that he had served in the Special Operations Unit, which was part of Serbia's Secret Service during the 1992-95 war in Bosnia, a group he said operated under the direct command of Milosevic's wartime regime.

Pay slips or cash wages came in envelopes from the Serbian Interior Ministry, he said. "We had full support in the form of ammunition, uniforms and all other necessities," said the witness, whose image was blurred on court monitors.

The unit, called the Red Berets for its attire, was a hardline nationalist Serb group known for brutality in fighting in Croatia, Bosnia and Kosovo. Among their tasks were assassinations, counter-insurgency and deep infiltration behind front lines.

"Our unit had to do whatever it was asked to do. There was no possibility to say no. ... The doors of the president were open to us," he said.

Asked which president he meant, he replied, "There was only one president and that was President Milosevic."

After the war, the force became the anti-terrorist unit of the Serbian Interior Ministry. In 2000, it helped overthrow Milosevic from power.

During cross-examination by Milosevic, K-2 acknowledged his involvement in the 2001 killing of the Yugoslav warlord Zeljko Raznatovic, better known as Arkan.

"Were you are involved in the murder of Arkan?" Milosevic asked the witness.

"Yes," K-2 replied.

"That is the main reason why you are no longer living in Serbia and concealing your identity?" Milosevic said.

"Yes," the witness answered.

K-2 said he left the Red Berets in February or March 1997 and became a policeman in the Kosovo capital Pristina.

In October 2001, a Belgrade court convicted a former policeman and sentenced him to 20 years in prison for gunning down Arkan, Serbia's most notorious underworld boss, and his two bodyguards in the lobby of a Belgrade hotel.

Arkan's assassination triggered speculation that Milosevic had ordered him silenced because he could be a potential witness against him.

The Belgrade district court found seven others guilty of either being accomplices or aiding in the murder conspiracy. It was not clear if K-2 was among the seven.

K-2 declined to answer Milosevic's questions about his current occupation and residence in open court session, and hearings were briefly closed to the public.

Milosevic said the witness "doesn't know what he is talking about," and that the Red Berets were a "regular unit" that wore the hats commonly used by police and army forces.

Milosevic, 61, the highest ranking politician to face war crimes charges, is defending himself against 66 counts brought by prosecutors for his alleged role in abuses during the Balkan wars of the 1990s. He faces a possible life sentence if convicted of any one count of war crimes.

His trial, which began in February 2002 and is now dealing with the Croatian and Bosnian wars, after the prosecution completed its presentations on the 1999 Kosovo conflict. The trial is expected to last well into 2004.

In another case before the tribunal, a trial chamber has ordered former Bosnian Serb leader Biljana Plavsic to testify in the trial of Milomir Stakic, who faces charges of genocide in Bosnia.

Tribunal spokesperson Jim Landale said Plavsic, who has pleaded guilty to war crimes charges in a deal with prosecutors, will be called as a witness shortly after her own sentencing hearing for which no date has been set. She has said she would not voluntarily testify in other cases, including Milosevic's.

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29-1-2003 Gekritiseerd door J.M.I.

- The really tricky thing in this trial is the fact that the defendant is a former head of state, who should be protected by the immunity rules. Nico Steijnen has pointed out that since the ICTY jurisdiction is concurrent with the domestic courts, domestic courts could also be competent from now on to deal with (foreign) heads of states! So the *obiter dictum* which the ICJ uttered in the case *Congo v. Belgium* would seem to be beside the point. In the case *Congo v. Belgium*, the ICJ said that the immunity rules extend to heads of state and representatives of governments even after their term has ended. The explicit exception was made for the ICTY. But it seems that this exception doesn't end there, if you allow such an exception for the ICTY: you drag the domestic courts to the quagmire as well - as long as the ICTY and the domestic courts have "concurrent" jurisdiction.

the abuse will happen.

Vera Martinovic
Belgrade
Yugoslavia

Monday January 27, 2003 at 3:53 am

Human Rights Watch is not Amnesty International, and you cannot say something of the one and then apply it *mutatis mutandis* to the other. This goes both ways. For instance, if you say HRW is dependent on the governments, you cannot automatically say that Amnesty International is so too. But neither can you say that AI is independent, so HRW must be independent too. I would like to refer to the excellent article provided by Philip Taylor a couple of weeks ago: the article by Edward S. Herman at <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/decani/message/72407>. It mentions HRW but not Amnesty International, if that is any consolation to anybody.

There is also a very apropos remark in the article about the lack of due process in the tribunal. It says:

"As normal practice it violates virtually every standard of due process: it fails to separate prosecution and judge; it does not accord the right to bail or a speedy trial; it has no clear definition of burden of proof required for a conviction; it has no independent appeal body; it allows a defendant to be tried twice for the same crime; suspects can be held for 90 days without trial; confessions are presumed to be free and voluntary unless the contrary is established by the prisoner; and witnesses can testify anonymously, with hearsay evidence admissible."

Maybe somebody should doublecheck these criticisms with the Rules of Procedure, although one can see with one's own eyes that these criticisms are valid. You saw that? "Confessions are presumed to be free and voluntary unless the contrary is established by the prisoner". This invokes memories of the Plavsic confession. This is quite contrary to the "normal procedure". Even if the suspect confesses, his or her guilt has to be established objectively nonetheless, because there are many reasons anyone could make a false confession, for instance to protect the real culprit, or to make multiple confessions in which case the

prosecution gets quite disoriented (this was done in Sweden after the "honour killing").

But this is not all the hanky-panky we have witnessed. For instance, the prosecution wanted to proceed solely with written depositions before the trial even started, but Milosevic protested and wanted to cross-examine the witnesses (info courtesy Gogol). So the prosecution would have been quite happy without the witnesses and their cross-examination. But later, Nice has repeatedly said it is imperative the prosecution can call as many witnesses as possible. What could be his motive? To slow Milosevic down? It is all the more remarkable that he has complained about the poor quality of the witnesses himself. So here, Milosevic may have worn the prosecution down.

On the other hand, the cross-examination is not where it's at. Milosevic may indeed like the cross-examination too much, and it is my fear that he starts making deals which could curtail his real defense.

By the way, we have also speculated about the self-censorship of the media. However, it is quite clear that the tribunal calls the shots ultimately. May threatened to fine for contempt of court anybody from the press who would disclose the identities of the protected witnesses. Similarly, Nice warned the media not to be too critical of the prosecution's case. Maybe that would have been contempt of court as well.

The cross-examination by Milosevic is wreaking havoc for the prosecution, but that is where the newspeak comes to its rescue. Indeed, even disproving a report can amount to "confirming" it. This is very tricky for Milosevic. His "command responsibility" relies largely on the question whether he "knew" of the atrocities. Now we get stuck in the old dispute of the meaning of the word "know". Technically, however, "knowledge" could be defined as anything that has been "confirmed". So it is possible that Milosevic may be digging his own grave as he "confirms" the reports by disproving them.

The defense stage will be much more important. At least, then Milosevic can choose which reports he wishes to "confirm". But then the problem is what Milosevic's point is, i.e. what is relevant for his defense. You know, he hasn't

entered any not-guilty plea. And yet one would expect him to establish his innocence.

This failure to lodge a not-guilty plea favours the prosecution. It is not hard to guess that the prosecution wants to show Milosevic's guilt even if he has not entered a not-guilty plea. And whatever the prosecution argues becomes "relevant" for Milosevic too. That is why May can rule just about anything that Milosevic says as "irrelevant".

The reverse side of the coin is that it all amounts to a mistrial. It would be even harmful to enter a not-guilty plea, even if it would rhyme better with what Milosevic is actually doing. One doesn't have to go any further than the Edward S. Herman article to see what is wrong with the trial. But it does go further. The detainee is tortured. The indictments are "crazy" (an expert opinion), which means that the prosecution has *no* case. When one puts all the trials together, one can see that the motive was to disable the Serb political leadership. The anti-Serb bias is obvious. The judges are not independent, at least not from the prosecution, and probably not from their own governments.

So the trial is political. It has been said that Milosevic may be losing, but at least he is *scoring political points*. But even then, isn't that really the only "relevant" thing in this trial, political as it is? The trial is political, so the political speeches Milosevic is making are to the point. This is the ammunition he needs if someone ever decides to argue that the trial has been a mistrial. He may also establish his innocence, at least to the "legal amateurs", which will add to the impression of a mistrial, even if that is not strictly speaking the point.

Milosevic argued that the organ is illegal. Well, the tribunal could shove that off the table by pointing to the ruling in the Tadic case. However, once one invokes the mistrial argument, one can apply it to the Tadic case too. Back then, the tribunal was operating without *any* procedural rules. When it finally came to the question of the legality of the organ, the tribunal should not have been in a position to rule on the matter itself, because the ICJ is the *principal* judicial organ of the UN. Mistrial in the n:th power!

The question is: when and where should one argue for the mistrial? Not before

May, because anybody can see May is the root of the mistrial. There is no independent appellate body. The European Court of Human Rights even had the nerve to argue that the trial is impartial because the tribunal Statute guarantees an impartial trial. There are not very many choices. Since the paralysis of the Serb leadership effected by the tribunal is a violation of the Serb sovereignty, the ICJ might be worth a try, although it hasn't been quite as reliable as one might have hoped. I don't know.

Besides, I have earlier argued that the tribunal has no jurisdiction because there are similar case pending in the International Court of Justice. However, the Milosevic indictment has passed a review by May, so there is no coming back. By the way, May didn't think the indictment was "crazy", which may give a hint who is actually in need of the psychiatric evaluation. The accused can later challenge the jurisdiction of the tribunal in the preliminary motions pursuant to Rule 72 of the Rules of Procedure. However, in paragraph D the "jurisdiction" is defined on the basis of the Statute, and *lis pendens* (i.e. the case is pending in another court) is not one of the valid criticisms.

The ICJ would also get bogged down on the trite dispute whether Yugoslavia was a member of the UN. However, one could turn this argument around and ask if the UN has the power to police in the Balkans, if Yugoslavia was not a member of the UN. Real reason for the mix-up is of course political. The British government demonstrated it beautifully last week: "We will block the admission of Yugoslavia to the OSCE." OK, I agree that may not harm the Serbs as much as Britain would like (in accordance with the spirit of *security and cooperation in Europe*), but it is telling that the most dramatic measures taken by international organizations are now directed at those states which are *not* members. And no secret is made of this skewed policy.

Similarly, the US has revoked Yugoslavia's rogue state status when Mladic was still at large. Now it is issuing new threats, because Mladic is still at large. This is extortion, you know.

Similarly, Djindjic delivered Milosevic to The Hague in the hope to get some money from the West. Now he says that the loss of the American money wouldn't be such a big deal. Alexei, you may be right, maybe everybody is now just going

through the motions to make that hag in The Hague shut up(yes, I mean you, Carla).

Finally, another subject. Ever wonder why Pakistan and Malaysia were the principal financiers of the tribunal during the first couple of years of its activities? Could it be because India was at the same time trying to torpedo the Western policies in the Balkans by voting against the UN resolutions, possibly anticipating that the same kind of troubles on its own doorstep? Whatever India does is a signal to Pakistan to counteract. It is good to have some real "international community" dimension in this discussion, instead of Ms Albright's pocket-size international community.

Jari Nousiainen
Finland

- Monday January 27, 2003 at 6:21 am
Kathryn,I don't think the Brits are to blame so much because the latest opinion polls show a slight majority (55%) against the war in Iraq. However,the Brits are very....well,soft people. They just can't be bothered to stand up forcefully for what they think is right. Even if most people wanted to get rid of Blair,he would not go.

Ryan Mircic
St.Albans
UK

- Monday January 27, 2003 at 9:36 am
To: Jari

On the possibility of filing an unlawful harm suit.

In your Jan.27 comment above (as in many previous ones) you convincingly describe how pseudolegal arguments are employed by ICTY and other legal bodies in order to deny justice from Milosevic and, in effect, from the Serbian people. Although a tight politico-legal trap is certainly set against Milosevic, I wonder whether legal challenges filed by ordinary citizens against NATO countries for unlawful harm (personal injury, loss of loved ones or property) may have a better

Sagittarius

Van: "CDSM"
 Aan: <Undisclosed-Recipient:>
 Verzonden: vrijdag 14 februari 2003 11:58
 Onderwerp: CRISIS IN SPS
CRISIS IN SPS

- 1) Interview with Vladimir Krsljanin on Crisis in SPS
 - 2) Letter of Slobodan Milosevic to SPS on the eve of "congress"
 - 3) Comments from A Reader in Belgrade
-

Interview with Vladimir Krsljanin, until last week member of the leadership and International Secretary of the Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS).

Interview conducted in Belgrade by Cathrin Schuetz

Vladimir is Vice-Chairman of the Organizational Political Committee to the President of SPS and works for the defense of Slobodan Milosevic at Sloboda in Belgrade.

CS: Last weekend's (18th Jan - PD) 6th Congress of the Socialist Party of Serbia in Belgrade showed a split inside SPS when delegates prevented Dragoljub Bjelica from reading a message from the president of the party, Slobodan Milosevic. Some days before the Congress, Mr. Milosevic sent that letter to SPS, clarifying his position about the Congress and attacking individuals from the party leadership. Mr. Bjelica and you are part of the group around Mr. Milosevic, which seemingly lost at the Congress. At the same time your competitors still re-elected Mr. Milosevic as president. How can you explain that development?

VK: That so-called Congress was actually a big theater. The people who were at the "top" of the party before set up an organization to re-elect themselves. They have changed the party statute and introduced the function of the president of the 'Head Committee' which will discharge the duties of the party leader in his absence. So election of Milosevic was a pure hypocrisy and a fraud of the delegates who did not understand the scenario. Actually, what they have made is a new party. President Milosevic, 90% of party members, who have not been consulted and us from the Organizational Political Committee are on the other side. We strive for the original, socialist character of the party, protection of national sovereignty and all possible actions to down the puppet regime. But we have to admit that at this moment they control most of the party nomenclature.

We did not participate in the Congress. The only wish of President Milosevic was that his letters and messages to the party be transmitted to the delegates by his associates, so that no one can claim that he has not been informed about the President's opinion. One should know that for one month the members at the "top" had led a demonization campaign against all associates of Milosevic, against his family and even his messages. After the large group of delegates and "guests" were shouting and whistling while Bjelica was reading Milosevic's messages, we all decided to leave the "Congress".

CS: What is Mr. Milosevic's opinion and where are the differences between your group and the leadership?

VK: In his letter to the party members, sent 10 days before the Congress, using very sharp words, President Milosevic accused people from the top of the party, Ivica Dacic (elected as president of the Head Committee at the Congress) and Milomir Minic, for the treason of the basic goals of the party, of an attempt to change the character of the party and of misuse of his name. He stressed that they pushed the Head Committee to abandon the policy of Peoples Unity, which would be the only way to down the regime and liberate the country. Actually, he accused them for collaboration with the occupation regime. He does not recognize their Congress, about which he was not even consulted.

So what the western powers and their Belgrade puppets missed since the 5th of October, is their '6th of October' - meaning total destruction of the forces that can restore political and economic sovereignty of the country and the organization of society based on equality and social justice. One of the means to reach this '6th of October' would be to take control over the Socialist Party of Serbia. But despite this "Congress" we are

certain that this is an impossible task.

Sticking to the above-mentioned basic goals of SPS, we believe that we act in accordance with the wishes of most of the people in Serbia. The main words they (SPS 'leadership' - PD) use are reformism, modernization, privatization, democracy. Their concept is just to survive as a party by gaining political and financial support of western European Social democrats and by making deals with the regime and with local capital.

CS: 90%-where have they been on the Congress? not disturbed and could just fulfill their task.

(I think the question refers to 90% of the SPS membership, where they stand and how they express their views - PD)

VK: For months already we were engaged in inter-party struggle. We travelled across all of Serbia. Tens of municipal committees (out of 190) supported our line. In some big centers like Nis and Belgrade, where they control the local party leaderships, many unsatisfied members launched their own mass initiatives to protect the basic character of the party. Many members demanded that Milosevic should call for a real congress of SPS. A good example is also the last presidential election. The candidate supported by SPS Head Committee got 3% of votes while at least 15% out of about 24% his of people voted for Vojislav Seselj as common opposition candidate because Milosevic was calling for that.

CS: Last year, an executive order by George W. Bush determined the destruction of people supporting Mr. Milosevic. Do you see any connections between this and the trouble inside SPS?

VK: I think the connection is obvious.

CS: At the same time when the SPS Congress voted for access (membership? - PD) of the SPS to the Socialist International, the council of the SI decided to invite Djindjic's Democratic Party and Social Democracy of Djindjic's Vice Prime-Minister, Korac, to be the first members of Serbia.

VK: The SI, whose Stockholm declaration of principles speaks about democratic socialism is now run by war criminals. Their policy towards central and eastern Europe is a tool of colonization. They demand that socialist parties there should advocate total privatization, that's precisely what the SPS congress did.

CS: Their specific condition for cooperation with SPS is that the party should distance itself from "Milosevic's heritage". This explains the behavior of the "party top".

VK: How will your struggle continue?

VK: My opinion is the following: This "congress" is a kind of release. Let those who want to follow Djindjic go. We will develop our political action with cadres who are sincerely committed. Always with the people and for the people.

Cathrin Schuetz, Belgrade, Januray 24, 2003

Printed in a shorted version in junge Welt on January 25, 2003.

Letter of Slobodan Milosevic to SPS on the eve of "congress"

To the members and organs of SPS

Since my arrest until today, none of my messages sent to the Head Committee of SPS have been accepted, not to speak about the direct cooperation of the individuals from the top of the Party in my arrest and delivery to The Hague.

Shortly after I appeared in The Hague, I have warned the Head Committee in direct

17-2-03

address by phone about the Fifth Column led (that time) by B. Ivkovic, demanding that they should be immediately expelled from SPS. Even that was not accepted, with the explanation that I have been uninformed.

With the same explanation of my that time being "uninformed", a vicious, coward attack from the "top" of SPS has followed, lasting until now.

Today, everyone in Serbia is well aware that I have not been uninformed:

Obviously and in front of the public, the puppet government in Serbia has survived exactly with the help of the votes of that Fifth Column in the Parliament of Serbia.

This year, under the influence of the other assistants of the Quisling government at the top of SPS, the Head Committee refuted the policy of the people's unity and in presidential elections, despite my warnings, again made a big favor to DOS, followed by further, final compromitiation of SPS, dissolution of the block of left and patriotic forces and constant sabotage of any activity related to this struggle at The Hague.

The group that directs the activity of the SPS Head Committee has exposed itself in front of every citizen in Serbia who has eyes and ears - as obedient **servant of the servants** of our enemies. Of the enemies of our country and people.

Now, under the auspices of the regime, they prepare a certain Congress of SPS (for which they have also used a fraud - that they work with my consent) aimed to change substantially the character of SPS, in fact to liquidate the SPS as a party of left and patriotic forces, being the main obstacle for the break-up of Serbia and for stepping on the national dignity.

But the policies and every practical activity of SPS can not be imagined without clear commitments concerning the state and national interests and the necessity of the people's unity for the downing of the puppet regime in Serbia.

I write this letter for a single reason - that nobody in SPS can claim that he was uninformed about the real intentions of the actual "top" of the party.

Meaning as well that those who join the party of Minic and Dacic should clearly understand the weight of the act of treason they take part in.

I am writing, as well, to make impossible any manipulation with my name.

I don't have a slightest doubt about their sincere wish that I should be President of SPS in prison and they should lead the Party in the way opposite to the policy I struggle for. To conduct policy which would follow the orders of the bosses of the present puppet regime. Against Serbia.

Therefore: Regarding the policy of people's unity in the interest of Serbia there could be no compromise. Also, there could be no compromise regarding my demand to expel the Fifth Column out of SPS. Until the last one. To finish it formally, since they are in fact already a part of the puppet structure to which they serve.

Everyone who participates in the dirty work of the groups around Minic and Dacic **can not be any longer considered as member of SPS.**

I know that their reaction will be of bureaucratic character as they themselves are.

Their reaction will be: It is against the Statute. **I have expelled them in an unstatutory way.**

I am telling them: Gentlemen and former comrades, I invite you expel me in a statutory way!

We are certainly not at the same side. Fortunately.

The Party has to be freed from such creatures and to protect its face before the people to whom we respond.

None of their show votings in any forum, can not change this resolute stance of mine. No compromise.

To all citizens, to everyone who supports the struggle for freedom, to all fighters for Free Serbia I wish all luck in the New Year.

Until victory.

S. Milosevic

P.S.

I see from newspapers that **they intend to elect me as President of SPS** in that "congress", for which they have consulted me neither about the call, nor about the documents, and simply - about nothing.

In fact, in their "congress" they perform the same manipulation as Ivkovic made in his "congress" by electing me as honorary president without my knowledge and my will.

For me, to accept such a manipulation would be the same as to recognize this false court at The Hague.

Members and organs of SPS should know that I have no relation neither with their "congress" nor with the party of Minic and Dacic.

And to be perfectly clear: **I do not allow them to use my name. I do not allow that under my name they conduct the policy I struggle against.**

To all those, who in spite of my warnings, turn back and go into the party of Minic and Dacic, I wish bon voyage. But without me.

To the consequent members of SPS and to all patriotic forces and citizens of Serbia I wish success in the struggle for Freedom.

Until victory.

S. Milosevic

Comments from A Reader in Belgrade

12.02.2003.

Dear Paul,

Well, the situation with SPS is as follows. As you know, the so-called Sixth Congress was held on 18th of January. It was organised by former SPS members who were expelled by President Milosevic. This "Congress" again "elected" Mr. Milosevic as SPS President (without his permission), but soon after that changed the SPS Statute, by which President Milosevic was relegated to "Honorary President", which, after all, was the whole intention of the "Congress", which "elected" Ivica Dacic, the former Press Secretary, as the President of the Executive Council of the SPS. The tactics are now absurdly simple: from now onwards, everything will be done in President Milosevic's name, but in direct contradiction to what both President Milosevic and the SPS stand for. Only children, the uninformed and the mentally retarded will not be able to grasp what is going on. Ofcourse, the DOS Coalition has taken control of the Main Party Council of the SPS, hoping to control the entire Party. This is a simple tactic, well known to history. It will not succeed, for two reasons:

a) Ivica Dacic is a political non-entity, lacking any leadership qualities. He both looks and acts like a stooge. In the long run, the DOS Coalition have done a tremendous favour to both President Milosevic and the SPS, since Dacic is now a living example of a political Quisling, whose days are numbered.

b) As you know, President Milosevic has created a temporary Political Committee, headed by Mr. Bogoljub Bjelica. The purpose of the Committee is to run the SPS Party on his behalf, and in response to the DOS takeover of the SPS Main Party Council, which now represents the SPS in name only. The Political Committee will run the SPS until the next Congress, when a new Main Party Council will be elected. It goes without saying that the next Congress will again be called the Sixth Congress, as it will be held with President Milosevic's authority, and it will have the legal status of the true and only Sixth Congress, as opposed to the false one of 18th of January.

When will the Congress be held? Most probably on 24th of March 2003. Even the press has reported this, although Mr. Bjelica declined comment. This almost certainly means that the date is correct. The actual date will be announced in the very near future, as Mr. Bjelica is on his way to visit President Milosevic in the Hague. He will, ofcourse, make the announcement upon his return to Belgrade.

What is the situation in the SPS now? Well, the last few months have seen confusion in the ranks, as many members did not even hear of the creation of President Milosevic's Political Committee (the news was suppressed by the DOS media and the Main Party Council of the SPS). Even President Milosevic's letters were suppressed by these entities. The result was that temporarily the Main Party Council of the SPS managed to "hold" the SPS membership in line. However, this was done by doing virtually nothing in the workings of the Party machine, which remained docile. A complete change occurred with the holding of the false Congress on 18th of January, which proved to be a "sword" with two edges. Namely, about half the delegates at the Congress were DOS agent provocateurs and bully boys (which was to be expected), while the other half were SPS members. Even though the Congress was false, Mr. Bjelica did attend, as he was also a member of the old Main Party Council. He used the occasion to read President Milosevic's letter. He was, ofcourse, jeered by the DOS agent provocateurs, and applauded by the SPS members. Well, after that, the game was almost up for DOS. Even their media was forced to report on President Milosevic's letter (naturally, this was done rather shyly). On the other hand, the DOS media continues to address Mr. Dacic as the SPS "leader" and "representative" of President Milosevic; they have no other choice. This game will not last too long.

The SPS membership is now expecting that President Milosevic will confirm that the official Sixth Congress will be held on 24th of March. By then the war in Iraq will be in full swing, and the attention of the world will be fixed on the Middle East. A new Main Party Council of the SPS will then be elected, headed almost certainly by Mr. Bjelica, while Mr. Dacic will fade away into history.

You will be interested to know that today's editions of the press have given the latest polls on the popularity of individual parties. Both the DSS and DS parties are losing popularity, while the new G-17 party is apparently "gaining" tremendous points. Well, since DOS controls the media, it's quite apparent what's going on. The Western centers of power have - correctly - come to the conclusion that both Dr. Kostunica and Dr. Djindjic are finished as political leaders, and that a change of political "horses" is required. A directive has obviously been issued to the media, where the aim is to turn the public's attention to the new G-17 political party. Well, such methods are also known to history, and I doubt that in this case they will work, as there remains the enigma of Dr. Vojislav Seselj and his SRS party. As you know, he has openly stated that on 24th of February he will

present himself on a voluntary basis to the Hague Tribunal, as he expects an indictment. He also expects total victory for himself in the Hague. If he really does go, then an interesting situation will have been created, since presidential elections will have to be held during the course of this year. Will Dr.Seselj's appearance at the Hague increase his prestige, or will it weaken his Party, since he wont be in Serbia to run it ? Appart from this, you must also take into consideration the effects of the American attack on Iraq. Will this invasion drastically contribute to Dr.Seseljs popularity ? These two questions I will be able to answer in a few months time. At any rate, this year is certainly going to be an interesting one, and not just in Serbia.

Greetings,

A Reader

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20-02-2003

Belastende video in Milosevic-proces

DEN HAAG -- De aanklagers in het Milosevic-proces hebben gisteren een tot nu toe geheime, belastende videoband getoond. Daarop is de toenmalige president van Servië te zien tijdens een ceremonie in 1997.

Op die bijeenkomst worden de 'helden' geëerd van een eenheid voor speciale operaties van de Servische staatsveiligheidsdienst. In toespraken worden tal van acties genoemd op plaatsen in de buurlanden Bosnië en Kroatië. Het gaat om plaatsen waar ook oorlogsmisdaden zijn gepleegd.

Milosevic was tijdens de hele ceremonie aanwezig en deelde onderscheidingen uit. Door de video wordt duidelijk dat Milosevic wist dat Servische speciale eenheden in

de buurlanden actief waren.

De aanklagers van het Joegoslavië-Tribunaal wilden niet zeggen hoe zij aan de videoband zijn gekomen. Het gaat blijkbaar om een voor interne doeleinden bedoelde productie van de Servische staatsveiligheidsdienst.

De video werd getoond bij de getuigenis van de Serviër Dragan Vasiljkovic, die in de jaren '90 in ex-Joegoslavië beroemd was als 'Ka-

pitein Dragan'. Hij was niet alleen in zijn eentje in een eenmotorig vliegtuig de Atlantische Oceaan overgestoken - hij had ook met een twintigtal mannen de plaats Glina heroverd op het Kroatische leger.

Vasiljkovic is zich ervan bewust dat het tribunaal ook voor hem belangstelling heeft als mogelijke verdachte. Hij zegt dat hij naar Den Haag is gekomen om de volle waarheid te vertellen. (ANP)

Sagittarius

Van: "CDSM" <cdsm_b@btopenworld.com>
 Aan: <Undisclosed-Recipient:>
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 Onderwerp: ARTEL: BELGRADE FORUM: MILOSEVIC TRIAL - STATEMENT

Geopolitika by ARTEL

www.artel.co.yu office@artel.co.yu

Date: 20 January 2003

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BELGRADE FORUM: MILOSEVIC TRIAL – STATEMENT (5)

THE BELGRADE FORUM FOR THE WORLD OF EQUALS

Done in Belgrade on 19 January 2003

The Belgrade Forum for the World of Equals (Forum) expresses its deep concern about the emergence of two new types of witnesses in the trial of Mr. Slobodan Milosevic before the International Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in the Hague. In addition to protected witnesses, there are now "blackmailed witnesses" as well as "the prosecution team witnesses".

The blackmailed witnesses are persons who are under an investigation by the ICTY and the outcome of that investigation depends on their willingness to satisfy the prosecution with the "quality" of their testimonies. Or else: they will be indicted. An example of such witness whose destiny depended on the Office of the Prosecutor is Mr. Milan Babic.

The prosecution team witnesses are persons who are presently, or were previously, employed by the Office of the Prosecutor. Although Mr. Fred Abrahams of The Human Rights Watch, as a witness and former employee of the Office of the Prosecutor, was already noted in one of our previous statements, the "real" prosecution team witness will appear before the Chamber shortly. That will be Mr. Graham Blewitt, Carla del Ponte's deputy.

The clearer example of conflict of interests is difficult to imagine and testimonies of these witnesses can not be held as reliable. Will Ms. Carla del Ponte be the crown witness in the Milosevic case? Will Mrs. Florence Hartmann, her spokeswoman, be called by Mr. Nice to read the excerpts from her book on Mr. Milosevic?

As far as protected witnesses are concerned, their appearance in great numbers before the Chamber in the Croatian & Bosnian case is now a good excuse for the Presiding Judge May to switch from a public into a private session at will. The trial is thus slowly but surely becoming a secret one. For instance, Milan Babic testified for days in private sessions; in the end, his identity was made public. What was the purpose of the closed sessions anyway?

In spite of this, the prosecution claims to have a "certain problems with witnesses" and went on to blame the Yugoslav authorities for a "lack of collaboration". The prosecution certainly does have problems with the witnesses and reasons are twofold: the first is that Mr. Milosevic regularly demolishes their testimonies and credibilities; the second lies in the fact that the prosecution rely too much on witnesses who are suspected of, indicted or

sentenced for various criminal acts. In spite of our calls for such a practice to be stopped by the Chamber, at the very beginning of the proceedings in 2003 the prosecution called yet another such witness

- K2. He admitted to have been involved in the liquidation of Mr. Zeljko Raznatovic-Arkan! The company the prosecution keeps is nothing but – suspicious.

The Forum expresses the hope that all human rights organisations will recognise that all the quoted practices represent a violation of the right to a fair trial and a shame for the international justice and that they will take the action they deem appropriate.

Finally, we remind that the page 11,467 (10 October 2002) is now the “legendary” page of the transcript. It is there that the Presiding Judge May declared that the Chamber accepts the hear-say evidence. We call upon all international lawyers and human rights organisations to start a fight for the international justice and the right to a fair trial of Mr. Milosevic by reading that transcript page.

-----BEOGRADSKI FORUM ZA SVET RAVNPPRAVNIH

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Milošević leidde de best gedocumenteerde oorlog uit de geschiedenis

15-2-2003

Veel belangstelling voor de oorlog in Bosnië hadden de bewoners van Belgrado begin jaren '90 niet. Maar één ding wisten ze wel: het was Milošević die de oorlog orkestreerde. 'Het is een merkwaardige sensatie om juist hem nu net zo lang als ik wil te kunnen



Slachtoffer van de techniek



Voor de tweede keer in mijn leven kijk ik hem recht in de ogen, ditmaal met een wand van kogelvrij glas tussen ons in. Het voelt alsof ik voor een aquarium sta: ik zie wat er gebeurt, kan alles via een koptelefoon in drie talen (Engels, Frans, Servokroatisch) volgen, maar de wereld achter het glas heeft iets onaantastbaars. De getuige, voormalig VN-afgezetant Charles Kirudja, zit met zijn rug naar het publiek, de drie rechters met hun rode toga's daar recht tegenover. De rechters, de vrienden van het hof, de aanklager en Milošević zelf beschikken over een laptop, stapels met uitgeprinte verhoren, een overheadprojector en desgewenst kan iets worden opgezocht in de vele tientallen ordners die op verrijdbare dossierkasten in het gelid staan.

Milošević zit helemaal aan de linkerkant, naast hem een getatoeëerde bewaker, mini-koptelefoontje in het oor, een paar handboeien bungelen opzichtig aan zijn riem. De eerste tien minuten maakt hij zijn nagels schoon, later begint hij ze een voor een af te bijten. Na een half uurtje neemt een collega zijn plaats in, hun aandacht mag niet verslappen.

Dag in dag uit sleept de zaak zich zo voort, als Milošević tenminste niet ziek is, wat de laatste weken steeds vaker het geval is. Vooral zijn hoge bloeddruk speelt hem parten. De voormalige Seryische president lijkt vandaag in een goed humeur te steken. Af en toe werpt hij een cynische blik op zijn ondervragers, maar soms kan er zelfs een lachje af. Gedurende de zitting onderbreekt rechter May hem herhaalde malen met de opmerking „Mister Milošević, let's not waste our time”, als de zichzelf verdiedigende verdachte terugvalt op zijn specialiteit: het stellen van niet-relevante vragen.

Ik staar naar de man, die, toen onze blikken elkaar voor de eerste keer kruisten, nog president van Servië was, maar die anderhalf jaar geleden geheel onvrijwillig verhuisde naar de Pompstationsweg 32 te Scheveningen waar hij terechtstaat voor misdaden tegen de menselijkheid, genocide dan wel medeplichtigheid aan genocide, marteling en vele andere misdaden. Mijn eerste confrontatie met Milošević had ik zeven jaar geleden, tijdens hopeloos mislukte vredesonderhandelingen in Genève, waarbij alle toenmalige leiders uit het voormalige Joegoslavië aanwezig waren. Het is opvallend hoe weinig het uiterlijk van de 61-jarige Milošević sindsdien is veranderd, en ook zijn wilskracht lijkt voornog ongebroken. Hij maakt aantekeningen, bladert driftig in een van de tientallen dossiers die hij voor zich op tafel heeft liggen. Etaleerde hij de eerste maanden van zijn proces vooral zijn minachting voor het tribunaal, langzamerhand lijkt het alsof hij zo gewend is geraakt aan de gang van zaken dat hij niet meer anders zou willen; hij is onderdeel geworden van een ritueel van vragen en antwoorden, een wereld van onuitsprekbare opsommingen van data en namen.

Getuige Kirudja ontmoette Milošević een keer of zes. „Wanneer je met leiders op dit niveau spreekt, zijn ze altijd vergezeld van assistenten”, zegt hij. „Maar bij Milošević was dat niet zo. Hij had geen grote delegaties nodig, want hij was zelf uitzonderlijk goed op de hoogte, zelfs van de kleinste details.”

Milošević neemt een slok water en gaat op het puntje van zijn stoel zitten. Kirudja vertelt rechter May hoe hij van de Bosnisch-Servische autoriteiten lijsten overhandigd had gekregen met namen van moslims en andere niet-Serviërs die vrijwillig zouden hebben beslo-

ten het land te verlaten. „Die lijsten waren keurig uitgeprint en voorzien van alle mogelijke details”, zegt Kirudja. „Ik was geschokt. Het deed me denken aan de Tweede Wereldoorlog: mensen heel nauwgezet en goed geadministreerd deporteren. Want dat was het, het betrof hier geen vrijwillig vertrek.” Op de overheadprojector verschijnt de transcriptie van getuigenverhoor 3.710. „Nee, niet bladzijde 23, maar de pagina's 26 en 27”, zegt rechter May. Milošević kijkt smalend.

Zerken

Ik moet denken aan het telefoongesprek dat ik de avond tevoren voerde met Hamdo Berberović, een overlevende van Omarska en twee andere concentratiekampen, over wiens familie ik een boek schreef. Ik ontmoette hem in 1993, toen hij op uitnodiging van de Nederlandse staat in een opvangcentrum in Haarlem was ondergebracht. Hij woont nu met zijn vrouw in een Brabants dorpje. De familie Berberović is definitief uiteengevallen: Hamdo's broer Senad en een zuster wonen ook met hun gezinnen in Nederland, een andere broer en een zuster in Zweden, de oudste zuster in Oostenrijk.

Begin deze week is Hamdo's vader overleden. Hij zal in zijn geboortedorp Ljubija worden begraven. Toen ik daar zelf was in 1994 – op zoek naar Hamdo's 90-jarige oma en tante die als enige van de familie tot dan toe nog niet waren verdreven – lag de islamitische begraafplaats vol brokstukken van de moskee die door Serviërs was opgeblazen. Nu zijn de zerken weer overcind gezet en er is een begin gemaakt met de bouw van een nieuwe moskee. De afgelopen jaren hebben sommige van de Serviërs die in de huizen van uitgezette moslims waren betrokken, het dorp verlaten. Enkele

tientallen moslims, vooral bejaarden zoals Hamdo's ouders, hebben het erop gewaagd en zijn, na een jarenlang verblijf elders in het voormalige Joegoslavië of in het buitenland, teruggekeerd naar Ljubija. Hamdo's ouders konden zelfs weer terecht in hun eigen huis, maar zijn eigen appartement wordt nog steeds bewoond door Serviërs. Toen hij en zijn vrouw Nera na vijf jaar de Nederlandse nationaliteit verkregen, gingen ze diezelfde zomer voor het eerst terug en brachten ze een ongemakkelijk bezoek aan de Serviërs die in hun huis woonden. Hamdo gaf het verarmde gezin een handvol Duitse marken. „Een cadeau komt soms harder aan dan een klap”, liet hij toen lachend weten. „Bovendien waren die mensen ook op de vlucht geslagen. En je weet: ik koester geen haat tegen Serviërs omdat ze Serviërs zijn, ik zal alleen degenen met bloed aan hun handen nooit vergeven.”

Zelf was ik in Ljubija en de nabijgelegen stad Prijedor. Het was 1994 en de sfeer in de stad was om te snijden. Veel van de duizenden Bosnische doden zijn in dat deel van Bosnië gevallen, daar waren in 1992 ook de meest beruchte concentratiekampen: Omarska, Keraterm, Trnopolje.

In een huurauto was ik met mijn Servische tolk Vesna vanuit Belgrado naar het westelijk deel van de 'Republika Srpska' gereden. Prijedor was groten-deels etnisch gezuiverd, op enkele honderden mensen na, merendeels vrouwen, kinderen en bejaarden. Ik deelde met Vesna een kamer in Hotel Balkan, met uitzicht op het Leninplein, het hart van de stad. Tot onze ontzetting had de kamer geen gordijnen, zodat we pal in het zicht lagen van de Arkan-gangsters die de stad in handen hadden en van wie er altijd wel enkele op het plein rondhingen. 's Nachts hoorden we schoten en iedere ochtend vernamen we hoeveel huizen er die nacht in brand waren gestoken, hoeveel mensen er uit hun huis waren geslept of vermoord.

Officieel hadden we alleen toestemming om over „de Servische humanitaire problemen” te schrijven, maar ons eigenlijke doel waren verboden bezoeken aan Hamdo's tante en oom, en zijn grootmoeder, die als laatste moslims in het dorp waren achtergebleven. Via talloze omwegen wisten we Prijedor uit te komen, de checkpoints te omzeilen en Ljubija te bereiken.

„Het zal gaan zoals het altijd is gegaan”, zei Hamdo's oma. „Iedere generatie voert zijn eigen oorlog en de laatste oorlog (dit was haar vijfde) is altijd de ergste.” Enkele maanden later zou ook zij worden afgevoerd, in de open laadbak van een volgepakte vrachtwagen. Ze zou het huis waarin ze haar hele leven had gewoond, niet meer terugzien.

Ik reed terug langs de staketsels van afgebrande huizen in het late zonlicht, de angstaanjagende maar betoverende schoonheid van een etnisch gezuiverd landschap. In Belgrado voelde ik mijn afkeer. Hier was niets van de oorlog te merken, hier draaiden de pizzeria's overuren, hier stonden files en deden de

mensen ongestoord inkopen in het door Arkan gebouwde luxe winkelcentrum in het centrum van de stad. Voor de oorlog in Bosnië was weinig belangstelling, veel van de Serviërs die ik sprak beschouwden hun Bosnische volksgenoten zonder aarzeling als „primitieve boeren”. Maar ik wist en zij wisten wie op de achtergrond de oorlog orkestreerde en het is een merkwaardige sensatie om juist hem nu net zo lang als ik wil te kunnen observeren.

Weeë lucht

De oorlogen in het voormalige Joegoslavië hadden het voordeel van de nabijheid en de vertrouwelijkheid van het gebied. Iedere zichzelf respecterende regionale krant in Europa had er wel een verslaggever rondlopen. Voor velen was het de eerste confrontatie met een oorlog en die onervarenheid was er mede debet aan dat er in Kroatië en Bosnië meer journalisten om het leven kwamen dan in Vietnam.

Slobodan Milošević is een slachtoffer van de techniek. Voor het eerst beschikten verslaggevers over satelliettelefoons, laptopcomputers met modem en schotelantennes; de beschietingen op Sarajevo werden live uitgezonden. De oorlogen in het voormalige Joegoslavië behoren tot de best gedocumenteerde uit de geschiedenis, mede ook door de instelling van het tribunaal, dat al begon te functioneren toen de oorlog nog in volle gang was.

Nooit zal ik de weeë lucht vergeten van het massagraf waar Finse experts op hun knieën, met tandenborstels heel voorzichtig de aarde wegschuivend, naar menselijke resten zochten. Het was een onbewolkte zomerdag, over de karrensporen in het bos passeerden boeren op tractoren en ik was jarig. Nog altijd heb ik het beeld van het ziekenhuis in

Split op mijn nervlies, vier verdiepingen vol Bosnische kinderen met afgerukte ledematen, bloedsporen in de gangen.

Gisteren bekeek ik mijn tastbare overblijfsels van de oorlog: een mapje met mijn reportages voor deze krant en een collectie oorlogsgeld met als topstukken de serie kartonnen kaartjes uit Travnik waarop één, twee of drie D-mark staat gedrukt en een biljet van 50 miljard Servische dinar. Gekregen van de moeder van Jovan de sluipschutter, die op de bank een trui zat te breien en klaagde over de hoge prijzen, terwijl haar zoon uitlegde dat je, nadat je hebt geschoten, altijd even moest wachten. „Als hij nog leeft, schiet je nooit een tweede keer. Je wacht totdat ze hem proberen weg te halen, dat geeft je de kans er nog eens drie of vier extra te raken.”

Die sluipschutter loopt ongetwijfeld nog vrij rond, zoals heel veel van zijn collega's. En dat geldt helaas ook nog steeds voor de twee leiders die het meest direct betrokken waren bij genocide en andere oorlogsmisdaden: generaal Ratko Mladić en Radovan Karadžić, psychiater, dichter, voormalig president van de Republika Srpska en megalomaan. Hun arrestatie zou bovendien hoogstwaarschijnlijk de bewijsvoering in de zaak Milošević in een stroomversnelling brengen, al lijkt de kans dat ze alsnog zullen worden opgepakt steeds kleiner te worden.

Misschien is de wereld daarvoor na 11 september 2002 wel te veel veranderd.

Dit is de zesde aflevering van een serie artikelen van Nederlandstalige schrijvers die op verzoek van NRC Handelsblad het Joegoslavië-tribunaal in Den Haag bijwonen. Alfred van Cleef is auteur van 'De verloren wereld van de familie Berberović'. Onlangs verscheen zijn eerste roman 'Verlangen'.

Getuige steunt bij tribunaal Milošević

Door een onzer redacteurs
DEN HAAG, 21 FEBR. De geheime videoband die de aanklagers eerder deze week tijdens het proces tegen de voormalige Joegoslavische president Slobodan Milošević hebben gepresenteerd, is „geen betrouwbaar document”, maar „een overdrijving”. Dat zei getuige Dragan Vasiljković gisteren tijdens het kruisverhoor dat hem werd afgenomen door Milošević.

De videoband toont Milošević tijdens een ceremonie in een kamp van paramilitairen in 1997. Op de band vertelt een hoge officier van de Servische veiligheidsdienst, Franko Simantović, beter bekend als 'Frenki', over de activiteiten van zijn manschappen tijdens de oorlogen in Bosnië en Kroatië. In toespraken worden plaatsen genoemd waar, zoals later is gebleken, oorlogsmisdaden zijn gepleegd.

De activiteiten van de Servische veiligheidsdienst „waren een overdrijving” om een „mooi beeld te schetsen voor Milošević”, zei Vasiljković op vragen van Milošević, die het kruisverhoor afnam omdat hij geen advocaat heeft. Vasiljković, beter bekend als 'kapitein Dragan', leidde het Servische verzet in Kroatië tegen het bewind van de Kroatische leider Tudjman.

Volgens kapitein Dragan hadden de plaatselijke Kroatisch-Servische leiders, zoals Babić en Martić, het voor het zeggen, niet 'Belgrado' of Milošević. Met de videoband wilden de aanklagers juist aantonen en dat Milošević op de hoogte was van de oorlogsmisdaden van de paramilitairen en dat hij hen actief heeft gesteund.

Geheime video in zaak-Milošević

Door een onzer redacteurs
DEN HAAG, 20 FEBR. De aanklagers in het Milošević-proces hebben gisteren een tot nu toe geheime, belastende videoband getoond. De videoband toont de toenmalige president van Servië tijdens een ceremonie in een kamp van paramilitairen in 1997. Op de band vertelt een hoge officier van de Servische veiligheidsdienst Franko Simatović, beter bekend als 'Frenki', over de activiteiten van zijn manschappen tijdens de oorlogen in Bosnië en Kroatië. In toespraken worden tal van plaatsen genoemd waar, zoals later is gebleken, oorlogsmisdaden zijn gepleegd.

Massamoord Kosovaren Račak niet in scène gezet

Door een onzer redacteurs
DEN HAAG, 12 MAART. De massamoord op Albanen in het dorp Račak in Kosovo, in januari 1999, was niet in scène gezet. Dat heeft de Finse forensische expert Helena Ranta vanochtend bevestigd in haar getuigenis voor het Joegoslavië-tribunaal in het proces tegen de Joegoslavische ex-president Milošević.

De massamoord op ruim veertig Kosovo-Albanen in Račak was mede aanleiding voor het begin van de NAVO-bombardementen op Joegoslavië in maart 1999. Ranta leidde het forensisch onderzoek naar hun dood.

De Servische autoriteiten en ook een aantal Westerse journalisten stelden later dat de moord op 23 Albanen die waren gevonden in een greppel net buiten het dorp in scène was gezet om NAVO-bombardementen uit te lokken. De slachtoffers zouden strijders zijn geweest van het Kosovo Bevrijdingsleger UÇK en in gevechten met de Servische troepen zijn

2003
omgekomen. Hun lichamen zouden later door andere UÇK-militairen in de greppel zijn gelegd om de indruk te wekken dat de Albanen waren geëxecuteerd door de Serviërs.

Ranta verklaarde vanochtend dat er nooit aanwijzingen zijn gevonden dat de Albanen in de greppel „iets anders waren dan ongewapende burgers”. Ranta had al eerder in vraaggesprekken, in het Zwitserse weekblad *Die Weltwoche* en ook in deze krant, gezegd dat uit haar onderzoek was gebleken dat de Albanen in de greppel zelf waren gedood, en dat ze niet van grote afstand waren getroffen.

Er was ook vastgesteld waar de schutters stonden, en in welke positie de Albanen door kogels waren geraakt. In de grond van de greppel hadden de Finse onderzoekers kogels gevonden met resten menselijk materiaal waarvan het DNA overeenkwam met dat van een van de slachtoffers.

De aanklagers van het tribunaal

Kritiek Europees Hof op berechting Öcalan

Reuters, AFP
STRAATSBURG

13-3-2003
Het Europees Hof voor de Mensenrechten heeft Turkije woensdag bekritiseerd voor de manier waarop PKK-leider Abdullah Öcalan is berecht en de manier waarop hij na zijn aanhouding is behandeld.

Volgens het hof was het proces niet eerlijk, omdat een militaire rechter enkele hoorzittingen heeft bijgewoond en de PKK-leider niet onbeperkt met zijn advocaten kon spreken. Ook is Öcalan volgens het hof ten onrechte niet snel na zijn aanhouding aan een rechter voorgeleid en heeft hij ten onrechte niet de gelegenheid gekregen de wettigheid van zijn detentie door een rechter te laten beoordelen.

In theorie betekent het vonnis dat Turkije Öcalan opnieuw zou moeten berechten, maar het vonnis is niet bindend.

Europees hof spreekt uit:

Turkije gaf Öcalan geen eerlijk proces

2003
STRAATSBURG, 13 MAART. Het Europese Hof voor de Rechten van de Mens heeft Turkije gisteren terecht gewezen voor de manier waarop de leider van de Koerdische Arbeiderspartij (PKK), Abdullah Öcalan, in 1999 werd berecht.

Ook is er kritiek op de manier waarop de leider van de verboden, separatistische PKK na zijn aanhouding is behandeld.

Volgens het hof in Straatsburg was het staatsveiligheidshof dat Öcalan veroordeelde tot de doodstraf „geen onafhankelijk en onpartijdig tribunaal”. Het vonnis wegens hoogverraad werd vorig jaar oktober omgezet in een levenslange gevangenisstraf, nadat Turkije de doodstraf had afgeschaft. Het Europese hof baseerde zijn uitspraak op het feit dat een militaire rechter enkele zittingen bijwoonde, en de advocaten van de PKK-leider geen onbeperkte toegang hadden tot hun cliënt.

Bovendien meent het hof dat Öcalan na zijn arrestatie in Kenia niet snel genoeg werd voorgeleid en hij niet de kans kreeg de wettigheid van zijn arrestatie door een rechter te laten beoordelen. De zvenkoppige rechtbank vindt wel dat de omstandigheden waaronder de Turks-Koerdische leider wordt vastgehouden – eenzame opsluiting op het onbewoonde eiland Imrali – niet ontoelaatbaar zijn. De omstandigheden hebben „nog niet het minimumniveau van hardheid bereikt waarop over inhumane en vernederende behandeling kan worden gesproken”, aldus het hof.

Het hof heeft de PKK-leider een schadevergoeding van 100.000 euro toegewezen.

Ankara zegt hoger beroep te zullen aantekenen tegen het vonnis.

„We hebben gezien dat het hof enige amendementen in onze wetten niet diepgravend genoeg heeft bekeken”, aldus een verklaring van het Turkse ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken. In een reactie zei minister van Buitenlandse Zaken, Yasar Yakış, dat een nieuw proces tegen Öcalan tot ongeveer hetzelfde vonnis zou leiden. „Er verandert niets aan het feit dat Öcalan de dood van duizenden mensen heeft veroorzaakt”, aldus de minister. De Turkse rechter die Öcalan in 1999 veroordeelde, zei in een reactie dat „dit nogmaals aantoonde dat het hof met twee maten meet als het over Turkije gaat”. „Mijn geweten is schoon”, aldus Turgut Okay.

Veel Turken achten Öcalan verantwoordelijk voor de dood van zo'n 30.000 mensen in de oorlog die de PKK begin jaren tachtig in Zuidoost-Turkije lanceerde tegen het Turkse leger voor Koerdische onafhankelijkheid. Na de gewanzenetting van Öcalan heeft de PKK, tegenwoordig KADEK, de gewapende strijd opgegeven.

Het constitutionele hof, de hoogste Turkse rechtbank, heeft vanochtend de pro-Koerdische Volks Democratische Partij (HA-DEP) verboden wegens contacten met Koerdische separatisten. Even later diende de hoogste openbare aanklager een verzoek in om de overblijvende Koerdische partij, de Democratische Volkspartij (DE-HAP), eveneens te verbieden. (AP, AFP)

Amerikaan zit VN-tribunaal voor

2023
Door een onzer redacteurs
DEN HAAG, 28 FEBR. De permanente rechters van het Joegoslavië-tribunaal hebben de Amerikaan Theodor Meron (72) gekozen tot hun president. Meron volgt per 11 maart de Franse voorzitter Claude Jorda op, die op die dag wordt beëdigd als rechter bij het Internationaal Strafhof. Meron is in Polen geboren, studeerde in Jeruzalem en is sinds 1977 hoogleraar internationaal recht. Sinds 2001 is hij lid van de Kamer van Beroep van het Joegoslavië- en het Rwanda-tribunaal.

Gisteren verschenen in een andere rechtszaal van het VN-hof de eerste verdachten van het Kosovo-Bevrijdingsleger UÇK voor de rechter. Haradin Bala, Isak Musliu en Agim Murtezi waren maandag opgepakt door KFOR, de door de NAVO geleide vredesmacht in Kosovo. Zij worden beschuldigd van misdaden tegen de menselijkheid en oorlogsmisdaden. 2-3

Op vragen van de Chinese VN-rechter Liu Daqun verklaarden de drie onschuldig te zijn. Het etnisch Albanese UÇK vocht jarenlang tegen het Servische bestuur in Kosovo. In de eerste UÇK-aanklacht van het tribunaal staat een vierde verdachte, Fatmir Limaj. Hij werd dinsdag opgepakt in Slovenië en wordt binnenkort overgebracht naar Den Haag.

De tenlastelegging heeft betrekking op misdaden in het kamp Lapusnik in 1998. De verdachten waren in het kamp als bewaker of commandant actief. Gedetineerden zouden er zijn geslagen, gemarteld en vermoord. In bijlagen bij de tenlastelegging zijn de namen vermeld van 22 gedetineerden die zijn vermoord. Onder de slachtoffers waren zowel Serviërs als Albanese die door het UÇK als collaborateurs werden beschouwd.

Milošević is opnieuw ziek

2023
Door een onzer redacteurs
DEN HAAG, 19 MAART. Het proces tegen Slobodan Milošević is voor onbepaalde tijd geschorst omdat de ex-president van Joegoslavië weer ziek is. Rechter Richard May zei gisteren dat Milošević opnieuw last heeft van hoge bloeddruk en naar een cardioloog moet voor controle. Hij moet een paar dagen rust houden. De rechters van het tribunaal buigen zich vandaag over de vraag hoe de planning van het Milošević-proces moet worden aangepast, nu hij steeds vaker ziek is.

Sagittarius

Van: "CDSM" <cdsm_b@btopenworld.com>
Aan: <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>
Verzonden: dinsdag 25 maart 2003 0:07
Onderwerp: URGENT: Medical mistreatment of President
URGENT ALLERT FROM SLOBODA

**MEDICAL MISTREATMENT OF PRESIDENT
MILOSEVIC**

Belgrade, March 24, 2003

On the basis of information that has been reached us today, we state:

Slobodan Milosevic is being given a medication against the high blood pressure called Labetalol (belonging to the class of beta-blockers) which is producing in his case dazedness and insomnia.

Until yesterday President Milosevic has not been informed about these possible side effects of the medication.

Dazedness as a side effect forces him to invest additional efforts and strength to be able to fulfill his hard schedule. And insomnia as another side effect caused by the medication is making for him necessary minimum of rest impossible.

It is becoming obvious that at The Hague we don't even deal any more with a faked trial, but with the simple torture.

If one takes into account the everyday fiasco of the fake indictment and of the fake witnesses – the motives for such a mistreatment become clear.

These are the facts we know, but we can only guess what other means they use to disable President Milosevic.

At the same time, the Trial Chamber persistently denies to President Milosevic both opportunity to recover and time to get properly prepared for the process. And everyone knows that he has no intention to escape, but a strongest determination to defeat and expose the crime against Yugoslavia and Serbian people.

SLOBODA/Freedom Association feels obliged to inform the Yugoslav

and international public about this criminal mistreatment.

**TO DIRECT YOUR APPEALS IN INCREASED NUMBER, PLEASE
USE THE FOLLOWING ADDRESSES:**

International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia

ICTY

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Trial Chamber III President: Richard May

Registrar: Hans Holthius

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Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello

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<http://www.unhchr.ch/html/contact.htm>

E-mail: tb-petitions@ohchr.org

To join or help this struggle, visit:

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

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

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

icdsm temporary address:

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

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Sagittarius

Van: "CDSM" <cdsm_b@btopenworld.com>
 Aan: <Undisclosed-Recipient:>
 Verzonden: woensdag 26 maart 2003 9:47
 Onderwerp: THE GLOBAL WAR AND DEADLY LIES OF THE
 HAGUE

THE GLOBAL WAR

(Front one: Yugoslavia; Front two: Afghanistan;
 Front three: Israel/Palestine; Front four: Iraq;
 Front five, six, seven...)

AND DEADLY LIES OF THE HAGUE

1. Today, in absence of the ill President Milosevic, the ICTY was discussing how to further punish him. The options were to examine witnesses without his presence and to discuss his medical condition in his absence on the basis of the opinion of a medical expert proposed by Prosecution (!?) who never examined the President.

Trial chamber so far made no decision.

All this was discussed after it was stated that President Milosevic refuses to receive the medications, what makes him responsible for his medical condition.

This was a total lie.

President Milosevic was never refusing to take the medication, even after he was only last Sunday warned about its side effects.

But this morning the medication (Labetalol) was changed for the one he was taking for years until several months ago (Metaprolol).

All this is no surprise, since everything in ICTY is based on lies.

2. So, the summary would be the following:

- President Milosevic with malignant hypertension and secondary heart damages was abducted and taken to **The Hague**;
- Horrible prison conditions (no fresh air!) and workload of the trial (examination of the 10 years of history of NATO Balkans nightmare) that can be compared with no other defendant in history have

produced deterioration of his condition;

- Since with extremely high blood pressure he can not attend the trial, they have tried to down the blood pressure with stronger and improper medications that often produce side effects;
- These medications by its side effects disable him to attend the trial.
- That is called a deadlock. And what is response of the ICTY? Lies and punishment!

3. President of ICTY and some Western governments try all the time to assure appealing citizens, MPs, organizations that President Milosevic receives medical treatment of highest level and standards. How can they say it again?

4. Why they try to silence President Milosevic?

Why they impose dictatorship in Yugoslavia?

Because Yugoslavia was a laboratory of a planned perpetual World crisis from which the Empire would take benefit and rule. And because Yugoslavia and Serbian people have a speaker higher than all the Empire administrators put together. A person who is a witness of their crimes and who is able to expose them. To expose the darkest and the most anti-human project ever: to create national and religious hatred, terrorism, all kinds of extremism and then to use them as a pretext for gargantuan mass murder and mass destruction in order to grab the whole World wealth and to live on blood and sweat of the mankind. To warn the World and to become a leader of anti-globalist, anti-fascist and anti-colonial resistance. His name is Slobodan Milosevic.

ACT TO STOP THE CRIME!

Belgrade, March 26, 2003

SLOBODA/Freedom Association

To join or help this struggle, visit:

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

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

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Sagittarius

Van: "Vladimir Krsljanin" <slobodavk@yubc.net>
Aan: <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>
Verzonden: donderdag 27 maart 2003 16:37
Onderwerp: European Peace Forum on Aggression, Milosevic and Situation in
Statement of the Presidium of the European Peace Forum (epf) on the occasion of the anniversary of NATO aggression against Yugoslavia and on the „Hague Tribunal“

Meeting of the Enlarged Presidium of the European Peace Forum,

Prague, March 21, 2003

For over a year now the trial of Slobodan Milosevic, the president of the Socialist Party of Serbia and the long time president of Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, has been going on before the so-called International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia. This trial in a court, which was established in violation of the UN Charter, is designed to legitimize in the retrospect the illegal interference of NATO states in the internal conflict of Yugoslavia, their acts committed in order to disrupt the federation of six equal republics, fostering civil war and followed by their aggression against the Balkan country, and to shift the responsibility for the crimes of the aggressors on the shoulders of the aggressed.

Despite the fact, that the chief prosecutor, appointed by NATO, doesn't lack anything in terms of secret service assistance and obvious partiality of the judges, political support of most of NATO member states and subservient assistance from the rulers in Belgrade, carefully selected and prepared witnesses as well as staff and money – the court so far has spent more than one billion US-Dollars, many times the amount assigned for “immediate assistance” to Serbia and Montenegro – they have not succeeded in bringing Slobodan Milosevic to his heels.

On the contrary, the accused, who became the symbol of resistance against the disruption of Yugoslavia and against the dictate of foreign powers and their war of aggression, despite being subjected to intolerable conditions of prison detainment and court procedures, has become the accuser of NATO. This is mainly, why this trial, which was trumpeted as a war legitimizing show, in the coverage of quite a few media has turned into a sort of secret trial, covering up the debacle of the prosecutors and the sovereign stance of the accused defending himself.

The political objectives to be served with this trial go far beyond the former Yugoslavia and the Balkans. The leading power of NATO patronizing this trial intends to demonstrate to the whole world by way of example, that any resistance against the global ambitions of the US will not be tolerated and will be punished without mercy. States supporting politically the illegal Hague tribunal and also in terms of staff and money, approving and promoting the trial against the former Yugoslav President, are also supporting – willingly or unwillingly – the hegemonial ambitions of the US, their threatening approach towards the “Axis of Evil”, their intention to reshape entire regions of the world according to Washington's own taste and geostrategic interests. In the same way the war against Yugoslavia has prepared the war against the Iraqi People, the trial against Slobodan Milosevic is meant to create a precedent for the masters of the imperialist globalisation intending to deal with their present and future opponents in a similar way.

Any person, who condemns the US-Government's plans for world domination – whatever reason one might have for that condemnation – , any person who declares, as recently even did some NATO governments, that it is impossible to accept that the strength of the law is replaced by the law of the stronger one, such a person, if he or she means to be honest, should not be able any longer to support the Hague trial, which is instrumental in the abuse of the international law, replacing it precicely by the law of the stronger one.

The international law can not be split up. It must apply in the Balkans as well as in the Near and Middle East and anywhere in the world. This is, what we are struggling for. Therefore on the eve of the fourth anniversary of NATO aggression against Yugoslavia we renew our demands for:

- an immediate end of the trials of Slobodan Milosevic and the other Yugoslavs accused as well as their immediate release,
- the dissolution of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia which was established in breach of the UN Charter
- the ratification, as soon as possible, by the United States of America and other states of the Treaty of Rome establishing a legally constituted International Criminal Court and an extension of its jurisdiction in order to apply also to the crime of aggression and other crimes against peace,
- the punishment of NATO leaders responsible for the war of aggression against Yugoslavia,
- war reparations for Serbia and Montenegro,
- compensation for damage for war victims in those countries.

In view of recent political developments in Serbia and Montenegro we strongly condemn, that the criminal investigations against the supposed assassins of Prime Minister Zoran Djindjic are being used as an excuse by the Serbian Government in order to suspend fundamental civil rights.

We demand:

- the immediate stop of the arbitrary and politically motivated arrests,
- the guarantee of all democratic rights for the indicted individuals,
- the abolition of the censorship of the media and the guarantee of the unimpeded right to obtain information,
- the restoration of the freedom of association, the right of assembly and the right to demonstrate publicly,
- the immediate end of the criminalization of political opposition.

Prague, March 21, 2003

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Ex-presidenten mogen naar proces-Milošević

2003

BELGRADO, 28 MAART. De Servische regering heeft drie voormalige medewerkers van de Joegoslaviische ex-president Slobodan Milošević toestemming gegeven te getuigen in het proces tegen Milošević voor het Joegoslavië-tribunaal. De drie waren daar tot nu toe niet in staat omdat ze bij wet gebonden zijn aan het bewaren van staatsgeheimen waarvan ze weet hebben. Van die verplichting zijn ze nu ontslagen. De drie zijn twee ex-presidenten van Joegoslavië, Borisav Jović en Zoran Lilić, en Goran Milinović, die kabinetschef van Milošević is geweest. (AP)

Sagittarius

Van: "CDSM" <cdsm_b@btopenworld.com>
 Aan: <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>
 Verzonden: vrijdag 28 maart 2003 1:38
 Onderwerp: European Peace Forum on Aggression, Milosevic and Situation in

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Meeting of the Enlarged Presidium of the European Peace Forum,

Prague, March 21, 2003

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Prague, March 21, 2003

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Sagittarius

Van: "CDSM" <cdsm_b@btopenworld.com>

Aan: <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>

Verzonden: zondag 30 maart 2003 22:26

Onderwerp: STOP THE POLITICAL ARRESTS IN

Note: Police in Belgrade have confiscated computers and mailing lists of Sloboda (Freedom Association) and so help is needed to distribute this notice. Please circulate widely and protest this farce they call 'democracy.' - CDSM

Dear comrades and friends,

The following is an important short update on the situation in Yugoslavia due to recent attacks on SLOBODA, Slobodan Milosevic, Mira Markovic, Vladimir Krsljanin and Boguljub Bjelica!

Since yesterday, the situation in Belgrade has reached another peak. It seems like speculations that the state is misusing the state of emergency to oppress circles around Slobodan Milosevic and other potential opposition forces became true.

After a couple of verbal attacks in recent weeks, actions are taking place now.

After the body of (since 3 years missing) former Serbian president Ivan Stambolic was found, government and media sources say that Mr. Milosevic and his wife are responsible of the murder of Stambolic!!! Of no evidences are presented or found (for quotes from the media see at the end of this message).

This terrible attack on Slobodan Milosevic and his wife and family goes along with the attack on people supporting Mr. Milosevics defense and political struggle.

Yesterday, the office of SLOBODA (the organization working for the defense of SM) was searched by the police. Mr. Milosevics International Relations advicer Vladimir Krsljanins computer was taken by the police, as well as his personal computer after they searched his privat home as well. While he was released after a couple of hours, another associate of Mr. Milosevic, Boguljub Bjelica, is imprisoned since yesterday!!! He is head of SLOBODA.

They use the murder case of Stambolic as a pretext to search (hunt) for Mr. Milosevics wife, the arrest of Mr. Bjelica and the weakening of the defense and political opposition.

I sent you attached as word-document the draft of a fastly made statement this morning by SLOBODA.

We ask you to react as soon as possible by sending any kind of protest message to the Yugoslav embassy in your country.

Embassy of Serbia and Montenegro (in U.S.)
2134 Kalorama Rd, NW
Washington, DC 20008

Phone/Fax/Web

Tel: (202) 332-0333

Fax: (202) 332-3933

Fax (Consular): (202) 332-5974

Please, contact us for any further information needed.

In struggle,

Cathrin Schuetz at SLOBODA, March 29, 2003

Statement by Sloboda (Freedom Association)

STOP THE POLITICAL ARRESTS IN BELGRADE!

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

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

1. Bogoljub Bjelica, President of SLOBODA/Freedom Association – Yugoslav Committee for the Defense of Slobodan Milosevic, Chairman of the Organizational-Political Committee of the President of SPS, former Deputy Federal Minister of Defense;
2. Uros Suvakovic, Member of the Board of SLOBODA/Freedom Association – Yugoslav Committee for the Defense of Slobodan Milosevic, Main Editor of the Theoretical Journal of SPS "SMISAO", former Assistant of the General Secretary of SPS;
3. Goran Matic, Vice-President of YUL, until recently Federal MP, former Federal Minister of Information.

STATEMENT OF SLOBODA/Freedom Association

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

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

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

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

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

the suppression of the citizen's rights and freedoms.

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

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

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

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

SLOBODA/FREEDOM Association, Belgrade, March 29, 2003

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

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

MEDIA COVERAGE

**Body of ex-Serb president found
Ian Black, European editor
Saturday March 29, 2003
The Guardian (London)**

Slobodan Milosevic, the former leader of Yugoslavia, is to be questioned about the murder of a former president of Serbia, whose body was discovered yesterday, three years after he went missing, authorities in Belgrade announced.

Ivan Stambolic's body was found in a grave on a mountain in northern Serbia. He had been shot twice.

Four members of a special police unit loyal to Mr. Milosevic have been arrested for the murder.

The discovery of the body came during the investigation into the assassination of the prime minister, Zoran Djindjic, earlier this month.

The interior minister, Dusan Mihajlovic, said Stambolic, Serbia's president during the late 1980s, had been missing since August 2000 after being abducted while jogging in a park in Belgrade.

Mr Milosevic is believed to have ordered his removal because of fears that Stambolic might run against him in the Yugoslav presidential elections in October that year.

Mr Milosevic lost that vote to Vojislav Kostunica and was toppled in a popular revolt after refusing to concede defeat. He is now in the Hague, standing trial on genocide charges at the UN war crimes tribunal.

The dead man's son, Veljko, 36, said: "I will finally be able to bury my father's body and light a candle at his grave. Now we can give him a decent funeral and mourn him properly.

"We knew from the outset who did it, it was so clear. Milosevic was afraid of my father as his most prominent political opponent. It is sad that Djindjic had to die for this murder to be solved," he claimed.

Mr Milosevic's wife, Mira Markovic, is also to be questioned, but police said she had disappeared.

Late on Thursday, police shot two men described as leading suspects in the Djindjic murder. The two were leaders of an underworld group called the Zemun clan and were accused by police of masterminding the assassination.

Seeking killer of premier, Serbians find body of a murdered president **Friday, 28-Mar-2003 6:50AM**

BELGRADE, March 28 (AFP) - Security forces hunting for the killers of prime minister Zoran Djindjic have unearthed the remains of another Serbian leader who met a violent end, and the authorities believe some of the same men were behind the two killings, officials said on Friday.

Interior Minister Dusan Mihajlovic said security forces in the Balkan republic had found the remains of former Serbian president Ivan Stambolic, who vanished in August 2000, buried in a ditch on Fruska Gora Mountain in the north of the country.

... The Serbian interior minister said the motive for the abduction and murder of Stambolic had been political, being "aimed at eliminating Stambolic as a candidate in the elections" of September 2000.

"This clearly shows who could have ordered the assassination" of Stambolic, he said, in a clear reference to Milosevic. ... "We intend to question Milosevic at The Hague, and also his wife, Mira Markovic", Mihajlovic said.

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'Mira Markovic gevlucht naar Rusland'

31-3-2003

BELGRADO - Mirjana Markovic, echtgenote van de gedetineerde ex-president van Joegoslavië Slobodan Milosevic, zit in Rusland. Volgens opgave van het Servische ministerie van binnenlandse zaken heeft Markovic haar land al op 23 februari verlaten.

Media in Belgrado meldden vrijdag dat de regering op zoek is naar Markovic. Volgens minister van binnenlandse zaken Mihajlovic wil de politie haar ondervragen in verband met de moord op de Servische oud-president Ivan Stambolic, wiens stoffelijke resten onlangs zijn gevonden.

Stambolic verdween tijdens het hardlopen in Belgrado vlak voor de val van Milosevic in de herfst van 2002. Volgens Mihajlovic blijkt uit het onderzoek dat Stambolic is vermoord door een speciale politie-eenheid.

Slobodan Milosevic staat sinds februari 2002 terecht voor het Joegoslavië-Tribunaal in Den Haag. Zijn proces is voor de zoveelste keer onderbroken wegens hoge bloeddruk en wordt in principe vandaag hervat. In de wandelgangen van het VN-hof wordt druk gespeculeerd dat dat wellicht niet doorgaat, vanwege het mogelijke effect van de ontwikkelingen rond Markovic op de bloeddruk van Milosevic. 'Slobo' is heel erg gehecht aan zijn jeugdliefde Mira.

Politie Servië zoekt vrouw Milošević

BELGRADO, 31 MAART. De Servische politie is op zoek naar Mira Marković, de echtgenote van oud-president Slobodan Milošević. De politie wil haar ondervragen in verband met de moord op de Servische premier Zoran Djindjić.

De politie verdenkt Marković en haar echtgenoot ook van betrokkenheid bij de moord op Ivan Stambolić in het jaar 2000. Stambolić overwoog destijds of hij zich tegenkandidaat zou stellen van Milošević bij de presidentsverkiezingen.

Het lichaam van Stambolić, die zowel president van Servië is geweest als partijleider en mentor van Milošević, werd vrijdag gevonden op een berghelling zo'n zeventig kilometer ten noorden van Belgrado. Naar aanleiding van die vondst werd vrijdag de aanhou-

ding gelast van Mira Marković.

Volgens de politie heeft Marković op 23 februari het land verlaten, vermoedelijk naar Rusland. De politie zegt een internationaal aanhoudingsbevel tegen haar te hebben uitgevaardigd, maar autoriteiten in Rusland hebben gezegd van niets te weten. (Reuters, AP)

□ Een onzer redacteuren voegt hieraan toe: Voor het Joegoslavië-tribunaal beklagde Milošević zich vanochtend over een mediacampagne in Belgrado tegen hem en zijn vrouw.

Volgens Milošević is er een „verband tussen die zogenaamde aanklagers daar”, waarbij hij wees naar de aanklagers van het VN-hof, en de „campagne” tegen zijn vrouw. „Ik zeg dat zij was georganiseerd door deze onwettige aanklagers hier”, aldus Milošević.

Sagittarius

Van: "Ruza" <despot@wish.net>
Aan: "Nico & Neeltje" <sagitar@hetnet.nl>; "Herman Tollenaere, de" <hde_tollenaere@zonnet.nl>;
 "Jan Beentjes" <jbeentjes@mac.com>
Verzonden: maandag 31 maart 2003 23:01
Onderwerp: Fw: [www.ANTIC.org] Zyuganov: Stop the repression in Serbia!

— Original Message —

From: Vladimir Krsljanin
To: <mailto:Undisclosed-Recipient:@yubc.net>
Sent: Monday, March 31, 2003 10:23 PM
Subject: [www.ANTIC.org] Zyuganov: Stop the repression in Serbia!

PEOPLES'-PATRIOTIC ALLIANCE OF RUSSIA

ALL-RUSSIAN SOCIAL MOVEMENT

Moscow, 31st March, 2003

STOP THE REPRESSION IN SERBIA!

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

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

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

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

The Peoples'-Patriotic Alliance of Russia condemns the use of the state of emergency in Serbia for terrorizing the political opponents of the present regime and calls upon the Government of Serbia to restore as soon as possible the generally recognized citizens' freedoms.

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

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

Gennady Zyuganov

STOP THE POLITICAL REPRESSION IN SERBIA!

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

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Van: "CDSM" <cdsm_b@btopenworld.com>
 Aan: <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>
 Verzonden: dinsdag 1 april 2003 10:07
 Onderwerp: MILOSEVIC: LAWLESSNES AND TERROR IN

MILOSEVIC:**LAWLESSNES AND TERROR IN SERBIA**

After couple of days of the unprecedented media campaign in Serbia, spreading the fabricated allegations against President Milosevic and in the first place against his wife Professor Mira Markovic, about the possible involvement in the disappearance and murder of Ivan Stambolic, this morning President Milosevic expressed his position at the beginning of the morning session of the Hague tribunal.

Let us recall some facts: After he defeated politically his bureaucratic rival and earlier close party colleague Stambolic in late 1980s, Slobodan Milosevic provided him with a fine post of the director of YUBMES (Yugoslav Bank for International Economic Cooperation) bank, where he stayed around 10 years, until retired. As a pensioner in late 1990s, until his disappearance, he continued with private business, including oil. He never again played any role in active politics, nor was, as ex-communist, ever truly accepted by that time opposition. In 2000, he was advocating that Goran Svilanovic (today Foreign Minister) should be chosen as common presidential candidate of DOS. On August 10, DOS formally elected Kostunica as a candidate. Stambolic disappeared on August 25, too late to appear even as individual candidate at the presidential elections scheduled for September 24. Since DOS immediately started blaming "Milosevic regime" his disappearance produced only political harm for Milosevic.

Victims of the present campaign are until now, three innocent comrades, who are arrested on purely political ground, to serve as hostages, in order to increase pressure on Milosevic and to weaken his position at The Hague, Bogoljub Bjelica, chairman of SLOBODA/Freedom Association-Yugoslav Committee for the Defense of Slobodan Milosevic, as well as Uros Suvakovic and Goran Matic, who are depicted by DOS propaganda as "closest political associates" of Mira Markovic.

Here is what President Slobodan Milosevic said this morning at The Hague:

Richard May:

The interpreters haven't heard what you have said.

President Slobodan Milosevic

I said that I want to express some requests before the witness starts. First of all, I request from you to allow that I'll be questioned in connection with an unprecedented media campaign, which is being held in Belgrade. This campaign started just before the last weekend, in the conditions of total lawlessness and terror created by the regime...

Richard May:

The only things we deal here with, are those linked to this trial. In this moment I don't see that what you are saying has anything to do with this trial. If you are concerned that... that thing can affect this trial, or that the Chamber in this trial could be biased because of that, you shouldn't worry. This Chamber does not take into account, and even does not follow very much what's printed in the press. So we are here to try on the basis of the facts. If this, what are you telling us, has anything to do with this trial, than you can speak. If not, you know that we can't listen to that.

President Slobodan Milosevic

It has to do with this trial, Mr. May and therefore I think that you are obliged to listen to me. I find and I will insist on that, that there is a link between this so-called prosecution and the media campaign and the accusations present in that media campaign these days. They are being conducted against my wife and myself in a way that we are through media accused, tried and sentenced. There is no judicial but a media process. The best proof for that is the fact that they haven't even came to question me, although they loudly announced that and your spokesman confirmed, I saw that on TV, that they can come here and question me. They know very well that it was I who had power and not my wife, but they haven't approached me, but they attack my wife, which is the best proof that they are not interested in any truth, but that they conduct...

Richard May:

Wait, the things we can deal with here are only the things related to this trial. The things regarding your wife are not the matter of this trial.

I will consult my colleagues to see if we have to listen to you further about that subject. What is the relation, according to you, between the Prosecution and those others? If on that you can say anything coherent, we will listen to you, but you are expressing now only some wild allegations.

President Slobodan Milosevic

Mr. May, I consider and I will prove it that the retaliation against my wife and my children is being performed only because of myself and because of the struggle I conduct here. So I claim that this retaliation is orchestrated with this illegal prosecution.

Richard May:

Just a moment, just a moment. Mr. Milosevic, we are not going to listen to you any more. What you are talking now is a speech about the Belgrade. It has nothing to do with this trial. We are going now to a closed session in order to examine the following witness.

President Milosevic has not been allowed to finish. He then used the first following opportunity to condemn the illegal arrest of Bogoljub Bjelica and his other associates, as a part of the same pressure, aimed to undermine his struggle for the truth about his nation.

Later today, at the press conference of YUL in Belgrade, the following written message of his wife Professor Mira Markovic, sent from Russia, has been presented:

I follow the untruth, disgusting and with a retaliation against the political opponents motivated accusations against me.

Of course that I am in no relation to any of the crimes in Yugoslavia. Nor I have any relation with any criminal activity at all. I have never been in conflict with the laws of my country. All those who accuse me know that perfectly well. The accusations against me are motivated only by a wish to destabilize my husband at The Hague, to put shadow on his brilliant defense. The accusations against me are a retaliation, a punishment for the beautiful, dignified, clever and remarkable personality of Slobodan Milosevic before the court in The Hague. Him – since he is like that, they want to kill.

They attempt to exhaust him physically and psychically that much, so that he could not appear before the court or die from exhaustion. They commit a crime against him in front of the whole World. About that I write and write and write and speak wherever I can.

The other form of fight against him is myself. The pressures on me are aimed to destabilize him, so that the pain because of the injustice towards me binds his hands. The one who came to such idea and who accomplishes that is someone without any honor, any moral, he is a bastard in the Serbian people and in the human race.

The attacks on me and the intention to liquidate me are motivated with an additional low and inferior motive – some in the rightist government see me as a pretty smart and for that reason dangerous political opponent. Since they can not overspeak me politically, it seems to them easier to pronounce me as a criminal personality and to remove me that way from the public scene.

One who is not in possession of the words, one whose mind is moderate and whose heart is small, turns towards the violence. The violence is a weapon of weak and immoral persons.

I left Belgrade near the end of February for personal and family reasons.

Professor Mira Markovic

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Ontvoerde ex-president Servië: lijk van Stambolić gevonden

Door onze redacteur PETER MICHIELSEN

ROTTERDAM, 29 MAART. Servische militairen hebben gisteren het lichaam gevonden van de in het jaar 2000 ontvoerde Servische ex-president en ex-partijleider Ivan Stambolić. Dat heeft de Servische regering gemeld.

Het lichaam van Stambolić werd, bedekt met ongebluste kalk, gevonden op de hellingen van de berg Fruška Gora, ongeveer zeventig kilometer ten noorden van Belgrado, zo meldde gisteren de Servische minister van Binnenlandse Zaken, Dušan Mihajlović, op een persconferentie. De voormalige Servische leider is vermoord met twee kogels. Vier verdachten zijn gearresteerd. Ze zijn allen lid van de JSO, een elite-eenheid van de Servische geheime dienst met veel connecties met de maffiabende van Zemun. De JSO is deze week ontbonden.

De na de moord op premier Zoran Djindjić op 12 maart begonnen klopjacht op de leden van de diverse maffiacians in Servië, en dan vooral de bende van Zemun, die Djindjić zou hebben vermoord, heeft deze maand de mysterieuze verdwijning van Ivan Stambolić weer actueel gemaakt.

In het kader van die klopjacht zijn meer dan drieduizend mensen gearresteerd en ruim duizend op grond van de geldende noodtoestand voor een periode van dertig dagen ingesloten. Bij de verhoren is – volgens de Servische autoriteiten – duidelijk geworden dat de bende van Zemun niet alleen Zoran Djindjić heeft doodgeschoten, maar ook verantwoordelijk is voor de moord op de journalist Slavko Ćuruvija, een moordaanslag op de Servische oppositieleider Vuk Drašković en de ontvoering van en moord op Stambolić.

Stambolić was de grote mentor van Slobodan Milošević: een familiëvriend – volgens zijn biografen de enige die Milošević ooit heeft gehad – die zelfs zijn kum werd. Een kum is een huwelijksgetuige, maar het woord staat in de Servische traditie voor veel meer: een bloedbroeder voor het leven.

In het kader van zijn eigen carrière in de Servische politiek (premier van 1980 tot 1982, partijleider van 1984 tot 1986 en president van Servië in 1986 en 1987; zijn broer Petar Stambolić was president van Joegoslavië in 1982 en 1983) deed

Stambolić alles om die van zijn vriend Milošević te stimuleren: dankzij Stambolić werd Milošević bankdirecteur en maakte Milošević ook carrière in de communistische partij, met als bekroning het partijleiderschap – als opvolger van zijn kum, die president werd.

Een jaar later evenwel, ontdeed Milošević zich in een als klassiek en typisch bekendgeworden manoeuvre van zijn mentor: toen hij zelf het nationalisme ontdekte als een kracht die hem in Servië aan de alleenheerschappij kon brengen, ontdeed hij zich genadeloos van iedereen die er anders over dacht, inclusief de gematigde en voorzichtig Stambolić.

Over de vraag waarom Stambolić uit de weg moest worden gewerkt, is de afgelopen jaren veel gespeculeerd. Hij had zich na zijn val uit de politiek teruggetrokken. Zijn poging in zaken te gaan werd door Milošević al snel getorpedeerd. Maar volgens ingewijden was hij in 2000 van plan weer de politiek in te gaan en zich kandidaat te stellen bij de presidentsverkiezingen die in oktober van datzelfde jaar zouden worden gehouden en die uiteindelijk door Milošević werden verloren, van Vojislav Koštunica.

Ivan Stambolić (64) verliet op 25 augustus 2000 om negen uur in de ochtend zijn huis in de Belgradose voorstad Košutnjak om in een nabijgelegen park te gaan joggen. Een ooggetuige zag hoe een witte bestelwagen stopte naast de bank waar hij even uitrustte. Toen de auto wegreed was de jogger verdwenen.

Later is wel al vast komen te staan dat de bestelwagen toebehoorde aan de JSO, de elite-eenheid van de Servische geheime dienst die afgelopen week werd ontbonden wegens haar zeer nauwe relaties met het criminele milieu, vooral de bende van Zemun die Djindjić heeft vermoord.

Een van de personen die de Servische politie wil verhoren in verband met de moord op Stambolić is Slobodan Milošević.

Sagittarius

Van: "CDSM" <cdsm_b@btopenworld.com>
Aan: <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>
Verzonden: woensdag 2 april 2003 23:25
Onderwerp: Milosevic: The Hague prosecution determines the destiny of

HAGUE PROSECUTION DETERMINES THE DESTINY OF SERBIA

Bellow we give the transcript of the additional remarks President Milosevic made yesterday at The Hague. Except of stressing the destiny of his associates arrested in Belgrade, he also spoke about his health, exposing some more manipulations of ICTY. But in the first place, he underlined the connection between the prosecution and the events in Belgrade. To that, one can add a couple of points. The big actual "Red Berets" story started about a month ago when the Hague prosecution (while questioning Captain Dragan) had shown a video about the visit of President Milosevic to their base in the town of Kula. Somebody perhaps wanted to create a picture in which they feel as a Hague target. Two other curious facts appeared immediately after the campaign against President Milosevic's family and arrests of his associates started: The Presidency of DOS (Serbian ruling coalition) decided to propose changes to the Law on cooperation with the ICTY which would annul all restrictions for the extradition of the indictees. The very next day, a spokeswoman of the prosecution told the press about a plan to make 35 new indictments, mostly against prominent Serb politicians and generals. But how can all of them be convicted if Milosevic is so successful?

Richard May

Yes, Mr. Milosevic.

President Slobodan Milosevic

Since we are again at the open session and the new witness has not come yet, can I get the floor in relation to my requests?

Richard May

Yes.

President Slobodan Milosevic

So, first of all I repeat my request to allow my questioning and to make it possible to be in public, since it is related to the media campaign that is going on publicly. The retaliation against one's wife and children is something we remember from the darkest days of the last century, from the darkest years of the last century! I also demand an investigation about the involvement of this illegal prosecution in the fabrication of untruths that are being launched. Besides that...

Richard May

Mr. Milosevic, I have stopped you already once. The events in Belgrade are not something that this court deals with. If that would have any direct influence to this trial, than we would take it into consideration, but nothing you have said up to now shows that it has any influence. You wanted to say something about your health. That's what we would like to hear.

President Slobodan Milosevic

I will tell you about the health, but direct influence is in their aim to prevent my wife to give me her assistance and support. And above that, I want to inform you that they have arrested several members of the National Committee for my defense "SLOBODA" ("Freedom"), in spite they have no ground for that. Accordingly, we deal here with an orchestrated attempt to put pressure on me and my family since this false Prosecution suffers a fiasco here every day. I consider as your duty to establish the degree of their involvement.

Richard May

That is only your comment. There is absolutely no evidence to support what you are saying. Maybe there are good reasons for some people to be arrested. However, in this moment we will not deal with such allegations. Do you want to say something about your health?

President Slobodan Milosevic

Regarding my health – I have got these papers you've discussed last Tuesday in my absence. My first objection is that discussion about me in my absence. Second, it is written here, I will read it to you: "Having in mind that the accused has refused to take the increased dose of the medications recommended by the cardiologist...". So you have created in the discussion here the impression that I refuse to take medications and that by that I deliberately have worsen my health condition, which is a notorious lie. I have discussed, in presence of the director of the prison, with the only medical employee here the fact that I have never refused to take medications. Every medication that has been prescribed to me, I had taken. And the fact that I have drawn the doctors attention to the negative side effects of the medication I've been receiving and requested it to be replaced by some more adequate – that was a normal conversation between the doctor and patient – which belongs to duties of a doctor and I guess also to the rights of a patient. I've got also the references proving that the medication that has been given to me to lower the blood pressure causes, among other things, two very serious consequences, the symptoms which I had all the time. One consequence is dazedness and another is insomnia.

You would have to admit, gentlemen, that dazedness requires from me additional efforts, additional engagement, additional exhaustion in order to fulfill the job I have to fulfill here. On the other hand, insomnia prevents me to get even a minimum of rest. So I stressed that and I also got references, which I am submitting to you here. The references of the international experts' institutions underlying these negative side effects. But you have been holding your discussion here as I refuse to receive the medication. And on that very day when you were discussing and expressing the totally untruth allegations, on that very day doctor Vandajham (?), having all this in mind, decided to change my therapy.

Two days after the change of the therapy was the first night when I've been able to sleep. That shows that the doctor was right to change the therapy and that your whole discussion here on my alleged refusal to take medications was completely groundless and even in a very evil way interpreted by Mr. Nice. I also have here a signed letter from my doctor, in which he says: vertigo, insomnia, dazedness and gives references. In addition to that he told me – we can even send it to Houston and they will confirm that it is correct. And I think that one needs no better confirmation than the fact that since last Tuesday when you had your discussion here and my therapy was changed – my blood pressure has been settled after two days. And also after two days I have been able to sleep normally.

For tomorrow, Wednesday, April 2nd, the ICTY has scheduled another session on "administrative issues". Again, one of them will be the health of President Milosevic. Another two we know will be discussions on the insistence of the prosecution that witnesses according to the so-called Rule 92bis (those who testify in written) should not appear in the court room for cross-examination and on the demand from the prosecution to significantly prolong the time for its case. One can suppose that President Milosevic would insist on the link between the political repression in Belgrade and The

Hague prosecution – the question the judges yesterday avoided to accept as legitimate.

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