Chronologische ontwikkelingen Joegoslavië

Map 8 C

van holst en steijnen

From: global reflexion <office@globalreflexion.org>
To: <office@globalreflexion.org>
Sent: vrijdag 22 september 2000 06:03
Subject: Chossudovsky on G-17

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Friday, September 22, 2000

1. Who Are the G-17?
2. Russia deeply concerned with NATO's threat of sending ground troops to Montenegro

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Who Are the G-17?

By Michel Chossudovsky, Professor of Economics, University of , Ottawa, author Globalization of Poverty, Third World of "The Network, Penang, Zed Books, London, 1997. and Jared Israel , editor, www.tene.net (Emperor's Clothes)

" We want to be open colony and open society." G-17 coordinator VESELIN VUKOTIC interviewed on "The News Hour with Jim Lehrer", US Public Television, July 14, 1999

Recently there's been a lot of interest in the economists in the Yugoslav group G-17. They wrote the Program adopted by the so- called "democratic" opposition and its Presidential candidate, Vojislav Kostunica.

The G-17 likes to give the impression it is independent and Yugoslav-oriented. In fact it is funded mainly through the Washington-based "Center for International Private Enterprise" (CIPE). CIPE describes itself as "an affiliate of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. " But in fact it is "a core institute" of the National Endowment for Democracy. The National Endowment for Democracy has nothing to do, as far as we can discern, with Democracy. Rather, the Endowment was created in 1983 to solve a problem of Empire.
People knew that the CIA bribed intellectuals and leaders and set up phony front groups to carry out US policy:

"When these covert activities surfaced (as they inevitably did), the fallout was devastating." ('Washington Post', Sept. 22, 1991)

So Congress created the National Endowment for Democracy. Allen Weinstein, who planned the Endowment, said:

"A lot of what we do today was done covertly 25 years ago by the CIA." ('Washington Post', Sept. 21, 1991)

So the National Endowment (a sort of spinoff from the CIA) controls and pays for the Center for International Private Enterprise which in turn funds the G-17. In addition, the leading G-17 economists hold important positions in the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, and have for many years.

If the "democratic" opposition got in power, the G-17 economists would be in charge of the Yugoslav economy. This is not a matter of speculation. The "democratic" opposition program calls for working with the International Monetary Fund and the Fund does not work on a casual basis. It invariably insists that its men (who conveniently happen to be the G-17 economists) run the show. That is not open for negotiation.

Let us take a look at three of the leading G-17 economists. Their record is most disturbing.

One of the writers of this article, Prof. Chossudovsky, studies the effects of the economic "medicine" imposed by the International Monetary Fund and World Bank. The G-17 program contains the same economic measures they forced on Russia, the Ukraine, Bulgaria and Peru, among many others. The results: social and economic devastation. But because of the long-term US/German attack on Yugoslavia, the results in the Yugoslav case would be much worse.

G-17 economists are fond of phrases like "free markets" and "privatization," but their International Monetary Fund "reforms" wreck countries. First, they force governments to do away with any social protections - subsidized food or rent, free transportation, free medical care. Out the window. Second, they use economic manipulation and new laws to force businesses - public and private - into bankruptcy. Then these businesses are taken over by a small clique of thieves, international banks, rich speculators and foreign companies. They purchase the businesses at rock bottom prices. This is called "Privatization through Liquidation."

A case in point is Yugoslavia, 1989.

The elder statesman of the G-17 is Professor Veselin Vukotic. Presently he is one of the brains behind Montenegrin secessionism. But in 1989 he was Minister of Privatization under Yugoslav Premier Ante Markovic.

Yugoslavs have bitter memories of 1989-1990. But do they "put a human face" on the nightmare? Perhaps people think the economic disaster that befell Yugoslavia that year was the natural result of "market mechanisms" or the fault of "incompetent government." It wasn't. There was somebody pulling the strings.

That somebody was Veselin Vukotic.

In 1989-90, Professor Vukotic worked out of governmental offices in Belgrade alongside an army of Western lawyers and consultants to impose the Financial Operations Act. It was a World Bank plan.

Under this law, companies were selected for bankruptcy or liquidation. They were forced to meet impossible conditions. In this way, Vukotic orchestrated the breakup of fifty percent of Yugoslav industry. 50%! World Bank data confirms that under his direction more than 1100 industrial firms were wiped out from January 1989 to September 1990 And that was only the beginning.

Over 614,000 industrial workers were laid off out of 2.7 million. The areas hardest hit were: Serbia, including Kosovo, and Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia. Real wages did a nose-dive. Social programs collapsed. Unemployment shot up.

And now this same Vukotic, a key man in G-17, wants to return to power.

When the IMF gets its jaws on a country it forces the government to work under people like Vukotic. So Vukotic could finish the job he started in 1989 and which ironically was discontinued when economic sanctions were imposed in 1992. (Bulgaria would probably be better off today if it had been hit with sanctions instead of with the International Monetary Fund!)

While hoping to get his hands on all of Yugoslavia once again, Mr. Vukotic is practicing on the cooperative regime in Montenegro. Montenegrin boss Milo Djukanovic, his former student, has appointed Vukotic Deputy Chief of the Privation Commission which is auctioning off state property in Montenegro. Recently we discovered a US Commerce Department advertisement on the internet. The title is: " Montenegro: Seeks Privatization Fund Managers." The advertisement explains that these Managers are needed in Montenegro, where US officials are "providing technical support" for so-called privatization. The managers would control "funds" that would take over ownership of what is now public property. The Managers could "restructure" these privatized companies - lay off the workers and sell the most valuable components. The Commerce department promises that this "should be quite profitable." Note how brazenly the U.S. Commerce

Department celebrates the transformation of Montenegrin property into foreign profits.

Vukotic is helping in other areas as well. For example, last June NATO marched into Kosovo, and the UCK along with them. Wherever they went, they drove loyal Yugoslav citizens from their homes, stole or destroyed their property and threatened them with death. By June 26, the expulsions were at a peak.

Vukotic could no longer remain silent. According to the Associated Press, on June 26 Vukotic demanded that Kosovo have its own currency, separate from the dinar!

Dr. Dusan Vujovic

One of the most prominent G-17 people is Dr. Dusan Vujovic, a senior economist at the World Bank. He acts as a link between G-17 and Washington. He has been very active overseeing "reforms" in so-called "transition countries". In August 2000, Vujovic was in charge of negotiating one of the World Bank's most deadly economic packages, imposed on the Ukraine, already devastated by previous International Monetary Fund Measures.

What happened to the Ukraine?

The Ukraine disaster started in the fall of 1994 in Madrid, Spain. Prime Minister Vitali Masol signed an agreement with the International Monetary Fund.

In exchange for accepting "economic shock treatment" Ukraine got a 360 million dollar loan, a very small amount as these things are calculated. Reforms were launched in mid-October, 1994. The IMF ordered the Ukrainian authorities to abandon State controls over the exchange rate. This led to the collapse of the currency. The price of bread increased overnight - 300%. Electricity shot up - 600%. Public transportation - 900%.

"Dollarised" prices were forced on a population with earnings below ten dollars a month. Credit was frozen. With super high electricity prices and no credit, public and private industry was destroyed. The international speculators moved in like sharks in a frenzy.

Then in November 1994, World Bank negotiators were sent in to "advise" the government on overhauling Ukraine's agriculture. The grain market was deregulated. This opened Ukraine up to the dumping of US grain surpluses. Ukraine went from being a grain exporter to begging for Food Aid from the European Union and the U.S. Thanks to the International Monetary Fund, Ukraine is a starving political protectorate of the US and Germany. And remember, Ukraine never did anything to offend the U.S., unlike Yugoslavja.

Zeliko Bogetic and the Rape of Bulgaria

G-17 member Dr. Zeliko Bogetic has a senior position at the International Monetary Fund. Bogetic has been doctor in many economic cures. The patient always dies.

In 1994-96, he played a key role in forcing a structural adjustment program (SAP) on Bulgaria. All social defenses - price controls, subsidized food, housing and medical care, were stripped away.

The program led to mass poverty. By 1997, old age pensions (according to World Bank sources) had collapsed to two dollars a month. The World Bank admits that 90 percent of Bulgarians now live below the extreme poverty level but, they say, much economic progress is being made. Apparently perfection will be achieved when there are no Bulgarians left alive.

What would Mr. Bogetic do if he and his G-17 colleagues came to power under a "democratic" opposition government?

Bogetic was dispatched by the International Monetary Fund to Podgorica, Montenegro to advise the pro-secessionist government of President Milo Djukanovic. Bogetic was to set up a currency board modeled on that of Bosnia under the Dayton Accord. Bogetic's advice was to stop using the Dinar, the Yugoslav currency. He said that under no circumstances should

Montenegro establish a Central Bank. Now remember, the Djukanovic government in Montenegro says it wants "independence" from Yugoslavia - but a Central Bank is a requirement for real independence. No, said Bogetic, that is the "worst possible solution". Meaning: independence in the colonial sense.

Bogetic would be the likely candidate for Yugoslav Central Bank Governor if the "democratic" opposition were to win.

What would he do?

The same thing he's been doing in Montenegro - establish a colonial style currency board linked to the Deutschmark. Then monetary policy would be controlled by the country's creditors. This would be an excellent state of affairs for the creditors, but very bad for the common people. It would make it impossible to finance economic reconstruction through the mobilization of Yugoslavia's own domestic resources. The country would be in a straightjacket.

What would International Monetary Fund-Type Reforms mean for Yugoslavia? If the "democratic opposition" came to power they would enforce International Monetary Fund economic medicine. That's what they say in their Program.

But would this be the same medicine that the Fund (including some of the people who lead the G-17) have prescribed for Russia, Bulgaria and Ukraine?

Russia, Bulgaria and Ukraine cooperated fully with Washington. As nations, they never resisted being turned into colonies. Was the West merciful?

Consider Russia. During the first year that the reforms were applied, 1992, wages collapsed by 86 percent. And in many of the countries of the Balkans and Eastern Europe, economic activity has been cut in half, even if it was low before.

And these are cooperative countries. As everyone knows, the U.S. is very annoyed with Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia has not been a good slave. It has not kissed the hand of the bombers.

History shows that if the Monetary Fund gets hold of a country that has been rebellious the treatment is vicious. And we are not talking about major rebels, like Yugoslavia. We are talking about very moderate rebels, like Peru.

In Peru, the government of President Alan Garcia (1985-1990) refused to do some of what the International Monetary Fund ordered it to do. In 1985, it decided to pay international debts at a reduced rate. It instituted an economic program that would help (instead of destroying) the economy.

The country was immediately put on a black list by the International Monetary Fund. This disrupted Peru's foreign trade.

Enter Professor Alberto Fujimori. It was the 1990 elections. With help from Washington, Peru was having economic problems, so many people wanted a change. Fujimori was an unknown. People felt he was "honest" and "promising". He led a tiny party that had never held power. He seemed to be squeaky clean.
With Washington's help, he was the top runner-up in the 1990 elections. The electorate chose him over the other candidates "because we did not know who he was" and "we thought he was honest" and "maybe if we put in someone Washington likes they will go easy on us." They did not understand. Washington has no mercy.

Fujimori of course caved in to the International Monetary Fund's demands. What followed was the most deadly economic "reform" in Latin American history. From one day to the next, the price of fuel increased by 31 times (2,968 per cent) and the price of bread increased more than twelve times (1,150 per cent).

People could no longer afford to boil water. A cholera epidemic broke out.

The social consequences were devastating. An agricultural worker in August 1990 was paid $7.50 a month (US). That was enough to buy two hamburgers and

a drink at McDonalds. Consumer prices in Lima were higher than New York.

Real earnings dropped by 60 per cent. By mid-1991 the standard of living had declined by 85 per cent.

And this was the just beginning of ten years of deadly reforms under Fujimori.

And remember, Peru didn't really do anything. Just resisted a few International Monetary Fund Measures. But Yugoslavia? Yugoslavia has been driving the German Establishment (and now the Americans) crazy for 100 years or more. Washington and Berlin would like nothing more than to make Yugoslavia an example of total enslavement, to show people what would happen to them if they were to resist.

Haven't the U.S. and Germany made this perfectly clear in Kosovo? A gangster-fascist regime has been installed. And Western leaders are fully aware of the horror they have wrought in Kosovo. UN Secretary General Kofi Annan received a special report about this. The report was discussed by the British newspaper, the 'Observer':

"Murder, torture and extortion: these are the extraordinary charges made against the UN's own Kosovo Protection Corps in a confidential United Nations report written for Secretary-General Kofi Annan.

"The KPC stands accused in the document, drawn up on 29 February, of 'criminal activities - killings, ill-treatment/torture, illegal policing, abuse of authority, intimidation, breaches of political neutrality and hate-speech'. " (quoted in "How Will You Plead at your Trial, Mr. Annan?" at http://emperors-clothes.com/news/howwill.htm)

What would Washington do if it's G-17 employees got hold of Yugoslavia? They would institute the most extreme economic "reforms" to devastate the country.
Prices would go sky high; farmers would lose their land; businesses would be bought up and closed down. In Hungary they privatized the only light bulb factory and shut it down so that now everybody has to buy bulbs from the US company, General Electric. In Yugoslavia they would take away the lamps. People would be reduced to starvation.

This kind of suffering produces ethnic tension. Washington would whip this up by sending in their UCK (KLA) fascist terrorists. Why does Washington keep the UCK in power in Kosovo? Because they want to use them again. For what? They are incapable of fighting a real army. But they are capable of terrorizing civilians.

A Washington-controlled government would bring in NATO troops to "help keep order." The troops would never leave. The hunt for imaginary war criminals would go on, a thousand times worse than it is in the Bosnian Serb Republic. Croatians, Bosnian Muslims and ethnic Albanians who fled to Serbia to escape fascist persecution would be put on the list of phony war criminals. All loyal Yugoslavs would have to pay for their (imaginary) crimes so that "healing can begin."

Every effort would be made to humiliate the people, to break their spirit, and to eliminate potential leaders of resistance.

Do you know what the United States did a few years ago to Vietnam? When the Vietnam War ended, the US government ordered an embargo which did Vietnam a lot of harm, economically. A few years ago, Washington agreed to lift the embargo. In exchange, Vietnam had to agree to pay the debts of the former South Vietnamese government, a puppet government controlled by Washington. Most of its debt came from borrowing money (from the US) to buy weapons (from the US) to kill its own people. And now Vietnam is being forced to pay this "debt" to Washington, after Washington had invaded Vietnam and was driven
out, leaving two million Vietnamese dead.

The "democratic" opposition says that if they can just get into power everything will be normal. Washington would treat the Yugoslavs right. Sure they would. Just the way they treated the American Indians.

www.tenc.net
[Emperor's Clothes]

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http://www.russiatoday.com/news.php3?id=199518

Russia Surprised With NATO Planned Military Action in Montenegro

MOSCOW, Sep 15, 2000 -- (Agence France Presse) Russia was deeply concerned with NATO's threat of sending ground troops to Montenegro in the case of Belgrade using force in Podgorica, the Russian foreign ministry said in a statement Thursday.

"Recent comments made by U.S. Air Force Commander in Europe, General Gregory Martin, about NATO having already conceived several variants of military action against Montenegro, including the use of ground troops, are shocking," said the ministry.

"By his statement, the general has confirmed that the North Atlantic alliance is constantly planning military operations against a sovereign state without consulting Russia, which is in breach of the cooperation agreement between NATO and Russia," the statement read.

"It is amazing that the general could make that statement, especially during such a critical time in the Balkan region," the ministry said.

Local and presidential elections are due to be held in the former Yugoslavia on September 24.

The Russian State Duma lower house of parliament plans to send observers to monitor the forthcoming elections. ((c) 2000 Agence France Presse)

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Global Reflexion - Amsterdam - The Netherlands

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X-MimeOLE: Produced By Microsoft MimeOLE V5.00.2314.1300

Subject: Fw: SA3:Fw: SB34:Petition

> Halo vrienden,
>
> > Willen jullie ook meewerken aan de ondertekenning van petitie voor
behoud
> > van de Servische kloosters in Kosovo. De zogenaamde Albanese bevrijdings
> > leger KLA dreigt behalve het verjagen van niet Albanese minderheids
> > bevolking ook de oudste Christen cultuur, de Servisch Orthodoxe
kloosters
> te
> > vernietigen op voorbeeld van Taliban in Afganistan en de vernietiging
van
> > Budha
> > beelden aldaar. Vraag zo mogelijk ook je andere vrienden verder mee te
> doen.
> >
> > Wij verzoeken u een e-mail naar onderstaand adres (Mirko Stevanovic) te
> > sturen met uw naam, woonplaats en het land. Zie de tekst van de Petitie
> > onderaan.
> >
> > mirko@nortelnetworks.com (Mirko Stevanovic)
> >
> >

> > Stuur de volgende tekst aan Mirko Stevanovic, uiterlijk voor 10 april:
> >
>
.....Wij ondersteunen deze petitie
Nico Steijnen, advocaat
Neeltje van Holst, medewerkster NGO ICCO
Plaats: Zeist,
Land: Nederland.....
> > .....
> >
> > Molim vas da sledeca lica dodate kao potpisnike Peticije u prilogu:
> >
> > Voornaam Achternaam Woonplaats en het Land
> > (Voorbeeld: Jans Janssens, Amsterdam, Nederland)
> >
> > [Tekst petitie¿- zie onder]
> >
> > Danku/vr.gr.
> > Duska
> > ----------
> > Subject: Petition
> >
> >
> >
> > PETITION FOR THE SAFEGUARD OF SERBIAN CULTURAL HERITAGE
> >
> > We, the undersigned, plead for an immediate end to the Albanian Kosovo
> > "Liberation" Army's annihilation of Serbian cultural heritage in the
form
> of
> > destruction of medieval monasteries and churches. We further urge the
NATO
> > and Albanian leaders Mr. Robertson and Mr. Rugova to explore
possibilities
> > to safeguard this irreplaceable cultural heritage from further,
senseless
> > destruction .
> >
> > Please sign and forward this petition to friends, family, news groups,
> > mailing lists etc.
> >
> >
> > DO NOT SIGN TWICE. DO NOT LET IT DEAD END. IF YOU ARE UNABLE
> > OR UNWILLING TO SIGN, EITHER FORWARD IT TO OTHERS OR RETURN TO
> > unesco.press@unesco.org

> > <<mailto:unesco.press@unesco.org>mailto:unes-
co.press@unesco.org>
> >
> > -To avoid adding "" onto the chain, please preferably
> > cut & paste the entire petition and list of names into a
> > new message prior to re-sending.
> >
> > -THE 100th, 200th, 300th NAME/PERSON to sign is requested
to
> > also forward the updated list of signatures back to the
> > United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural
> > Organization at e-mail: unesco.press@unesco.org
> > <<mailto:unesco.press@unesco.org>mailto:unes-
co.press@unesco.org>
> >
> >
> > Negovan Rajic: From Kabul to Kosovo
> >
> > The barbaric destruction of the gigantic Buddhas in Afga-
nistan has
> > provoked a justified hue of worldwide protests. Believers
and
> > nonbelievers alike, all civilized people are recoiling in
pain at
> > this intolerable assault on culture. It is not only an
attack on the
> > artistic heritage of mankind, but also on human history
and our
> > collective memory.
> >
> > Sadly, as I write these lines, the Taliban has already
reduced to a
> > pile of rubble the sandstone cliffs where pious Buddhist
monks
> > infused a soul so long ago. None of the great powers has
dared to
> > send troops into the Afghan's hornet's nest to save those
priceless
> > treasures. Even if, to some extent, this failure can be
justified
> > by the wish to save human lives, one cannot understand
how, in
> > Kosovo, in the heart of Europe, in the presence of U.N.
troops, the
> > West is unflinchingly witnessing the destruction of the
monuments of
> > a civilization which, in the final analysis, is one of its
own. Who
> > can believe commanders of the United Nations' Kosovo
Protection
> > Force (KFOR) - an army of 40,000 soldiers and 2,000 poli-
cemen
> > deployed in an area no larger than a single department of
France-
> > who say they do not have sufficient means to protect the
Serb

> > communities from Albanian extremists nor to stop the destruction of
> > almost a hundred * churches and monasteries, some of which were
> > adorned with magnificent frescoes dating back to the Middle Ages?
> > How is it that the same western leaders and intellectuals who only
> > yesterday were demonizing the Serbs with allegations of all crimes
> > imaginable, are so cowardly silent today?
> >
> > For how long will the Western leaders be able to close their eyes to
> > a reality that will surely boomerang as did the wartime misdeeds of
> > the Nazis. No, tomorrow, our leaders will not have the right to say,
> > "We did not know". Orthodox churches are being dynamited, Serb
> > houses set aflame , and old cemeteries desecrated, all in the
> > presence of the troops of that same "international community" that
> > is trying to impose itself as the supreme judge of good and evil.
> >
> > Whether it is the peak of cynicism or insensitivity,we are now being
> > told that the commander of the allied troops in Kosovo, an
> > accomplice of the terrorists, is thinking of entrusting the
> > protection of those Orthodox shrines still standing to the former
> > soldiers of the Albanian Kosovo Liberation Army! Even Hitler himself
> > didn't dare to push perfidy so far as to entrust the protection of
> > synagogues to the units of his SS! If this news is confirmed, we
> > might as well put a cross on the last vestige of the jewels of
> > medieval art which, despite being formally under Unesco's
> > protection, have become, as the giant Buddhas, mute witnesses of a
> > civilization put to death.
> >
> > But let's not fool ourselves, their disappearance will also be our
> > moral defeat and the world's power- brokers will not have an easy
> > conscience when trying to persuade us that this destruction is what
> > the Serbs deserved for their crimes. And who, after the the big

> > petroleum companies have elaborated their plans to run pipelines
> > across the Balkan peninsula, can still believe that the war against
> > Yugoslavia was a "humanitarian" war?
> >
> >
> >
> >
> >
> > 1. Jovana Krstic, Belgrade
> > 2. Mirella Kos, New York, NY, USA
> > 3. Ivan Kos, PhD, New York, NY, USA
> > 4. Nemanja Kos, New York, NY, USA
> > 5. Slavica Plecas-Gak, New York, NY, USA
> > 6. Miroslav Gak, New York, NY, USA
> > 7. Dr. Janko Nikolich-Zugich, New York, NY, USA.
> > 8. Dragana Nikolich-Zugich, New York, NY, USA.
> > 9. Tijana Nikolich-Zugich, New York, NY, USA.
> > 10. Mina Nikolich-Zugich, New York, NY, USA.
> > 11. Stefan Nikolich-Zugich, New York, NY, USA.
> > 12. Violeta Karalic,Pretoria, RSA
> > 13. Djordje Karalic, Pretoria, RSA
> > 14. Matija Karalic, Pretoria, RSA
> > 15. Nadezda Silaski, Belgrade, Yugoslavia
> > 16. Miroslav Silaski, Belgrade, Yugoslavia
> > 17. Matija Silaski, Belgrade, Yugoslavia
> > 18. Olivera Silaski, Belgrade, Yugoslavia
> > 19. Biljana Stanic, Belgrade, Yugoslavia
> > 20. Vesna Radovic, Belgrade, Yugoslavia
> > 21. Igor Radovic, Belgrade, Yugoslavia
> > 22. Rajko Jovanovic, Fort Lauderdale, FL, USA
> > 23. Rada Jovanovic, Fort Lauderdale, FL, USA
> > 24. Miroslav Mladenovic, Miami, FL, USA
> > 25. Ivan Mladenovic, Miami, FL, USA
> > 26. Zoran Davidovic, Belgrade, Yugoslavia
> > 27. Ljiljana Lazarevic-Davidovic, Belgrade, Yugoslavia
> > 28. Milica Davidovic, Belgrade, Yugoslavia
> > 29. Tatjana Davidovic, Belgrade, Yugoslavia
> > 30. Mihailo Davidovic, Belgrade, Yugoslavia
> > 31. Zora Zivadinovic-Davidovic, Belgrade, Yugoslavia
> > 32. Nebojsa Dovezenski, Belgrade, Yugoslavia
> > 33.Spomenka Birovljevic, Belgrade, Yugoslavia
> > 34.Una Dovezenski, Belgrade, Yugoslavia
> > 35.Miljana Milutinovic, Belgrade, Yugoslavia
> > 36. Dragan Milutinovic, Belgrade, Yugoslavia
> > 37. Miodrag Milutinovic, Belgrade, Yugoslavia
> > 38. Olivera Galic-Dovezenski, Belgrade, Yugoslavia
> > 39. Aleksandra Milutinovic, Belgrade, Yugoslavia
> > 40. Luka Maksimovic, Belgrade, Yugoslavia
> > 41. Miroslav Konstantinovic, Belgrade, Yugoslavia
> > 42. Vesna Maksimovic, Belgrade, Yugoslavia
> > 43. Dragica Radojkovic, Belgrade, Yugoslavia
> > 44. Vladimir Jurukovski, New York, US
> > 45. Dr.Bogdan Baishanski, Columbus,Ohio,USA
> > 46. Katarina Veljanovic, Geneva, Switzerland

> > 47. Miroljub Veljanovic, Geneva, Switzerland
> >
> >
> >
> >
> >
>

van holst en steijnen

From: global reflexion <office@globalreflexion.org>
To: <office@globalreflexion.org>
Sent: donderdag 5 oktober 2000 08:15
Subject: Yugoslav memorandum to the UN Security Council

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Thursday, October 5, 2000

1. Federal ministery of Foreign Affairs adresses a memorandum to the UN Security Council

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FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA
FEDERAL MINISTRY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

YUGOSLAV DAILY SURVEY
BELGRADE, 5 October 2000 No. 3205

SPECIAL ISSUE

FEDERAL MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS ADDRESSES A MEMORANDUM TO THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL

BELGRADE, October 4, (Tanjug) - Regarding gross foreign interference in the elections in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs addressed a Memorandum to the United Nations Security Council and the General Assembly of the world Organization, with a request that it be circulated as official document of the United Nations.

The Memorandum, inter alia, states:
Before as well as during the electoral process conducted so far, the FR of Yugoslavia and its citizens have been incessantly exposed to systematic, brutal pressure by some influential international factors, primarily the US Administration and NATO countries, with an undisguised aim of directly interfering in the electoral process in the FR of Yugoslavia and of an inadmissible pressure brought to bear on the will of its population.

a) Political and psychological pressures and subversive activities:

In the period prior to elections in Yugoslavia, centres for assisting Yugoslav opposition and destabilization of Yugoslavia were established in neighbouring countries (Szeged, Timisoara, Sofia, Skopje,Tirana). A month prior to the elections in Yugoslavia, a US Regional Centre was set up to co-ordinate the work of centres in individual countries of South Eastern Europe in order to exert political, psychological, diplomatic and subversive pressure (on 15 August 2000). The Budapest-based US Centre has engaged more than 30 experts for intelligence, propaganda, military intelligence and subversive activities against the FR of Yugoslavia under the direction of former US Ambassador to Croatia William Montgomery. The Centre recruits experts from USIS, CIA, USAID, DIA and other similar US agencies. For this reason, the FR of Yugoslavia lodged an official written protest with the United Nations Security Council on 18 September 2000 by qualifying the establishment of this centre as a violation of the Vienna Conventions on Diplomatic and Consular Relations and international law and describing it as a gross interference in the internal affairs of the FR of Yugoslavia (S/2000/880). During the month of August this year, Director of CIA George Tennet visited the broader region of South Eastern Europe (Bulgaria, Romania) to step up and co-ordinate pressure in the run-up to elections in Yugoslavia.
A ring of radio and TV centres was established around the FR of Yugoslavia to transmit anti-Yugoslav propaganda, the well-known system of NATO

.opaganda such as Radio Free Europe, Deutshe Welle, Voice of America and others. Hundreds of hours of anti-Yugoslav propaganda aimed at psychological and political pressure on the citizens of the FR of Yugoslavia, concocted in US and NATO centres of subversion and destabilization, are being aired via these systems and their transmitters from the territories of the Czech Republic, Hungary, Croatia, Romania, Bulgaria, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Albania, on a daily basis. Many of these radio and television transmitters
operate illegally on the same frequencies that, according to international conventions, belong to the FR of Yugoslavia and that are used by Yugoslav radio and television stations.

The European Union too sent a "message to the Serbian people" on 18 September, on the eve of the elections, giving overtly support to the Serbian opposition and promising to lift sanctions against it if it votes for the opposition. This is evidence of the illegal nature and unjustifiableness of sanctions as an instrument to violate fundamental human rights, grossly intervene in internal affairs and bring about the accomplishment of illegitimate political goals. On this score, an EU representative was delivered the strongest protest in the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 21 September and at EU headquarters in Brussels on 22 September, respectively.

Similar malicious views were publicly expressed every day in the media by the President of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly, by the Foreign Ministries of a number of EU countries, the EU High Representative and Commissioner for External Relations, as well as by the EU Stability Pact Co-ordinator and the Secretary General of the Council of Europe, with a view to exercising an organized pressure on the public in the FR of Yugoslavia and on its electoral bodies and to prejudicing election results.

b) Opposition funding:

The US Administration, the Governments of NATO countries and various foundations, such as the Soros foundation, openly finance Yugoslav opposition and various forms of subversive activity aimed at destabilizing the FRof Yugoslavia and at overthrowing its legitimate Government. This funding has been intensified in particular after the announcement of nation-wide parliamentary, presidential and local elections. Funds have openly been allocated to opposition political parties and their leaders, to the so-called independent media, associations and structures of the so-called civil society and to individuals. Prior to these elections, the US Administration paid US$ 77.2 million to Yugoslav opposition, a public fact also confirmed by a daily close to US Administration, The Washington Post,
on 22 September 2000. The same was also confirmed by sources in US Congress, the Department of State and others.

Only a day after the elections and the first round of Presidential election in the FR of Yugoslavia, US Congress passed on 25 September the "Democratization of Serbia Act", making a series of gross and unsubstantiated allegations against the legitimate authorities in the FR of Yugoslavia and appropriating additional financial resources, to the tune of US$ 105 million, to bring them down, i.e. for the purposes of the Serbian opposition. This document, under the guise of an alleged concern for human rights, openly supported the separatism of ethnic Hungarians in the Serbian province of Vojvodina, where the majority Serbs live in harmony with 26 minorities.

A week before the elections, the Charge d'Affaires of the Royal Norwegian Embassy in Belgrade handed out cash funds in Deutsche marks to students and young people in several towns in Serbia, thus directly promoting the cause of the opposition. The so-called independent media and the statements made by the Norwegian Charge himself bear witness to it. Such conduct by the Norwegian Charge, as an abuse of the hospitality of the Yugoslav Government , contradicts his diplomatic functions, whereas giving bribe is punishable by law in all countries of the world. The Charge was twice officially warned in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that such activity is a flagrant interference in internal affairs and a gross violation of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations. He was asked not to do so and to channel all assistance in accordance with the agreements and the normal practice
existing in co-operation among sovereign States, via competent Government authorities, which the Charge completely ignored.

The above facts testify to flagrant foreign interference in electoral

ocesses by using propaganda, psychological , political and military pressure aimed at influencing the will of the electorate, which is contrary to what democracy is about and which constitutes a violation of all norms of international law.

The Government of the FR of Yugoslavia recalls that following the interference of foreign factors in its electoral process, it has already addressed the UN Security Council on 20 September 2000. The Yugoslav Government requested on that occasion the Security Council to address this important and urgent issue and to take measures to put an end to flagrant interference in our internal affairs and to ensure respect for international law and decisions of the United Nations. Considering that the UN Security Council has not yet reacted to this communication, the Yugoslav Government, presenting once again the above facts, calls again upon the Security Council to take specific steps to condemn in the strongest terms interference by the above-mentioned external factors in the internal affairs of the FR of Yugoslavia, especially interference in its electoral process, so as to ensure the respect for the Charter of the United Nations, international law and UN General Assembly documents.

The Memorandum, which has been delivered at UN Headquarters today, outlines also in detail specific provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and of other documents of the world Organization that ban all interference in internal affairs, and particularly in electoral processes.
In this context, the Memorandum cites provisions of UN General Assembly resolution 54/168 on non-interference in electoral processes which provides:"Strongly demands that all States refrain from financing political parties or groups in another State and from taking any action that undermines the electoral process..."

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Global Reflexion - Amsterdam - The Netherlands

▸ BSE-Dossier
▸ Maul- und Klauenseuche
▸ Der Kanzler und Faulpelz
▸ Attentat auf türk Kosulat
▸ Mit Falken auf Taubenjagd
▸ Verfassungssch NRW
▸ Busunglück Lor
▸ Hortplätze sind
▸ Osterbotschaft
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▸ Rund um Köl
▸ Ostertipps
▸ Türkische Erspa
▸ Früherkennung Schweinestall
▸ Heinz Stahlschn
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▸ Müllnotstand in
▸ Großrazzia
▸ Spielplatzspaß
▸ Deutschkurs als
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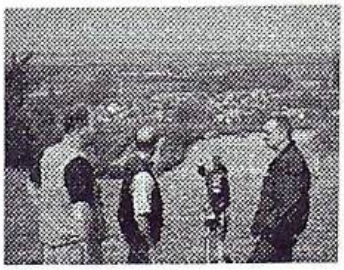
▸ Nie mehr zum P
▸ Oldies but Goldi
▸ Pflegeversicher BVG-Urteil

▸ Online-Archiv

Es begann mit einer Lüge

Monitor-Autoren enthüllen Fälschungen in der Berichterstattung zum Kosovo-Krieg



24. März 1999: Im italienischen Piacenza starten deutsche Kampfjets gegen Jugoslawien. Es ist der erste Kriegseinsatz deutscher Soldaten nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg. Nur aus einem Grund durften deutsche Soldaten am Krieg teilnehmen und der hiess: Abwendung einer humanitären Katastrophe. Verteidigungsminister Rudolf Scharping lieferte die Argumente für den Kriegseinsatz: Bilder von Massakern an der Zivilbevölkerung, von zerstörten Dörfern. Die Serben hätten zur Vertreibung der Kosovaren den Operationsplan "Hufeisen" entwickelt, so das Verteidigungsministerium. Nach diesem Plan wollten die Serben die Kosovo-Albaner aus dem Land treiben. Zum Beleg lieferte Scharping den Journalisten die passenden Fotos. Die Bilder gingen durch die Presse und sorgten für Stimmung für einen deutschen Kriegseinsatz. 78 Tage führte die NATO dann Krieg gegen Jugoslawien - nicht nur mit Bomben. Von Beginn an ging es auch darum, wer die 'richtigen' Begriffe besetzte und die 'besseren' Bilder besaß.

Manuskript der Sendung (pdf-Datei, 52k)

Mit Bildern aus Kriegsgebieten hatten die Monitor-Redakteure Mathias Werth und Jo Angerer ihre Erfahrungen. Bereits in der Berichterstattung zum Golfkrieg konnten sie für Monitor Fälschungen aufdecken. Über zehn Jahre arbeiten die beiden als Team zu Themen der Verteidigungs- und Sicherheitspolitik. Als der Kosovo-Konflikt sich zuspitzte, berichtete Jo Angerer in Deutschland, Mathias Werth konnte in Moskau die russische Sicht der Dinge verfolgen. Es gab unterschiedliche Wahrnehmungen und unterschiedliche Betroffenheit. Auf zahllosen Pressekonferenzen informierten Politiker und Militärs die Öffentlichkeit. Bereits während des Krieges gab es erste Zweifel am Wahrheitsgehalt dieser Stellungnahmen.

"Bewusste Fälschungen"

Zwei Jahre nach dem Krieg ist es den Monitor-Autoren nun gelungen, hochrangige Militärs bei Bundeswehr und NATO zu befragen, die an den Kriegsvorbereitungen unmittelbar beteiligt waren. Sie sprachen mit Beratern der US-Regierung, dem damaligen NATO-Sprecher Jamie Shea und mit Verteidigungsminister Rudolf Scharping. Vor allem aber unternahmen sie aufwendige Recherchen vor Ort im Kosovo. Sie gingen der Frage nach: Gab es die ethnischen Säuberungen wirklich schon vor dem Krieg? Der

Operationsplan Hufeisen", das "Konzentrationslager" im Fußballstadion von Pristina, das Massaker an Zivilisten in Rugovo - Angerer und Werth überprüften diese zentralen Argumente für den deutschen Kriegseinsatz. Sie stießen auf "bewusste Fälschungen". Zeugen bestätigten die These von einer systematischen Verfolgung der Zivilbevölkerung im Kosovo nicht.

Die Journalisten waren in Dörfern, die angeblich vor dem NATO-Einsatz von den Serben zerstört worden waren. Die dort lebenden Kosovo-Albaner erzählten, dass die Ortschaften erst nach den NATO-Luftangriffen durch Gefechte zwischen Serben und UCK-Kämpfern zerstört worden seien. OSZE-Beobachter, die vor dem NATO-Einsatz im Kosovo waren, äußerten sich gegenüber Angerer und Werth kritisch zu den Bombardements. Norma Brown, enge Mitarbeiterin von OSZE-Chef William Walker sagt: "Die humanitäre Katastrophe im Kosovo gab es erst durch die NATO-Luftangriffe. Dass diese die Katastrophe auslösen würde, wussten alle bei der NATO, der OSZE und bei unserer Beobachter-Gruppe."

Angerer und Werth bekamen auch Zugang zu geheimen Lageberichten, Planungsunterlagen aus dem US-amerikanischen Außenministerium und dem Bundesverteidigungsministerium. Sie kamen zu dem Ergebnis: Hier wurde eine Rechtfertigung fabriziert und damit der deutsche Kriegseinsatz legalisiert. "Es begann mit einer Lüge", so das Fazit der Dokumentation über den ersten Kriegseinsatz deutscher Soldaten nach 1945.

- **Links zur Sendung**

Die Dokumentation "Es begann mit einer Lüge" von Jo Angerer und Mathias Werth sendete die ARD am Donnerstag, 8.02.01, um 21.45 Uhr.

Stand: 09.02.2001 11:56

▸ Impressum

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van holst en steijnen

From: global reflexion <office@globalreflexion.org>
To: <office@globalreflexion.org>
Sent: donderdag 5 april 2001 05:36
Subject: Milosevic's arrest occasion for more Nato lies and hypocrisy

The Global Reflexion Foundation contributes, according to its ability, to the distribution of information on international issues that in the media does not recieve proper attention or is presented in a distorted way. We receive information from different sources, that does not necessary reflect our opinion. If you don't want to receive it, please send us an e-mail.

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Thursday, april 5, 2001

1. Milosevic's arrest occasion for more Nato lies and hypocrisy
2. Statement of the Socialist Party of Serbia
3. SPS on Milutinovic resignation

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MILOSEVIC'S ARREST OCCASION FOR MORE NATO LIES AND HYPOCRISY

by Stephen Gowans
"We cannot and must not forget the chilling images of...mass graves unearthed by UN investigators," said President George W. Bush, on the occasion of Slobodan Milosevic's arrest over the weekend.
And as Milosevic was beginning his first day in a Belgrade jail, British Foreign Secretary Robin Cook reminded us that he had visited some of the mass graves himself.
One newspaper remarked, "[T]his is only the beginning of what could be a long procedure leading to Mr. Milosevic's being tried for war crimes committed two years ago in Kosovo, where an estimated 10,000 ethnic Albanian civilians were killed and hundreds of thousands driven from their homes."
Images of mass graves are indeed chilling. But has anyone ever seen the mass graves in Kosovo? Did Robin Cook really visit them? And were there 10,000 Albanian civilians killed in Kosovo?
If you want to be spectacularly misinformed, said author Henry Miller, buy a newspaper.
George Orwell, in his famous essay, Politics and the English Language, complained that a lot of political writing consisted of gumming together phrases like the sections of a prefabricated hen house, an easy way of writing, he said, once you had the habit. Reach into a handy grab-bag of weathered phrases, and you don't have to think critically about what you're writing. To journalists spoon fed copy by government sources, tacking together ready made, prefabricated phrases and ideas is an easy way to meet deadlines without a lot of effort.
Dutifully reporting the words of political figures, without questioning even the most conspicuous deviations from the truth, goes along way too toward effortlessly filing copy.
Press coverage of Milosevic's arrest has been very much like the building of prefabricated hen houses. The words of Bush, Cook and former US Secretary of State, Madeline Albright, are reported uncritically, while Milosevic, just as uncritically, is denounced as a "tyrant," "cold-blooded autocrat," "war-lord," "strongman," and "iron-fisted dictator."
He's also "terrifying," "ruthless," "brutal," "the mastermind of the worst European wars since the Nazis."
Altogether a bad egg. Certainly, someone who could exterminate 10,000 Albanians and have their corpses dumped into mass graves, say, at the bottom of the infamous Trepca mines, the repository it, is said, of the remains of tens of thousands of brutally murdered ethnic Albanian Kosovars.
Certainly someone who could be responsible for the mass graves Bush is chilled by and Cook remembers visiting.
But take apart the cairn of ready made phrases to see what lies below and you'll find little more than what Orwell said you'd find behind prefabricated phrases -- pure wind. And little more than what was found at the bottom of the Trepca mines, once pathologists were dispatched to excavate the site -- some rubble and a few scattered animal bones. Nothing

ore.
But that's not the only bit of nothingness that has been found.
Operation Horseshoe, the alleged Milosevic plan to ethnically cleanse Kosovo, turned out to be a hoax.
The Racak massacre, the slaughter of some forty ethnic Albanian civilians by Serb security forces -- said to have provided the impetus for Nato to bomb Yugoslavia -- looks, now, after the release of a Finnish forensic pathology report, to have been faked by the KLA.
One hundred thousand Kosovars were said to have been killed by Milosevic's forces, a number later revised downward to 10,000, and then, after pathologists rushed to Kosovo at the end of Nato's 78-day air war ready to inspect dozens of alleged mass graves, was revised downward further still, when pathologists failed to uncover what Nato darkly warned the world they'd find. Fewer than 2,000 autopsies were performed. Bodies were found buried alone or in pairs -- not in the mass graves Cook says he visited or Bush remembers chilling images of. Whether the corpses were Serb or Albanian, indeed whether they met their deaths at the hands of Serb security forces or KLA guerillas, was never certain.
What then are we to make of this? Most of the atrocities Milosevic stood initially accused of turn out never to have happened, which may be why the first press reports of Milosevic's arrest steered clear of the specifics of the reasons for his apprehension, preferring instead Orwell's prefabricated phrases. Being a strongman, ruthless and iron-fisted, seemed reason enough for his arrest. About as concrete as anyone got was in attributing "the worst European wars since the Nazis" to Milosevic, an accusation that could only be made by turning a blind eye to what was truly one of the worst post World War II European wars -- the Nato air strikes on Yugoslavia. And it was hardly Milosevic who initiated that war, although I suppose, in some perverted twist of logic it could be said that Milosevic was responsible, in the same way that a kid who refuses to relinquish his lunch money to the school yard bully is responsible for his own bloodied nose.
Largely unreported is that Nato's bombing of Yugoslavia was precipitated by Milosevic's refusal to allow Nato to occupy the entire country -- one of the ultimata Nato issued at Rambouilett. Milosevic was ready to agree to a UN force in Kosovo, something, it will be recalled, Nato finally agreed to, but only after turning the country into a polluted desert.
Nato's pummelling of Yugoslavia, with its toll of hundreds, if not thousands of civilians killed, and many more thousands injured, apparently doesn't count as one of the worst European wars since the Nazis, though it might be recalled that before Nato it was the Nazis who last bombed Yugoslavia.
The flexing of Nato's military muscle was called a humanitarian intervention, not a war, and therefore doesn't count. Goebbels would have admired the audacity. The euphemistic evasion "humanitarian intervention" calls to mind the Fuggs' 1966 underground hit, Kill for Peace.
Kill, it will give you the mental ease
Kill it will give you a big release
Kill, kill, kill for peace.
It also calls to mind Orwell's charge that political language is designed to make lies sound truthful and murder respectable.
Human Rights Watch says that Nato bombs killed 500 civilians.
The total body count for which Milosevic stands indicted on war crimes is 391, not 100,000 and not 10,000. Less than the number of Yugoslav civilians killed by a humanitarian Nato. That's never mentioned by the media.
And all of the incidents cited in the indictment against Milosevic but one -- the phoney Racak incident -- happened after Nato's bombs started their ugly exercise of ushering Serb civilians to an early grave or to a life of permanent disability. Which is curious, because Nato said it needed to bomb Yugoslavia to stop Serb atrocities.
So what exactly is George W. Bush talking about when he mentions the chilling images of mass graves? And exactly what graves did Robin Cook visit anyway?
Chilling images of mass killing, indeed, are something we should never forget. The near genocide of the East Timorese by Indonesia, which went on for decades under the eyes of successive US administrations; the burning of Kurd villages by Turkish security forces, both in Turkey, and across its border, in Northern Iraq, where American and British patrols supposedly fly to protect the Kurd minority -- except when Turkish jet fighters loaded with bombs, generously paid for by US military aid, are razing Kurd villages; Colombian peasants driven from their homes and murdered by death squads linked to the Colombian military the US has given $1.3 billion to; the hundreds of Palestinians killed by the Israeli Defence Forces, and the

usands injured and permanently disabled, in the latest intifada; these re chilling images we should begin to notice, much less never forget.
And what of the chilling images of thousands of Iraqi children dying every month because of the US-led sanctions regime, or Serb hospitals, schools, bridges, factories, destroyed by Nato bombs -- can they be forgotten?
Nor should we overlook -- or forget -- the complicity of the press in lending the appearance of solidity to the emptiness of the words of the likes of Bush and Cook, a press which boasts of being free and independent, yet allows itself to be spoon-fed mendacious drivel which it neither questions nor parses.
And we shouldn't forget the troubling lies that roll so easily off the tongues of Nato leaders -- about massacres that didn't happen, and master plans for ethnic cleansing that never existed, and death tolls that are wildly exaggerated.
Mr. Steve Gowans is a writer and political activist who lives in Ottawa, Canada.
Source: Antiwar.com

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STATEMENT OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF SERBIA

Belgrade, April 4, 2001

Socialist Party of Serbia has requested the competent authorities that Party President Slobodan Milosevic is released from detention and given possibility to legally defend himself free. Slobodan Milosevic is symbol of defending dignity of Serbian nation, national and state interests as well as of cooperation based on equality with all countries and peoples. Milosevic had organized and united citizens of Yugoslavia in resisting NATO armed aggression which provoked thousands of human victims, destruction of the country and which led Balkans, Europe and whole world the heritage of unpredictable lasting dangers. Let nobody stay with illusions that history and truth can be changed by detaining Slobodan Milosevic.

Socialist Party of Serbia is grateful to numerous friendly parties, statesmen and world public personalities, who condemned detention of Slobodan Milosevic as an attempt to amnesty those who have been destroying Yugoslavia and committing genocide over Serbian nation and blame victims of the crimes - defenders of legitimate interests of Yugoslavia and Serbian people.

Socialist Party of Serbia urges the competent state authorities to prevent Democratic Party from being headquarters for public lynches, orchestration of political trials and ransom detention of political opponents.

The new DOS authorities succeed in only one election promise: freeing from jails Albanian terrorists and filing jails with Serbian patriots. These authorities having no national and state policy, neglecting dignity and interest of Serbia - have accepted to negotiate with Albanian terrorists about Serbian territories in Southern Serbia, thus offering time to terrorists to amass, build fortifications from which they kill every day Serbian citizens, policemen and soldiers. Separatism program of DOS leaders in Vojvodina and Raska region is publicly destroying Serbian state as the only pillar of the whole Serbian nation and all citizens of Serbia.

In these conditions the Socialist Party of Serbia will continue to resolutely defend interest of Serbia and its citizens, safeguarding Yugoslavia as the Balkans and European state, the most important factor of peace, stability and cooperation based on equality in the region.

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.24casa.co.yu/ (the only free daily newspaper in Yugoslavia)

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SPS ON MILUTINOVIC RESIGNATION
Belgrade, April 4, 2001

President of the Republic of Serbia Milan Milutinovic submitted yesterday his resignation from the posts of vice-chairman and of the member of Head

mmittee of the Socialist Party of Serbia, the principal opposition party n both - Serbian and Federal levels. His letter to the Head Committee followed only a day after the President of the Party Slobodan Milosevic was put in detention by Serbian authorities. Milutinovic who has acquired extraordinary political carrier being one of the closest friends of Milosevic and who won Serbian presidential elections as the candidate of Socialist Party, has kept him self completely away from public political life ever since Democratic opposition took power in Yugoslavia and in Serbia towards the end of last year.

Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Serbia has issued today a statement reacting to complaints of Mr. Milutinovic that he has been asked in various occasions to act beyond his powers. The statement says that Socialist Party has been expecting President Milutinovic to publicly condemn escalation of Albanian terrorism in Kosovo and Metohija and southern districts of Presevo, Bujanovac and Medvedja as it is his principal duty to defend peace, stability, integrity of the Republic and human rights of all citizens. He has been asked to visit those regions, the same way as many other less competent officials have been doing.

The statement confirms that Milutinovic has been urged by his Party colleagues to use his constitutional powers and refrain from signing certain laws considered by the Party to be contrary to the interest of the Republic, such as Amnesty law and law on abolishing the Law on privatization. He was also asked to amnesty Dragoljub Milanovic, former director of the state television (RTS), who was accused and detained two months ago under accusation of being responsible for the death of sixteen RTS employees, who were killed by NATO bomb on April 23, 1999.

All these expectations and initiatives of Socialist Party of Serbia have been ignored by Mr. Milutinovic.

The Socialist Party of Serbia has strongly criticized Milutinovic's move, reminding him that he has never been dissatisfied while exploiting the Party and friendship with Milosevic for very fast and privilege rendering rising-up to the top of the power - first Ambassador to Athens, then Minister of Foreign Affairs and finally President of Serbia.

Milutinovic's resignation will soon be considered by the Head Committee of the Party.

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van holst en steijnen

From: <ssicc@planet.nl>
To: <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>
Sent: zondag 1 april 2001 16:34
Subject: The ultimatum

Gentlemen,

The ultimatum imposed by the "international community" to the new Yugoslav government, to arrest Milosevic expired yesterday night, was fully respected, and the former president is under arrest. The Western governments and politicians, as we know will be partly satisfied only when Milosevic is delivered to the ITCY in the Hague, but we express our doubts for a honest issue, as we could observe that the "international community" did not fully respect its own resolutions and its proper words.

There is no doubt that Milosevic could be delivered to the Hague, but there is a serious doubt that the "international community" would not stop extending demands and putting more add-on to the initial exigencies.

The international community, USA overall should be aware that during the NATO bombing on Serbia , more than 1500 Serb civilians died, among them 81 children, and it is a crime, according to all international conventions. A crime which should be judged as a crime against humanity, and a violation of the international laws as some weapons like cluster bombes and DU were used against 10 millions of civilians.

Those who intentionally ignited the NATO intervention for "the humanitarian reasons", and who therefore massacred 1500 civilians should be brought before the international justice, under the same indictment as Milosevic. The reasons of judgments are different, but the crime is very same.

The result of "the humanitarian action" of NATO in Serbia is more than 1500 dead, among which 81 innocent children, the destruction of the whole country, the ruined economy and financial structures, the pollution antl dismembering of the country.

Furthermore, the country was kept in the economic and moral ghetto during more then 12 years, which is to be compared to what we knew in early 40 th. Those who hide behind the " humanitarian reasons", and who today observe a part of mistakes committed in the name of humanity, should respond for those mistakes in front of the international justice, which is not made only for the others. The word "international" means all those who committed any sort of unjustified crimes. Killing civilians is neither a " collateral damage" nor a justified murder, and no one is above the law, especially the international law.

The new Yugoslav government which is no doubt, democratic, reacted according to its convictions and law and not according to NATO-US menaces. Yet those menaces are the best proof of ' the humanity" of certain western politics. Milosevic will be judged, but the international community and ITCY, should drop all speculations of a Serbian collective guilt, as the whole Serbian nation stood behind the new democratic government in the recen event and before.

Sincerely
Dragan St. RAKIC
Strasbourg
France

The Croatian newspaper Nacional is in possession of documentation and witness testimonies that unquestionably prove that the Croatian Army was the classic aggressor in the war in neighbouring Bosnia Herzegovina. These documents refer to the 175th Brigade which in the first half of 1994 was sent to the "Uskoplje-Ram Battlefield", as military support for the Convicts Brigade led by Mladen Naletilic Tuta, now a prisoner in the Hague. Formed by order of Gojko Susak, then Defense Minister, the 175th Brigade is a clear example of the so-called parallel military-political command lines which skirted the constitutional authority of the parliament, and also the HV General Staff.

The documents and evidence reached Nacional from military circles, meaning that within the Defense Ministry and General Staff archives are certainly many others like them. This proves that Vesna Pusic, HNS president, was the

Nacional is in possession of three key documents concerning the history of the 175th Brigade. One of these documents openly describes this brigade as a formation of the Croatian Army. In another, it is called the 175th Brigade of HVO, and in the third it is not specified as to which military organization it belongs.
However, regardless of its name, it is evident that it was financed from the Croatian national budget and that its members received their salaries as soldiers of the Croatian Armed Forces.

The first is a report regarding the "securing of the town Prozor by the 175th Brigade", dated January 1, 1994, and includes a blueprint of the school building where the brigade's command center was.

The second document is dated February 4, 1994 and is signed by Major Andrija Skoko, command assistant for logistics, and outlines the organization scheme for the supply and medical assistance for the 1500 troops which made up the brigade. "The main storehouse facility of the 175th Brigade is in Zagreb, at the military base 'Croatia'.Facilitative storehouse facilities, including technical and supplies, is in the Prozor High School, and the commander of the logistics company of the Brigade is responsible for it.Ammunition in Prozor is executed via the ZP Tomislavgrad IZM Prozor - storehouse Brana.", outlines Skoko in his supply scheme.

The third document is even more interesting. It is entitled: "Report on the life and work of a brigade from its formation to its transfer into the reserves". Written on the official letterhead of the Croatian Defense Ministry, the text was written on May 15, 1994 by the brigade's commander, Franjo Primorac. It testifies to the activities of the Croatian military on the other side of the Croatian border, and this report also tells of the reasons for its military defeat: the lack of motive to fight in the name of the HDZ imperialistic ambitions.

"The formation of the brigade began based on an order by the Defense Minister of the Republic of Croatia on December 14, 1993 for the mobilization of RP 9804. The actual mobilization was executed in four different phases.", begins the eight page report by Primorac which outlines the problems of training in Delnice and in Pozega, with the "numerous activities" in Bosnia Herzegovina, outlines the troubles with armament and soldiers injuring themselves, and warns of the activities of the "yellow media" in conjugation with the "foreign and domestic enemies".

Underhanded Mobilization

In short, from only three documents, it is possible to reconstruct the way in which HV became an instrument of the HDZ invasion on the territory of the neighbouring country. However, the actual and much greater Croatian aggression on BiH will become clear when the all of the archives are opened one day. From the verbal stories which have been passing around the military bases for years, it is obvious that the 175th Brigade is not an isolated example and that numerous Croatian units participated in the HDZ project to take command of territory within Bosnia Herzegovina.

According to Susak's order, the 175th Brigade was supposed to have been composed of Croats from BiH which had fled to Croatia at the beginning of

only person speaking the truth regarding the Croatian aggression on Bosnia Herzegovina. Also, the same documents show that the remaining politicians of the governing coalition, acting as though they have no idea, are participating in covering up one of the greatest HDZ crimes: the misuse of entire units of the Croatian Army in a secret conquest on another country's territory.

Perfidious Lie

The lie is even more perfidious in that the leaders of the 175th Brigade are even today in high ranking military functions in Croatia. The Brigade commander Franjo Primorac is employed at the Croatian Military Academy. An even more dramatic example is Miroslav Vidovic, who is currently the right hand to Military Chief of Staff Petar Stipetic. Vidovic was the chief of security for the brigade, precisely at the time of its Bosnian escapades, and his headquarters were in Prozor.

Nacional is in possession of three key documents concerning the history of the 175th Brigade. One of these documents openly describes this brigade as a formation of the Croatian Army. In another, it is called the 175th Brigade of HVO, and in the third it is not specified as to which military organization it belongs.
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According to Susak's order, the 175th Brigade was supposed to have been composed of Croats from BiH which had fled to Croatia at the beginning of

the Croat-Muslim war. Ivan Andabak, cofounder and leader of the Convict's Brigade, was unofficially in charge of executing the mobilization. Due to this task, he sat in the Defense Ministry for several weeks at the end of 1993. As Primorac explicitly states in his report, the mobilization was based on the unofficial thesis that those Croats who had moved to Croatia after January 1, 1992 could be treated as deserters.

This lead to the first difficulties in filling the 175th Brigade. According to Primorac's report, mobilized soldiers felt that it was unjust that their fellow Croats who had fled from BiH in December 1991 were exempt from mandatory service, while those who had entered Croatia in 1992 were mobilized as punishment for "deserting". As a consequence of the obvious resistance to this recruitment action, almost 2000 men found a way, through connections in the recruitment committee, to obtain documents declaring them unfit for military service. There was also a significant number of men who were militarily able who called upon the constitution, and refused to go to war on the territory of a neighbouring country.

Forced Volunteers

These men were separated into a separate brigade and spread about the Zadar region. Thus the mobilization was completed by bringing together men without any real criteria, including Croatian citizens who for years had not had any contact with Bosnia Herzegovina, outside of family connections. Due to the bad turnout, the brigade was thus composed of suspicious foreigners, underaged boys and handicapped individuals. Recall that in the eyes of the public and the international community, these men were presented as volunteers who had joined, with no pressures, and were inspired by the very idea of Herceg-Bosna, and were making themselves available to HVO.

"The mobilization began on New Years Day, 1994. Even though the majority were against going into
Bosnia, they treated us as volunteers. The preparations lasted for ten days. We left the Croatia military base by bus, divided into four companies. They gave us HVO badges and classical infantry weaponry. At the Vran Mountain pass we got stuck in snow, and the UNPROFOR trailers had to pull us out. Prozor was empty and free; our brigade served as support for Naletilic's Convict's Brigade, and for the most part we just watched over the territory they had won. Naletilic's soldiers died in troops, penetrating towards Donji Vakuf which was divided between the Croats and the Muslims. UNPROFOR had a monitoring mission in the Vran Mountains and were excellently informed in all the events," recalls a former member of the 175th Brigade, 40 years old at the time, who had been born in Tomislavgrad but had been living and working in Croatia for two decades already. The Brigade was, therefore, sent into Bosnia in January 1994, and they were transported to the so-called South Battlefield in 170 busses. They returned to Croatia in the same way in May of the same year. In the Uskoplje-Ram region, they had taken the position of two HVO units which had been sent on leave: they substituted for the so-called Lasva Company and the Matija Vlacic Company. Primorac's report also refers to the "HV forces" they came across there, which left after their arrival, but the name of that formation is not given.

Smuggling Gangs

"According to the order by the Defense Ministry of Croatia, the brigade was militarily assigned in late 1993 to the South Battlefield, precisely to the Uskoplje-Ram battlefront. In the period from December 26 to 28, 1993 in the area of the future engagement of the brigade, a quarters scout was sent to the area to look over the battlefront area and the camp position, and to conduct the logistical preparations for the arrival of the brigade. It is necessary to emphasize that at that time, the brigade had only two terrain vehicles, make and model 'Lada Niva', at its disposal and that all of the support in the transport segments were received from the transportation sector of the Defense Ministry for the transfer of troops to Prozor, while further transport would be dependent on HVO," writes Primorac.

The report continues to state that they arrived to find total chaos in the field: a disorganized position without any protection from enemy fire, a lack of information concerning Muslim forces, and HVO forces who were small in number, undisciplined and only lightly armed. The greatest problems by

far were the showdowns among smuggling gangs, and that with the blessing of the local military police and the local HVO leaders. It is necessary to add the typical disorder of the logistical experts who had, for example, sent off the recoilless guns without enough grenades, sniper rifles without bullets, rocket launchers without rockets, and grenades without the appropriate launchers. Their repeated requests for obtain equipment and weaponry from the HVO logistics center were responded to with demands that they first explain exactly which HVO region they belonged to. There were also such trivial problems such as military boots, and Primorac began to complain in his report that his 150 soldiers had walked for weeks in boots that were falling apart.

In such an atmosphere, already in the first days of its combat expeditions in Bosnia Herzegovina, the 175th Brigade experienced three cases of self-injury and one injury caused by negligence.

Fatal Gun Cleaning

Just before the brigade pulled out of BiH, that statistic was increased by three deaths caused by negligence. One Croatian soldier was killed while he cleaned his gun, and two died in dangerous war games played in their positions.

The first armed conflict of the 175th Brigade against Muslim forces took place on February 24, 1994, one day prior to the cease-fire with Army BiH. Two of the brigade members were killed by Muslim shelling in the area of Kicalj. The second encounter with the Muslim army took place at Zvisce in April 1994. As Primorac later informed Minister Susak with great pride, that small offensive resulted in ten Muslim deaths and only two Croatian causalities. The brigade imprisoned five Muslims who had crossed over onto Croatian territory by mistake, and all five were handed over to the superior operative command center of HVO.

Fear of Reparations

In other words, the report by Franjo Primorac is, in a real illustration of the Croatian military as a so-called regional, Balkan force in Bosnia Herzegovina during the HDZ regime: in direct conflicts with the enemy, the 175th Brigade had fewer victims that in the their leisure time.

There are many reasons why the coalition government, in spite of documents and thousands of living witnesses, persistently deny the very active involvement of the Croatian military in the war for Herceg Bosna. Some deny it for they fundamentally believe in the HDZ project of a Great Croatia which should include at least Herzegovina. Many others, however, like Zdravko Tomac (SDP) deny this out of the fear of potential financial consequences of the unofficial, never publicly admitted aggression on Bosnia Herzegovina. "If that becomes the official position of the international community," announced Tomac during one conversation with Nacional's journalist, "Sarajevo might then seek war reparations."

van holst en steijnen

From: global reflexion <office@globalreflexion.org>
To: <office@globalreflexion.org>
Sent: vrijdag 6 april 2001 08:22
Subject: Professor Mihailo Markovic on arrest of Milosevic

The Global Reflexion Foundation contributes, according to its ability, to the distribution of information on international issues that in the media does not recieve proper attention or is presented in a distorted way. We receive information from different sources, that does not necessary reflect our opinion. If you don't want to receive it, please send us an e-mail.

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Friday, april 6, 2001

1. Professor Mihailo Markovic on arrest of Milosevic
2. Cuban Exile Group Says Milosevic Arrest Sends Message To Castro
3. Kosovo, the west's Chechnya
4. Croatian Army was the classic aggressor in the war in Bosnia Herzegovina

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PROFESSOR MIHAILO MARKOVIC ON ARREST OF MILOSEVIC

Most important Yugoslav living philosopher, professor Mihailo Markovic, member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, member of several international scientific societies and visiting professor in many foreign universities, including in USA, made today the following statement on the arrest of president Milosevic:

Present Yugoslav authorities know that Slobodan Milosevic is not a war criminal and yet they arrested him and intend to deliver him to the Hague tribunal the partiality of which is quite obvious. Its prosecutor, notorious Carla Del Ponte declared in advance that for his "crimes" Milosevic will get life imprisonment. He is guilty before anything was proven, he is punished before the trial even started. In any truly legal institution this lady would be fired and the case dismissed. Unfortunately the Hague tribunal is not a legal but a political institution fully subordinated to the only-remaining word superpower.

It is common knowledge that multinational former Yugoslavia was not broken by former Yugoslav president but by separatist forces, supported from outside. All evidence points out that the four wars in former Yugoslavia were not produced by Milosevic but by paramilitary forces of secessionists.

There were indeed appalling atrocities in those wars, as in every civil war in history. But they were committed by all parties. There was no systematic Serbian policy deserving to be characterized as genocide or crime against humanity. Besides, when similar crimes took place in some other wars (for example war in Vietnam) only those who committed them were held responsible, not presidents of USA and other countries.

Certainly everyone, including Milosevic is responsible if he broke the international low and the lows of his country. However, our entire civilization and any truly legal system rest on the principle that guilt must be proven and that each human being must be presumed innocent before trial begins. I am convinced that Milosevic would not have been arrested had this not been demanded by the USA in order to absolve itself from the moral and legal responsibility for bombardment of Yugoslavia.

Mihailo Markovic, is member of Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts

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CUBAN EXILE GROUP SAYS MILOSEVIC ARREST SENDS MESSAGE TO CASTRO

By Jim Burns CNS Senior Staff Writer
April 05, 2001 - (CNSNews.com) - The Cuban American National Foundation Wednesday congratulated the Yugoslavian government for arresting its former

president, Slobodan Milosevic, saying Cuban leader Fidel Castro should learn from Milosevic's experience.

"Milosevic's arrest sends an important message to tyrants everywhere: You can no longer commit gross human rights abuses and hide behind the outdated doctrine of executive privilege," CANF Executive Vice President Dennis Hays said in a statement.

"There is an emerging international consensus that dictators can and should be held accountable for their crimes," said Hays in a pointed reference to Castro.

In the case of Cuba, Hays noted, "It is a forgone conclusion that in a democratic Cuba, Fidel Castro would be brought before the courts to answer for his crimes. This is one reason why Castro denies the Cuban people any free voice in their government."

Hays believes the international community should "bring Castro to account for his direct involvement in crimes against the citizens of other nations, such as his admitted culpability in the premeditated murder of four individuals in the shoot down of the Brothers to the Rescue aircraft."

Four Cuban exiles died on Feb. 24, 1996, when Cuban MIGs fired on planes belonging to the Brothers to the Rescue, a Miami-based Cuban exile group. The brothers contend they were in international airspace over the Florida Straits.

CANF also congratulated the United States government and the international community for exerting "positive pressure" on Yugoslavia to undertake Milosevic's arrest.

"The targeted use of economic sanctions clearly helped bring about this important development. We call upon the international community to continue to press Yugoslavia to take the next step, Milosevic's extradition to The Hague to answer for his many crimes," Hays said.

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KOSOVO, THE WEST'S CHECHNYA

By Yuri Luzhkov
Nato has caused severe harm in the Balkans by believing that Albanian desires for autonomy can be satisfied.
Two years have passed since Nato launched its military operation against Yugoslavia. Under the guise of protecting Kosovar Albanians, Nato inflicted an exemplary punishment of bombings and blockades. Rarely were dissenting voices allowed to intrude on western public opinion.

At that time, I called Kosovo another Chechnya. I see now that if I erred it was in being over-optimistic. In 1999 there were already signs of Kosovo's "Chechenisation". There was mass hostage-taking along ethnic lines and there was religious intolerance - the Kosovo Liberation Army was even forcing Catholic Albanians to leave. Serbian monasteries were destroyed and priests were kidnapped. Almost all the Serbian population has now been expelled from the region of Kosovo. Almost all the historical monuments have been ruined. We profess shock at the destruction of Buddhas in Afghanistan but we have allowed history to be destroyed in the very centre of Europe.

Why is this cultural destruction occurring? Because it does not suit the Kosovars to have evidence exposing them as relatively recent arrivals in this land. In much the same way, Chechen rebels regularly destroy evidence that the plains of Chechnya were settled by the Cossacks of the north Caucasus.
Macedonia is now becoming the victim of the very Albanians whom, until recently, it had supported under pressure from Nato. Out of Nato's bombs a cancer has grown and it continues to spread.

Some people in Nato must have thought the Albanians could be easily pacified. Their attitude must have been: they already have a state, Albania - let them annex to it all the territories where Albanians have settled.
They must also have thought: they have military forces - let them have the

terrorists of the KLA as well. That will culminate in a Greater Albania. True, it will be big and bloody - but it will still meet the legal norms making it admissible to the United Nations.

That attitude is wrong - it will not be the end. Many rebellious Albanians will never settle for a peaceful life. Their country is the poorest in Europe. Driven by political or economic forces, they will spread across the continent, forming a network of desperate sellers of arms and drugs. As a result, Europe will encounter its own clash of civilisations: a majority operating by 21st-century legal and ethical standards will confront a minority with far more ancient standards and yet with modern arms at their disposal.

To avoid a new battle of Poitiers, or of Vienna, Europe should analyse the situation in Pristina. In doing so, it may find Russia's sad experience in Chechnya to be of considerable help. The war in Chechnya began when some former Russian leaders thought a tank regiment could solve a local failure in their nation-building. With Kosovo, Nato thought a bombing campaign could rid them of one Serbian leader. An insignificant aim was pursued with enough force to shatter the calm of an entire region and leave thousands of dead and injured.

The Kosovars have taken the Chechen experience into account - and reproduced it diligently. In Chechnya, the mono-ethnic path was clear by the end of the Soviet period. A significant portion of the non-Chechen population was forced out before the revolution led by Djohar Dudaev. This greatly assisted the second, outright separatist stage.

The same has happened in Kosovo: Serbs were already being squeezed out during the peaceful times under Tito. But Kosovo has never belonged to the Albanians. Indeed, Tito invited many of them as part of his plan to create a Balkan federation.

It seems that now nobody is ready to resist the Kosovar brigands. At least when Yevgeny Primakov was prime minister of Russia, he turned his aircraft around in mid-flight, abandoning a trip to the US, to protest against the bombardment. But soon after that, Russia was not even prepared to insist on its own sector of control in Kosovo, which would have saved some of the Serb population from exile.

With Serbia humiliated and Russia "contained", Nato alone must now answer for the Kosovo settlement. Perhaps that is why it has suddenly remembered the existence of the Yugoslav national army, which it was accusing of all possible sins just two years ago.

The Yugoslavs can bring real force to bear. Their motherland is at stake and they alone must save it. There can be no hope of relying on a transatlantic uncle. Russia has lived through this situation. Israel has also lived through it. Now it is the turn of Yugoslavia. The rest of Europe must understand. As in medieval times, the question is not one of comfort but of survival.

The writer is mayor of Moscow

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Certainly everyone, including Milosevic is responsible if he broke the international low and the lows of his country. However, our entire civilization and any truly legal system rest on the principle that guilt must be proven and that each human being must be presumed innocent before trial begins. I am convinced that Milosevic would not have been arrested had this not been demanded by the USA in order to absolve itself from the moral and legal responsibility for bombardment of Yugoslavia.

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van holst en steijnen

From: global reflexion <office@globalreflexion.org>
To: <office@globalreflexion.org>
Sent: donderdag 5 april 2001 05:36
Subject: KLA Attacks Everyone; Media Attacks...Miloshevich?

The Global Reflexion Foundation contributes, according to its ability, to the distribution of information on international issues that in the media does not recieve proper attention or is presented in a distorted way. We receive information from different sources, that does not necessary reflect our opinion. If you don't want to receive it, please send us an e-mail.

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Thursday, april 5, 2001

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KLA ATTACKS EVERYONE; MEDIA ATTACKS...MILOSHEVICH?

by Jared Israel (3-3-2001)

The Western media is preparing us for yet another terrorist war which NATO will be helpless to prevent although it is training the terrorists.

> "Western special forces were still training the guerrillas, as a result of decisions taken before the change of government in Yugoslavia." (BBC, Jan. 29, 2001) (1)

The 'guerrillas' in question are members of the terrorist Kosovo Liberation Army, or KLA. You remember the KLA, don't you? They're the people NATO installed in power in Kosovo in June 1999 after which they dutifully drove out almost all Serbs, 'Gypsies', Jews and Slavic Muslims, or killed them.

Bill Clinton and George W. are quite fond of the KLA and Sen. Joseph Lieberman has said:

> "[The] United States of America and the Kosovo Liberation Army stand for the same human values and principles. . . . Fighting for the KLA is fighting for human rights and American values." ('Washington Post' April 28, 1999)

The KLA, which goes under various names these days, has been dissolved more than once despite which it continues to start new terrorist wars.

Aside from an invasion of southern Serbia, which it started a year ago, the KLA is also attacking the country known as the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (or, for simplicity, 'FYR Macedonia'.)

The KLA, or whomever, has been fully disarmed but employs heavy weapons plus there are NATO combat helicopters providing air cover. (2)

MASS MEDIA PREPARES US FOR WAR

The way the mass media gets us ready for new terrorist wars is by marinating our heads in dreck.

Consider an article that appeared in the February 24th London 'Telegraph'. The body of the article concerns the KLA's latest terrorist attacks. But the headline reads:

> "NATO FORCES FACE NEW THREAT IN BALKANS"

Huh? Is somebody threatening NATO? No, nobody is threatening NATO, although it richly deserves it.

The point of the title is to give readers the proper attitude prior to breaking the news that NATO's prize pet, the KLA, is again attacking Serbia and FYR Macedonia.

Readers must be directed away from unacceptable if perfectly logical speculations such as that maybe the UN group in Kosovo, which made the KLA the official 'Kosovo Protection Corp', and NATO, which has been training the terrorists attacking Serbia and FYR Macedonia, are behind these attacks. Oh no no no, says the title, these attacks threaten NATO, and gently nudges us away from treacherous waters.

Now for your consideration, here is the article's first sentence:

> "The Kosovo war was fought to defeat Slobodan Milosevic and his dream of a 'Greater Serbia'".

Amazing. This article is supposedly about recent terrorist attacks. News reports are supposed to start by telling us who did it, what happened, where it happened, when and why.

Did Miloshevich go out last night and launch terrorist attacks on the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia plus southern Serbia?

By leading with this sentence the 'Telegraph' dredges up all our memories of anti-Serb media stories past. It gives us the impression that whatever happens now stems from Miloshevich. This is important for two reasons. First, Miloshevich could not have done bad things, e.g., conducted a fight for a 'Greater Serbia', without mass support. Thus this sentence is actually attacking the entire Serbian resistance to NATO. Second, NATO and the pro-NATO leaders in Belgrade are trying to build public support for arresting Miloshevich. They want to stage a show trial to convince the world that NATO is innocent and the Serbs are guilty for the breakup of Yugoslavia.

At the same time, this opening sentence tells readers that NATO is innocent of wrongdoing. If it had not bombed Yugoslavia and occupied Kosovo it would have failed to:

> "defeat Slobodan Milosevic and his dream of a 'Greater Serbia'"

Thus, like the headline, the first sentence puts us in the proper mental state for a constructive news experience: pro-NATO and on the lookout for Serbian dreams of expansion.

But wait a minute. Is the 'Telegraph' seriously saying NATO bombed Yugoslavia to stop a Miloshevich dream?

Or did this dream take some earthly form? Was Miloshevich trying to expand Serbia into Kosovo?

That must be the idea, but there is a wee glitch. At the time NATO attacked, Kosovo was a province of Serbia. In fact Kosovo has been an internationally recognized province of Serbia since before World War I. The border between Kosovo (that is, Serbia) and the country known as Albania is one of the oldest borders in Europe. Moreover, Kosovo is the heart of Serbia. Saying Serbia is expanding into Kosovo is similar to saying New York City is expanding into Manhattan.

This 'Greater Serbia' stuff was invented by the Austro-Hungarian Empire as war propaganda to justify its attack on little Serbia, an attack that turned into World War I. It was black humor then - this elephant whining that it was threatened by the expansionism of a mouse.

The expansionism claim has not gained intellectual stature with time - but so what? It is not brains but money and might that count in the new, American World Order, lucky thing. The "Greater Serbia" nonsense was reissued in the early 1990s. Since then it has been foisted on us continuously by Western journalists, politicians and professors. It is the stock explanation for every conflict in Yugoslavia.

But despite all of Miloshevich's expansionist dreaming, Serbia has never

annexed any land. Not an acre. But over a million Serbs and other Yugoslav loyalists have been driven from their lands and/or homes in other parts of Yugoslavia (e.g., the farmers who owned most of Bosnia's land because they farmed it). These refugees, mostly but not all ethnic Serbs, now live in Serbia.

"TO DEFEND THE UNION"

Yugoslavia, led by Serbia, fought defensively throughout the 1990s, resisting secessionists who launched armed attacks on Yugoslav forces and who depopulated vast areas of Serbs and other undesirables. The two most extreme examples are the Krajina section (over 250,00 Serbs driven out by Croatian fascist troops under U.S. leadership in August, 1995; over time, a total of nearly 500,00 driven out) and Kosovo (about 350,000 driven out following NATO takeover in June, 1999).

The goal of the secessionist attacks was to rip off parts of Yugoslavia and form mini-states under US and German domination. Serbs were the main target because they are the cement of Yugoslavia. The German Establishment has been fully aware of this fact for 100 years which is why Germany launched two world wars with attacks on the Serbs.

Thus throughout the 1990s Yugoslavia, led by Serbia, has in effect resisted Anglo-U.S. and German "dreams of expansion."

Serbia was in a position similar to that of the northern states during the U.S. Civil War. (7) The North fought to prevent the southern states from forming a slave nation under British domination and Serbia fought to prevent parts of Yugoslavia from forming racially 'pure' statelets under Western domination..

Western politicians and the mass media have accused Serbia of destabilizing the Balkans. What breathtaking cynicism. As anyone who has read European history knows, the existence of a state unifying the south Slavs ('Yugoslavia') is crucial to the stability of southern Europe and Russia. Serbia's opposition to the splintering of Yugoslavia into weak Anglo-American and German neocolonies has nothing to do with "dreaming of a 'Greater Serbia'".

THE MEDIA MILOSHEVICH

To make the 'Greater Serbia' charge believable it has been linked to the accusation that Mr. Miloshevich was and is motivated by hatred of non-Serbs.

The Western media has come up with a new, improved Miloshevich to aid in digesting this idea. I encountered this Media Miloshevich while watching a Fox News program during the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia. Fox was interviewing a 'NY Times' reporter, an 'expert' on Yugoslavia. The reporter said:

> "The ethnic cleansing of Kosovo, as Milosevich would call it, is a success."

So brief but so untrue.

If the reporter said, "Miloshevich has popularized the term 'ethnic cleansing' and used it in Kosovo," it would have been a lie, but a straight forward lie. One could have asked: "Where's the proof?"

But the reporter presented his accusation as if he were mentioning a fact so well known it required no proof. Such casualness has great power for it makes the uninformed viewer (virtually all Americans) think: "So, Miloshevich invented the idea of ethnic cleansing. One more reason to get that man behind bars."

The 'New York Times' has been replete with references to Miloshevich as the author of 'ethnic cleansing.' For instance, on August 3, 1992, Anthony Lewis, the prolific Serb-baiter, wrote, in a 'Times' column syndicated in several other newspapers:

> "President Bush compared Saddam Hussein to Hitler. I am against such analogies, because they cheapen the Holocaust.

> But if that one is to be used, it better fits the Serbian leader, Slobodan Milosevic, the inventor of 'ethnic cleansing.'" (Anthony Lewis, 'N.Y. Times,' August 3, 1992)

Emperor's Clothes uses a research tool called Lexis. With it we can scan the world press going back 20 years in a few seconds. If a statement has been published in the media, we'll find it.

I did an exhaustive search of 'N.Y. Times' articles. The 'N.Y. Times' has never quoted Miloshevich saying one word in favor of 'ethnic cleansing'. Never.

How could Miloshevich call for 'ethnic cleansing' without using the words?

The reporter interviewed by Fox (and Mr. Lewis, and a host of others) was simply lying - or to be more accurate, he was not only lying, he was presenting his lie in a manner calculated to make the viewer feel that everyone but himself or herself of course knew it was true.

The term 'ethnic cleansing' has an interesting history. It was first used in Kosovo in the early 1980s. Albanian secessionists were waging a terrorist campaign, driving tens of thousands of Serbs from Kosovo. (4) The 'N.Y. Times' covered this nightmare in a news story in 1982. The 'Times' reporter interviewed a Yugoslav official in Kosovo, a man of Albanian ancestry, who said:

> "'The [Albanian] nationalists have a two-point platform...first to establish what they call an ethnically clean Albanian republic and then the merger with Albania to form a greater Albania." ("N.Y. Times', July 12, 1982)

For a bit more on the history of the use of 'ethnic cleansing' to smear the victims of 'ethnic cleansing' see footnote (6) at the end.

EVERYBODY'S DOING IT

The accusations against Mr. Miloshevich (i.e., against Bad Serbs) have come from all sides. Liberal and even leftist writers have taken part in - and even led - these attacks. For example, there is the Spanish author, Juan Goytisolo, who views himself an icon of broad-mindedness. During the bombing of Yugoslavia, Mr. Goytisolo wrote a piece for the London 'Independent' attacking a phenomenon which in his title he broadmindedly called "THE VIRUS THAT HAS INVADED THE LEFT." (His emphasis) This virus consisted of writers who opposed NATO's bombing of the Serbs.

Establishing his credentials in the first line, Mr. Goytisolo assures us that: "NO ONE detests aerial bombardments more than I do". (His emphasis.) This is encouraging, and once said, Mr. Goytisolo gets down to business, which is to explain why he does not detest the aerial bombing of Serbia:

> "Since 1992, it has been apparent to anyone familiar with the Serbian ultra-nationalist ideology embraced by Milosevic that the Kosovo ethnocide was inevitable...Full of hatred and scorn for the Bosnian Muslim and the Kosovar Albanian, [Milosevich's views] did not differ greatly from the anti-Semitic diatribes of the Nazis." (4-21-1999, London 'Independent')

Please note that Mr. Goytisolo does not provide evidence for his charge that anti-Albanian ethnocide has taken place in Kosovo. Rather he acts as if the existence of this supposed ethnocide is an established fact and concerns himself only with the question why it has happened. The answer, he says, is Mr. Miloshevich and his supposed ideology of hate.

The problem is, at the time Mr. Goytisolo wrote these words many people said the ethnocide charge was a lie. And clearly, were the ethnocide charge a lie, the hunt for Serbian motivations for carrying it out would carry less weight.

Since NATO took over Kosovo in June, 1999, it has employed an army of forensic experts in Kosovo. These folks have dug up half the province, accompanied by frequent press conferences in which various NATO and War

Crimes Tribunal types promised to find mass graves with tens of thousands of victims of Serbian brutality. In fact, they have produced none - no mass graves, no Serbian atrocities. Digging up individual graves all over Kosovo, they found fewer than 3000 bodies. NATO has said 2000 people died before the bombing of Yugoslavia, that is, before the supposed 'ethnocide' took place. That leaves 1000. We know that hundreds of people died in NATO bombing and hundreds more in fighting on the ground between the KLA and Yugoslav troops.

After the most exhaustive hunt in history, NATO has produced exactly no evidence that Serbian troops massacred ethnic Albanians.

The accusation of ethnocide was a fabrication. (5)

Why were Goytisolo and others able to get away with writing articles that assumed the truth of this lie? Because the mass media barraged us with sound bites, voiceovers, gruesome film footage, interviews with 'victims.' Constantly repeated, these established the ethnocide lie as an emotional truth; then people like Goytisolo could embellish without fear of repercussions. The Serbs were fair game.

Mr. Goytisolo says he knew the (nonexistent) ethnocide would happen because he was familiar with Miloshevich's "ultra-nationalist ideology" involving "hatred and scorn for the Bosnian Muslim and the Kosovar Albanian" not unlike the "anti-Semitic diatribes of the Nazis."

Was this ideology, like the nonexistent drive for 'Greater Serbia', also limited to Mr. Miloshevich's dreams? Or was Miloshevich's ideology written down somewhere?

If it was not written down, then how did Goytisolo become familiar with it?

If it was written down: where? In a book? In the text of a speech? Is Miloshevich at least quoted in a single news report saying hateful things about Muslims and Kosovars?

Goytisolo is silent. That is really too bad because in all the interviews and speeches I have read Mr. Miloshevich attacks Nazi-type ideologies and calls for national brotherhood.

Could it be that Mr. Goytisolo is reading stuff written by that Media Miloshevich mentioned above? The one who doesn't exist?

To be fair, in the 'Independent' article Mr. Goytisolo does offer some monstrous quotes to support his charge. The first is from Generalissimo Francisco Franco, the Fascist dictator of Spain. Another is from Adolph Hitler. Then we get more Franco, and finally...another from Hitler. And then Mr. Goytisolo lays down his trump card: Miloshevich, he declares, is just like them!

Alas, it doesn't sit right. If only Goytisolo could provide some word, some deed, some sort of indication of "hatred and scorn" for the Muslim or the Kosovar.

Goytisolo provides: nothing. Could it be he was really thinking about Franco and Hitler all that time, and it just came out 'Miloshevich'?

THE INFAMOUS SPEECH

For years we have been told Miloshevich launched the drive for 'Greater Serbia'" at a speech he gave in Kosovo in 1989.

The only thing that nobody who attacks the speech ever does is quote it. We have posted the speech on Emperor's Clothes. (3) Below are two excerpts.

First, here is what Miloshevich said about non-Serbian citizens of Serbia, including of course ethnic Albanians and Muslims of varying ethnicity:

> "Serbia has never had only Serbs living in it. Today, more than in the past, members of other peoples and nationalities also live in it. This is not a disadvantage for Serbia. I am truly convinced that it is its advantage...Socialism in particular,

being a progressive and just democratic society, should not allow people to be divided in the national and religious respect. The only differences one can and should allow in socialism are between hard working people and idlers and between honest people and dishonest people. Therefore, all people in Serbia who live from their own work, honestly, respecting other people and other nations, are in their own republic."

It has been estimated that the audience for Miloshevich's 1989 speech was as high as one million people. If Miloshevich was going to whip the throngs into a frenzy over his "dream of a 'Greater Serbia'", this was the time to do it.

"For as long as multinational communities have existed, their weak point has always been the relations between different nations. The threat is that the question of one nation being endangered by the others can be posed one day -- and this can then start a wave of suspicions, accusations, and intolerance, a wave that invariably grows and is difficult to stop. This threat has been hanging like a sword over our heads all the time. Internal and external enemies of multi-national communities are aware of this and therefore they organize their activity against multinational societies mostly by fomenting national conflicts. At this moment, we in Yugoslavia are behaving as if we have never had such an experience and as if in our recent and distant past we have never experienced the worst tragedy of national conflicts that a society can experience and still survive."

Smear campaigns are often successful because most people are reasonably honest and make the understandable if mistaken assumption that everyone is like them. Thus when a well-known and supposedly broad-minded writer (like Goytisolo) says Milosevich has an ideology similar to the Nazis, people are inclined to think, "Where there's smoke, there's fire," i.e., there must be some truth to the charge. But the truth is it is a bare-faced lie.

MEANWHILE, BACK IN SOUTHERN SERBIA

France, one of the lesser "external enemies of multi-national communities," has squealed on two of the greater enemies, the U.S. and Britain, informing newsmen that:

"NATO countries were discussing whether to send troops into a tense southern Serbia buffer zone, but the alliance flatly denied such a move was being considered.

"'The question of whether it is necessary to deploy an international military force in this region is now being discussed among the allies,' French Ministry spokesman Bernard Valero said...

"French diplomatic sources said discussion of a force was prompted by concern over the safety of EU [European Union] monitors." ('Reuters', 3-1-2001)

You remember Southern Serbia, don't you? That's one of the places which the KLA, under one of its names, is invading. It is the violence resulting from this KLA invasion which, if the French happen to be telling the truth, is to serve as NATO's excuse to invade southern Serbia as well.

Do you remember the KLA? That's that terrorist group which the BBC said "Western special forces were still training." But don't worry, it's OK for the West to be training these terrorists because Senator Lieberman says they're fighting for "American values" and anyway it's being done "as a result of decisions taken before the change of government in Yugoslavia", in other words, while Miloshevich was still running things and I'm sure you remember Miloshevich.

Don't you?

Come on how many times do I have to explain he's the guy who hates everyone and is always dreaming about attacking other people's countries remember? No no not Bill Clinton. Not Tony Blair for Pete's sake. Not Junior Bush --- Miloshevich. He's behind that violence in southern Serbia which is threatening our boys. We need to send more troops in there and kick some serious butt and then put that guy somewhere he can't do any more harm against our Way of Life and - and - and - and...

So many lies. So little time.

Further reading

1) The BBC tells all. Anyway, it tells a lot. See: 'Diplomats Admit NATO Backs KLA Invasion of Inner Serbia' at http://emperors-clothes.com/docs/admi.htm.

2) On NATO helicopters providing air cover for the KLA invasion of southern Serbia, see 'Pentagon Dogs'; at http://emperors-clothes.com/articles/tika/dogs.htm

3) Miloshevich's 1989 Kosovo speech can be read at http://emperors-clothes.com/articles/jared/milosaid.html

4) In the interview "Kosovo: Nightmare with the Best Intentions" two Serbian-Americans tell what it was like in Kosovo during the 1970s and 1980s. Most informative. http://www.emperors-clothes.com/interviews/tika.htm

5) The following are useful articles on the myth of Albanian genocide in Kosovo:

* Gen. Mac Kenzie commanded the UN forces in Bosnia. He examines the Kosovo mass graves baloney in 'Where have all the bodies gone?' by General (retired) Lewis MacKenzie at http://emperors-clothes.com/news/mack.htm

* This is the report of the press conference held by Spanish Forensic experts who walked off the job in Kosovo and criticized NATO. 'Spanish experts see no Serbian genocide in Kosovo' by Pablo Ordaz http://emperors-clothes.com/analysis/spanish.htm

* On the significance of the Spanish forensic experts: 'Spanish Forensic Experts' Report - A Commentary' by Jared Israel at http://emperors-clothes.com/articles/jared/sp-comment.htm

6) Much could be written about the macabre history of 'ethnic cleansing'. The term derives from the racism of those ethnic Albanian secessionists, schooled by Hitler during World War II, who looked (and still look) upon Serbs, 'Gypsies' and Jews as filth - hence the desire to create that curiously phrased entity, the "ethnically clean Albanian republic." (N.Y. Times, July 12, 1982; for entire article go to http://emperors-clothes.com/articles/benworks/1980news.html#BM9)

The term was picked up by psychological warfare experts advising neo-Fascist Croatian secessionists in 1991-1992. In a truly Orwellian touch, spokesmen for the Fascist Croatians claimed 'ethnic cleansing' was the program of the very Serbs they were at that time driving from ancestral lands in and near Croatia.

But the term was.little known in the West until Bush, Sr. used it in a press conference, August 6, 1992. There he declared a major escalation in the U.S. anti-Serbian policy, supposedly in reaction to a TV program which had been shown some 20 minutes before the Conference. The TV program broadcast what were supposed to be pictures of a (nonexistent) Serb death camp.

(Emperor's Clothes has produced JUDGMENT, a movie which proves that these infamous pictures of what appeared to be emaciated victims of a death camp were actually doctored from staged footage of a humanitarian refugee center. If you have not seen this movie and you want to know the truth, I urge you to buy a copy. If the standard price of $20 plus shipping is too much please tell us. You may pay whatever you can afford. See http://emperors-clothes.com/Film/judge.htm)

At the August 6th, 1992, Press Conference President Bush declared:

> "The [Serb] aggressors and extremists pursue a policy - a vile policy - of ethnic cleansing".

Thus President Bush planted in the public mind the notion that Serb leaders had invented a concept actually rooted in 'vile' hatred of the Serbian people, the 'black people of the Balkans.' During the following year, this blaming-the-victim refrain was promoted in literally thousands of newspaper articles and television programs until it became nearly impossible for ordinary people to recall when they first 'learned' that ethnic cleansing was a concept enthusiastically endorsed by the Serbs, its primary victims.

7) See 'Abe Lincoln and Slobodan Milosevic' by economist Jude Wanniski http://emperors-clothes.com/analysis/abe.htm

URL for this article is http://emperors-clothes.com/articles/jared/expan.htm

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BLOODIED REBELS PLOT TO OPEN UP SECOND FRONT IN MACEDONIA

SKOPJE, April 4 (AFP) - After receiving a bloody nose in their battle to take control of villages near Macedonia's border with Kosovo, ethnic Albanian rebels are trying to recruit fighters to open up a second front near Albania, Macedonian officials said Wednesday.
The sighting of rebels near the Albanian border is the first sign that the guerrillas are looking for a new way to bring pressure on the Macedonian government, which has refused to include their representatives in talks on rights for Macedonia's large ethnic Albanian minority.
Police sources told AFP that a "large group of armed and uniformed" people had been spotted on Monday near the western Macedonian town of Debar, five kilometres (three miles) from the Albanian border.
Ljuben Boskovski, a minister of state at the interior ministry, visited Debar Tuesday and later told state television that the guerrillas had been making "contacts for organising and acting in the Debar area".
A tough military offensive launched last week against rebel-held villages near Kosovo, backed by an intensified attempt by NATO-led peacekeepers to prevent insurgents crossing the frontier from the UN-run Serbian province, appears to have been successful.
But two rebel commanders, including a renegade member or parliament who resigned his seat to take up arms, told AFP that their fighters were still deployed in the northern zone and intended to fight on if "provoked".
"We want to resolve the problems politically," rebel commander Ali Daja -- "Uncle Ali" -- told an AFP reporter who was taken to a secret location in hills north of Skopje late Tuesday.
"Negotiations cannot take place without us," he said, insisting that the government should hold direct talks with political representatives of his National Liberation Army (NLA).
Hisni Shaqiri, a 52-year-old former history teacher, resigned as a member of parliament to join the guerrillas. Now wearing camouflage fatigues and carrying a Kalashnikov assault rifle, he said: "Our war is a just one. All we are asking for are equal rights with Macedonians."
President Boris Trajkovski has explicitly ruled out the idea of sitting down with the NLA -- which he has branded a "terrorist" organisation -- but vowed to pursue dialogue with moderate ethnic Albanian leaders.
His stance was endorsed Tuesday by NATO Secretary General George Robertson, who also ruled out direct talks with "armed extremists", urging democratic leaders to isolate those who "choose the bullet over the ballot box".
The guerrillas spotted at Debar were wearing the NLA emblem and were armed with automatic weapons, police said.
Official Macedonian sources told AFP the rebels could be planning a second offensive from Albania itself and that training camps used in Albania by members of the Kosovo Liberation Army, which fought Yugoslav forces in Kosovo in 1998 and 1999, had been reopened.
Around half of Debar's 15,000 people are ethnic Albanians and the rest mainly Macedonian Muslims.
Residents reached by telephone told AFP that local people were afraid that the guerrillas might start forcibly recruiting.
Kenan, 23, said: "These days we are afraid of groups who are coming and

trying to make pressure to recruit at least one child per family to go and 'fight with the NLA for liberation'."
Another young man, Amil, said: "We are hearing a lot of stories these days, people say that Macedonians are killing people and we have to go and fight them. To be frank, there is a lot of confusion".
Boskovski said he thought there was no possibility of the citizens of Debar giving the rebels "logistical support", but warned that an "existing mafia-criminal group" was operating in the region.
Kenan told AFP that from 1997, when Albania's governing structures collapsed, organised armed groups had regularly come over the border to rob local people, both ethnic Albanians and Macedonians

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LINKS STRENGTHEN BETWEEN ALBANIAN REBEL GROUPS

LONDON, Apr 4, 2001 -- (Reuters) Fighting by ethnic Albanian rebels in Macedonia has forged stronger links between them and guerrillas active in and around neighboring Kosovo, a British commander in the Balkans said on Tuesday.

"The reality on the ground was that the connection did not amount to much earlier, but now that has changed," said Brigadier Hamish Rollo, head of British troops serving in NATO's 35,000-strong KFOR force in Kosovo.

"The NLA (in Macedonia) has momentum. These links (with Kosovo Albanian fighters) will be reflected by real support, by real people and by real guns," he told Reuters in a telephone interview from the Kosovo capital Pristina.

The National Liberation Army (NLA) emerged from obscurity in February to launch an armed rebellion in Macedonia, saying they were fighting for greater rights for the tiny country's ethnic Albanian minority, a third of the population.

A Macedonian offensive has pushed the NLA out of the string of villages they occupied along the northern border, with at least some of the guerrillas fleeing into Kosovo, where they had rear bases and drew moral and logistical support.

The NLA was modeled on the now disbanded Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) which fought Serb rule in the mainly Albanian populated Yugoslav province in the 1990s.

A third Albanian rebel movement, the UCPMB, the National Liberation Army of Presevo, Medvedja and Bujanovic, has fought Serb forces just to the east of Kosovo and north of Macedonia.

"I am convinced there is a connection between those fighting in Macedonia and groups in Kosovo -- between the UCK (or KLA), the UCPMB and the NLA," Rollo added. NATO has been trying to prevent the UCPMB linking with and supporting the NLA.

While playing down the risk of violent rebel groups sparking a major popular movement in Kosovo, Rollo said that there was no shortage of potential recruits to the cause in a province full of former KLA guerrillas.

"Whether this could become a popular movement I am not sure, but it could be more than just an extremist movement and that is very dangerous."

CHALLENGE ON SOUTH KOSOVO FRONTIER

Rollo warned that KFOR's bid to seal the mountainous frontier between Kosovo and Macedonia to slow the traffic of weapons and fighters may only have a limited impact.

But leaving the rebels in Kosovo and Macedonia to their own devices would be even more risky, he added.

"There is a vocal minority (in Kosovo) who will use this for their own ends. There are large numbers, old and young, seeking to reinforce actions

Macedonia for ethnic Albanian causes."

While Macedonia says the guerrillas are terrorists bent on breaking up their country and the rebels themselves say they are fighting for rights, the brigadier said many of the combatants were out for personal gain.

"There are at least as many people in the NLA for self-aggrandizement and for personal wealth and power as there are for the greater glory of the Albanian cause," he said.

British intelligence points to rebels in and close to southern Kosovo and northern Macedonia numbering in the high hundreds, and Rollo said they were reasonably well armed.

British, German and U.S. troops had found significant arms stashes belonging to the rebels in recent weeks, including rocket-propelled grenades, anti-tank missiles, mortars and mines.

Rollo said the best hope for stability in the tense border region was a political deal in Macedonia with ethnic Albanians.

Talks between the sides got off to a shaky start this week with a boycott from the main Albanian opposition party and Slav protests against concessions.

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Albanian Extremists Pose Regional Threat

Albanian politicians must rally to curb the activities of extreme nationalists.

By Shkelzen Maliqi in Pristina (BCR No. 224, 7-March-01)

Following the uprising in the Presevo valley of southern Serbia, another Albanian insurgency has broken out, this time in Macedonia.

Unlike the Kosovo Liberation Army of Presevo, Medvedja and Bujanovac, the new guerrilla movement has a more catchy and ambitious name, the National Liberation Army.

Its acronym is identical to that of the Kosovo Liberation Army, UCK, whose liberation war against Serbian forces culminated in last year's NATO bombardment.

As a result of the emergence of these radical groups, the international community is now concerned about what it sees as growing Albanian militancy.

The Skopje and Belgrade press, including some Western media, claim Kosovo is exporting radical movements which not only threaten Serbia and Macedonia but overall regional stability too.

The Albanians are acquiring the image of a war-mongering nation, taking over from the Serbs as regional troublemakers.

Violence against Serbs in southern Serbia and Kosovo and other minorities reinforces this. Some are beginning to ask: did the Kosovo Albanians deserve the intervention of NATO forces?

With the main political parties in Kosovo and Albania largely inert, the Albanian militants are coming to the fore, imposing themselves as the patriotic leaders of the entire nation.

I am familiar with the ideology, mentality and motivation behind the forces provoking the armed conflict in Macedonia.

I have come to know these fiery Albanian patriots, especially the émigrés in Europe. And they've tried to persuade me that Macedonia is an artificial creation, formed to the detriment of the Albanian nation.

They have long maintained that the enforced division of the Albanian nation was an historical injustice, aimed to prevent it from being equal to its neighbours in the region.

The injustice would be rectified, they said, by dividing Macedonia into Slav and Albanians parts and allowing the latter to unite with Kosovo or, even better, incorporated into a unitary Albanian state.

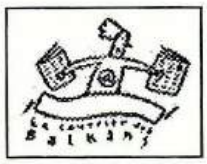
After the disintegration of the Yugoslav federation, some of these patriots changed their minds, realising that the division of Macedonia was a risky, if not unfeasible, business.

Macedonia cannot be divided without precipitating a major crisis. It is no coincidence that NATO troops are deployed there. They've been present since the start of the Yugoslav conflict to prevent it spreading across the Macedonian border and tearing the country apart.

The Albanian radical movements are fighting a war that they cannot win.

They may be right in believing that they could break up Macedonia, but this would be a bad strategic move as the conflict is likely to spill-over into other parts of the region and provoke an international backlash.

Those who support an uprising in Macedonia naively believe that the great powers, in particular the Americans, will side with the Albanians.



Such forecasts are very dangerous, as the Americans will always "side" with those who support their geo-strategic interests - and the Albanians must realise that the partition of Macedonia is not on the US agenda.

There's no doubt that Macedonia is neither a stable nor an ideal state. The Albanians have well-founded objections both to the country's constitution and to various forms of political, national and economic discrimination inherited from the Yugoslav era.

But Macedonia must exist. And NATO's warnings that it will not tolerate the destabilisation of the country should be taken seriously.

The so-called National Liberation Army is active in the Macedonian border area controlled by NATO, and it would be very unwise for the guerrillas to clash with Alliance troops.

Albanian political forces in Kosovo and Macedonia seem powerless to prevent the activities of extreme militant groups.

The former, though, are beginning to realise the international community's perception that Kosovo is exporting the radicalism could harm the province's long term prospects.

They are aware that there is no military solution to the Albanian question.

Meanwhile, all the political representatives of Albanians in Macedonia, be they in government or opposition, have clearly distanced themselves from the uprising.

And they expect to get backing for this position from their counterparts in Albania and Kosovo, whose response thus far has been lukewarm and confused, due to intense ideological conflicts and a lack of strategic coordination.

But they must overcome their problems quickly, since they have an important role to play in calming passions and preventing the escalation of a new conflict.

Albanian political forces outside Macedonia should give much stronger backing to the likes of Arben Xhaferi, the leader of the Party of Democratic Prosperity of Albanians in Macedonia, who have been unequivocal in their condemnation of the militants.

What's clear is that whether in government or opposition, they will have to work harder to stop radical groups from taking the fate of the Albanian nation into their own hands.

The author is the writer and the head of the Radio Free Europe Office in Pristina.

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NATO Confronts Albanian Rebels

NATO intervenes along the Macedonian border in a bid to curb escalating violence in the region

By Nehat Islami in Debeldeh on the Macedonian border (BCR No. 224, 7-March-01)

Sporadic mortar fire and bursts from automatic rifles reverberated around the frontier village of Tanusevac, where the Macedonian army is battling against members of the Albanian guerrilla movement, the National Liberation Army.

As the fighting raged, a contingent of American NATO troops stepped up its monitoring of the crisis. KFOR tanks rumbled into the nearby village of Debeldeh on the Kosovo side of the border. A reconnaissance drone flew high overhead, as two Apache helicopters swooped low, sometimes hovering in the air for more than an half an hour.

American troops blocked the entrance to Debeldeh to prevent the Albanian militants moving back and forth across the frontier. They laid barbed wire along a dusty road and around 150 of them deployed close to Tanusevci, from where they surveyed the frontier with enormous binoculars.

The NATO intervention along the Macedonian border follows an agreement on Sunday between senior KFOR commanders and top UN Kosovo officials.

The NATO activity was the first sign that Alliance officials recognise the severity of the crisis unfolding here. On Sunday, three Macedonian soldiers were killed in the fighting which has escalated over the past two weeks. NATO is now keen to stop the violence from spreading.

In the Tanusevac area, KFOR sources estimate there are around 300 Albanian insurgents who are dependent on the help of locals to cross the border.

Macedonia, which has a sizeable Albanian minority, is considered regional powder-keg. Many fear the Tanusevac insurgency could quickly spread to other parts of predominantly Albanian inhabited Western Macedonia. Macedonian politicians claim KFOR's failure to disarm Albanian militants in Kosovo has allowed the conflict in southern Serbia to spill over the border into Macedonia. They believe the extremists are moving freely because NATO is not willing to risk the lives of its soldiers.

NATO, EU and other Balkan diplomats are engaged in frenzied diplomatic activity to try to stop the crises spreading.

Russian President Vladimir Putin held talks with his Macedonian counterpart Boris Trajkovski on Sunday and promised that he would do his utmost to prevent an escalation. And on Monday, Bulgarian President Petar Stojanov offered to reinforce the Macedonian army with Bulgarian troops.

Macedonia, meanwhile, has called up all its police reservists, while the army has begun a partial mobilisation.

The border with Kosovo has been sealed off for two days. Hundreds of lorries and buses are waiting on both sides of the frontier.

Foreign and local journalists accompanied KFOR tanks into Debeldeh. They are staying in the local school, from where they can see everything.

KFOR spokesman Jim Marshall said that over the past 24 hours Alliance troops had seen many people dressed in black uniforms crossing from Macedonia into Kosovo. Marshall said they enter local buildings and leave wearing civilian clothes. He insisted that efforts would be made to detain them and confiscate their weapons.

Local people watched the KFOR activity intently. They were joined by a group of refugees

from Tanusevac who said they'd never set eyes on members of the National Liberation Army. Albanians here are convinced the Macedonians are to blame for everything.

Tanusevac resident Qazim Jakupi, who fled to Debeldeh two weeks ago with his entire family, said KFOR should restrain the Macedonian army and police.

From a local schoolyard, he watched the battle raging around his village. "Only the old and sick stayed behind," he said. "Our cattle are there. We don't know what's happening. I want to know what's happening with my property and animals, but the Americans won't let us cross the border."

Some locals resent KFOR suggestions that they are aiding and abetting the Albanian militants. "Americans warned us that unless the village gives up its weapons voluntarily, they will search our homes," said one man.

Yesterday evening, the Macedonian army and police launched a fierce attack on Tanusevac, forcing the guerrillas to mount a partial withdrawal. According to KFOR sources, around 150 armed Albanians retreated. Some of them were detained by Alliance troops.

They also searched several houses in Debeldeh and arrested three Albanians . One of them was in uniform and had been monitoring KFOR movements in the area. And today American soldiers shot and injured two rebels near the border village of Mijak.

Meanwhile, there were unconfirmed reports that Arben Xhaferi, president of the Democratic Party of Albanians in Macedonia, together with representatives of Albanians in Kosovo and the National Liberation Army have been holding talks behind closed doors in Pristina.

IWPR source says the subject of this meeting was the total withdrawal of rebel forces from Tanusevac. If this proves to be true, then it is obvious that the Albanian political forces are trying to resolve the escalating crisis - and were probably prompted by NATO's intervention along the border.

Nehat Islami is IWPR project manager in Pristina

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Security Conditions Likely to Mar Kosovo Elections

(New York, October 20, 2000) Kosovo's first post-war elections will take place on October 28, against a backdrop of months of attacks on Serbs and other minorities and political violence among Albanian political parties, according to a Human Rights Watch backgrounder released today. The level of violence has fallen over the last month, probably as a consequence of the Serbian elections and the overthrow of Slobodan Milosevic. Even so, Human Rights Watch argues that preparations for the elections have been driven more by the desire to meet the pre-determined deadline set for the poll, than the need to create the minimum international standards necessary for free and fair elections.
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Municipal Elections in Kosovo
Human Rights Watch Backgrounder, October 2000

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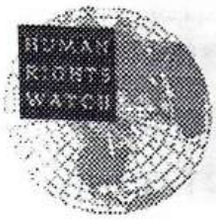

Human Rights Watch Backgrounder

Municipal Elections in Kosovo

October 2000

Related Materials

Security Conditions Likely to Mar Kosovo Elections
Press Release, Oct. 20, 2000

Introduction

Municipal elections in Kosovo will take place on October 28, 2000. As in Bosnia and Hercegovina, Kosovo's first post-conflict elections will have a profound impact in shaping the democratic development of the province, with ramifications for the rule of law, human rights, and the overall security situation. The experience of Bosnia demonstrates that unless elections are conducted in conformity with the highest international standards, the results will serve only to undermine international efforts to build a lasting peace in Kosovo. Yet to date, preparations for the elections appear to have been driven more by the desire to meet a pre-determined deadline set for the poll, than the need to create the minimum conditions necessary for free and fair elections, established by the OSCE Document of the Copenhagen Meeting on the Human Dimension.

This paper outlines the legal framework for the elections, examines the experience of Bosnia and Hercegovina, critically assesses the security situation, the role of the media and plans for enforcing election standards, and notes concerns related to election monitoring and the implementation of results. Finally, it sets out recommendations to the OSCE and the Council of Europe for the conduct, monitoring and certification of the elections.

The International Standards

United Nations Security Council resolution 1244 clearly envisages self-government through an electoral process prior to a political settlement on the status of Kosovo. Paragraph 11, section C states: "The main responsibilities of the international civil presence will include overseeing the development of provisional institutions for democratic and autonomous self-government pending a political settlement, including the holding of elections."

The conditions necessary for the holding of free and fair elections are laid down in the draft Interim Agreement for Peace and Self-Government in Kosovo (generally referred to as the "Rambouillet Agreement"), which was drafted by the inter-governmental Contact Group on Kosovo and agreed upon by the Kosovo Albanian delegation to the Rambouillet talks. According to Chapter 3, Article 1, section 1 of the agreement, the necessary conditions include:

a) freedom of movement for all citizens;

b) an open and free political environment;

c) an environment conducive to the return of displaced persons;

d) a safe and secure environment that ensures freedom of assembly, association, and expression;

e) an electoral legal framework of rules and regulations complying with OSCE commitments, which will be implemented by a Central Election Commission, as set forth in Article III, which is representative of the population of Kosovo in terms of national communities and political parties; and f) free media, effectively accessible to registered political parties and candidates, and available to voters throughout Kosovo.

Section 3 of the same article also obliges the parties to the agreement to "comply fully with Paragraphs 7 and 8 of the OSCE Copenhagen Document [on the Human Dimension]."

The 1990 Document of the Copenhagen Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE (later OSCE) enumerates the OSCE's standards on the conduct of free and fair elections.[1] Key provisions are contained in paragraph 7, especially the obligation to:

(7.3) - guarantee universal and equal suffrage to adult citizens;

(7.7) - ensure that law and public policy work to permit political campaigning to be conducted in a fair and free atmosphere in which neither administrative action, violence nor intimidation bars the parties and the candidates from freely presenting their views and qualifications, or prevents the voters from learning and discussing them or from casting their vote free of fear of retribution;

(7.8) - provide that no legal or administrative obstacle stands in the way of unimpeded access to the media on a non-discriminatory basis for all political groupings and individuals wishing to participate in the electoral process;

(7.9) - ensure that the candidates who obtain the necessary number of votes required by the law are duly installed in office and are permitted to remain in office until their term expires or is otherwise brought to end in a manner that is regulated by law in conformity with democratic parliamentary and constitutional procedures;

Ambassador Daan Everts, the Head of Mission of the OSCE Mission to Kosovo has stated that the forthcoming elections "must be credible." Human Rights Watch believes that unless the elections are conducted according to the OSCE's own standards set out in the Copenhagen document, they will be neither credible nor consonant with the provision of U.N. resolution 1244 that charges the international civilian presence with the development of democratic provisional institutions through the holding of elections.

The Experience of Bosnia and Hercegovina

The international community's experience in organizing and conducting elections in Bosnia and Hercegovina is relevant in assessing preparations for municipal elections in Kosovo. Although it is important not to overstate the similarities, in both situations the international community was directly charged with staging elections in territories that have little or no prior experience of direct electoral democracy. In Kosovo, as in the case of Bosnia and Hercegovina, the elections are taking place soon after the termination of a bitter conflict characterized by large-scale violations of human rights, including mass deportation and executions. In both, the parties to the conflict have yet to resolve their differences, and human rights abuses continue.

Many Western diplomats, including NATO officials and representatives from international organizations in Bosnia and Hercegovina, have acknowledged to Human Rights Watch that one of the international community's biggest errors in Bosnia was to hold elections prematurely. In the absence of conditions for free and fair elections, notably freedom of expression, movement and assembly, and with continued attacks on minority populations, the 1996 national and entity-level elections in Bosnia and Hercegovina served only to legitimize further the nationalist political parties and their leaders. It is worth recalling the warning issued by then-OSCE Chairman-in-Office (and Swiss Foreign Minister) Flavio Cotti in his June 1996 statement at the OSCE Permanent Council on pre-certification of the September 1996 Bosnian elections. Mr. Cotti noted that at the time of his statement, conditions did not exist for free and fair elections, and warned that unless significant progress was made toward creating those conditions prior to the elections, the result would be a "pseudo-democratic legitimization of extreme nationalist power structures." The more recent actions by the international community's High Representative in Bosnia and Hercegovina to dismiss elected officials opposed to the implementation of the Dayton-Paris peace agreement indicate the accuracy of Mr. Cotti's prediction.

The international community's experience with the implementation of the results of the 1997 municipal elections in Bosnia and Hercegovina is also relevant. Efforts to permit displaced persons to vote for representatives in their former municipalities resulted in minority representation in a significant number of municipalities. The implementation of those results proved far more difficult than the arrangements for voting, as incumbent officials and local authorities erected obstacles to prevent representatives elected by former residents from taking up their seats on municipal councils. Representatives elected by former residents were also frequently subjected to violence and intimidation when they attempted to travel to their municipal offices to take up their duties as elected officials.

The Pre-Election Climate in Kosovo

More than a year after the end of the war in Kosovo, the security situation in the province remains a cause for serious concern. Attacks on minorities, including murder, continue. The weeks surrounding the first anniversary of the entry of the NATO-led Kosovo Force (KFOR) into Kosovo in June saw an upsurge in violence against minorities in the province. A series of grenade and land-mine attacks and drive-by shootings targeting Serbs left eleven dead and more than a dozen wounded. Violence continued during the summer: On July 12, a Serbian Orthodox priest and two seminary students were wounded in a drive-by shooting near the village of Klokot. A grenade was thrown from a moving car into a group of children at a basketball court in the Serb village of Crkvena Vodica on August 18, leaving ten wounded. On August 27, an Albanian man drove his car into a group of children in the same village before fleeing the scene, killing one child and wounding three. An eighty-year-old Serb farmer from the same village was shot dead later the same day. On September 14, a forty-five-year-old Serb woman was shot dead at her home in Kamenica. A sixty-year-old Serb shepherd who had been reported missing was discovered dead near Strpce on October 4, with gun-shot wounds to the body. With most minorities displaced outside Kosovo or living in minority enclaves under permanent KFOR guard, the decision by Serbs to boycott registration should have come as little surprise, even without the alleged manipulation by then-Yugoslav president Milosevic. In the case of Kosovo's minorities, therefore, it is hard to argue that the minimum conditions exist for the holding of free and fair elections.

Kosovo's Albanian majority, more than a million of whom have registered to vote in the elections, have also been plagued by post-war violence. The murder of a politician from the Democratic League of Kosovo, the party headed by Ibrahim Rugova and known by its Albanian acronym, LDK, and the kidnaping and interrogation of another in the Drenica region in November 1999 have been followed by a spate of execution-style killings of prominent ex-members of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), the most recent on September 20. Although the killings are frequently attributed to rivalries among organized crime figures, some of the murders, including May's killing in Prizren of the political moderate and prominent former-KLA leader Ekrem Rexha (known as Commander "Drini"), have a clear political dimension.

Political violence has increased over the summer. On June 15 Alil Dresaj, a senior LDK politician, was shot dead by persons wearing insignia of the former KLA. On July 7, Ramush Haradinaj, a leading politician and former senior KLA official, was wounded in the village of Streoce during what appears to have been a shootout. On July 12, a close aide to Haradinaj was murdered. The burned corpse of Shaban Manaj, a senior LDK official, was discovered on August 6 in a remote village. He had been kidnaped on July 27. Attacks directed against the LDK continued in August. On August 1, an LDK activist was shot and wounded in Podujevo. The head of the LDK in Srbica was wounded in a shooting the following

day. The wife of an LDK official died in an explosion at their home in Dragash on August 9. Several LDK offices were attacked during the same month.

On August 18, a bomb exploded at an OSCE building in central Pristina. The building was used to house several smaller political parties, including Bosniak and Turkish parties contesting the election, and the representative office of the Yugoslav government. Many observers suspect political motives in the September murders of Shefki Popova and Rexhep Luci, two prominent Albanians with close ties to the LDK: Popova, a veteran journalist (see media section, below) and Luci, head of Kosovo's housing and reconstruction department, were gunned down on consecutive days. On October 6, a municipal elections candidate from the Democratic Party of Kosovo (PDK, the party headed by former KLA leader Hashim Thaci), was arrested in connection with a triple-bomb attack in Prizren three days earlier.

In addition to the risk of further violence, there is a real danger of intimidation. Efforts to establish a local judiciary in Kosovo have been hampered by frequent reports of the intimidation of local judges, especially on "sensitive" cases involving minority defendants or prominent political figures. Some international officials now acknowledge that the nascent judiciary in the province demands the same degree of international supervision as the Kosovo Police Service. Election officials, party representatives and voters are likely to be subjected to similar pressures during the election campaign and particularly during the voting and counting of results. Without a marked improvement in security and a high degree of international supervision and protection, it is unlikely that elections will be conducted in an atmosphere free from "violence...intimidation [or] fear of retribution," in accordance with paragraph 7, section (7) of the Copenhagen document.

The Role of the Media

Freedom of expression and access to the media under paragraph 7, section (8) of the Copenhagen document are key elements of the conduct of free and fair elections. Yet there are serious constraints to freedom of expression in Kosovo at present, notably in the form of attacks on journalists. On September 10, Shefki Popova, a senior correspondent with the Albanian-language daily *Rilindija*, died in the town of Vucitrn after being shot and repeatedly stabbed by two unidentified men. *Rilindija* is widely seen as close to the LDK. The killing followed the disappearance a day earlier of Marjan Melonasi, a journalist from a ethnically-mixed family who worked with the Serbian-language service of Kosovo Radio-Television. On June 20, Valentina Cukic, the editor of a Serbian-language program of the multi-ethnic Radio Kontakt, was shot and badly wounded. Last year, the publisher and editor of *Koha Ditore* were verbally attacked and threatened after publishing an editorial condemning attacks on minorities.

In addition to the intimidation of journalists, biased coverage of the elections is also a concern. Although the internationally-funded electronic media are balanced in their coverage, many Albanian language daily newspapers and some private radio stations are extremely partisan in their reporting on politics in Kosovo.

The international community is clearly well aware of the dangers to the free and fair elections posed by inflammatory reporting and intimidation of journalists. A variety of measures have been introduced, including an UNMIK regulation forbidding hate speech, a code of conduct and training for journalists, European Union-funded media monitoring by the OSCE Mission in Kosovo, the explicit prohibition in the election code of conduct on the use by political parties of language that "incites hatred," and the decision to include media monitoring in the mandate of the Council of Europe Election Observation Mission. Nevertheless, the OSCE Mission in Kosovo and the Central Election Commission must guard against the possibility that the inflammatory rhetoric used by radio stations and mainstream newspapers will be used to incite violence during the election period, and the conduct of the media during the election should be fully incorporated into the final assessment of the Council of Europe Election Observation Mission.

Enforcement of Election Standards

As in Bosnia and Hercegovina, the enforcement of the international standards in the organization and conduct of the elections in Kosovo presents a major challenge to the international community. In particular there are concerns that the bodies set up to enforce electoral standards will be subject to international and local pressure to ignore serious violations or to use only perfunctory sanctions to punish them.

The main yardstick for the conduct of the parties during the election, aside from the international standards discussed above, is the Code of Conduct for the elections, which spells out the obligations of the parties. Two bodies are responsible for enforcement of the code and international election standards.[2] The Central Election Commission (CEC) has overarching responsibility for all aspects of the elections, including compliance with the Code. The CEC is chaired by the OSCE Mission Chief, Ambassador Daan Everts, assisted by two international and nine local deputies. Decisions are made by consensus, although the Chair has the right to decided unilaterally if consensus cannot be reached.

The Election Claims and Appeals Sub-Commission (ECAC) has specific responsibility for ensuring compliance with the electoral code. According to Electoral Rule number 2000/2, the ECAC is responsible for "adjudicating all complaints concerning the electoral process."[3] The ECAC consists of an international commissioner, Dieter Schoene and two local deputies. It has the right to hear complaints and appeals from any party or individual, as well as international agencies. As with the Central Commission, the decisions of the ECAC are made by consensus with the Chief Commissioner having the right to decide unilaterally in the event of deadlock. It has the power to order corrective action to be taken and to impose fines of up to 10,000 Deutsche Marks (approximately U.S.$4450). More serious penalties such as removing a candidate from a party list or banning a party from contesting the elections can be made only with the approval of the Central Election Commission. Decisions by the ECAC are final and cannot be appealed.

The experience of Bosnia and Hercegovina indicates that both bodies are likely to be faced with potentially explosive decisions, such as whether to impose sanctions on leading parties that may result in a reduction in the number of candidates they are permitted to field or even ban them from contesting some municipalities. Local officials on the Central Election Commission and Election Complaints and Appeals Sub-Commission are likely to be subject to pressures similar

to those faced by judges and prosecutors in Kosovo, increasing the risk of deadlock among their members.

Kosovo's political parties are unlikely to be the only source of pressure on the Central Election Commission and the Complaints and Appeals Sub-Commission. During preparations for national, entity-level and municipal elections in Bosnia and Hercegovina in 1996, the Bosnian Provisional Election Commission (PEC) came under significant pressure from some OSCE member governments to hold the national and entity-level elections despite the absence of the conditions set out by then-OSCE Chairman-in-Office Flavio Cotti, as well as pressure to go ahead with simultaneous municipal elections, despite clear indications from OSCE field offices that the necessary conditions did not exist. While the municipal elections were eventually postponed, the decision to go ahead with the vote at the national and entity level resulted in flawed elections in which existing nationalist parties in each of the communities were able to further consolidate power.

An equally troubling precedent can be found in the interference in the work of the OSCE's Electoral Appeals Sub-Commission (EASC) during the 1997 municipal elections in Bosnia. The Bosnian Provisional Election Commission initially made a correct decision to constitute the Bosnian Election Appeals Sub-Commission as an independent judicial panel to assess possible violations of the election law and apply sanctions where necessary. During the 1997 elections, however, the Head of Bosnian Election Commission (and OSCE Mission Chief) Ambassador Robert Frowick overturned several key rulings by the Bosnian EASC where it had struck candidates from a party's list for flagrant violations of the election rules. This interference in the work of the Bosnian election appeals body undermined the integrity of the elections and led several of its members to resign in protest.

Given the OSCE's experience with the EASC in Bosnia, the decision to constitute an appeals subcommission in Kosovo with limited independent powers of sanction suggests a conscious decision to create an emasculated subcommission. To date the Kosovo ECAC has functioned effectively, issuing a handful of rulings against parties for violations of the election code. In all but one case, it has imposed corrective action or relatively small fines. On October 3, however, the ECAC struck a candidate from the PDK party list in Lipljan, after the violent disruption of an LDK election rally in the town. The decision to strike the candidate was an encouraging sign that the ECAC is willing to use more serious sanctions in order to ensure compliance with the election rules. Nevertheless, the experience of Bosnia indicates that if serious irregularities occur that threaten the integrity of the elections in Kosovo, the Kosovo Complaints and Appeals Sub-Commission is likely to come under considerable pressure to refrain from recommending that the offending candidates or parties be prevented from running in the elections.

Election Monitoring

Effective and impartial monitoring of the campaign, events on voting day, and the counting and tabulation of results are crucial to the integrity of any election process. The decision to invite the Council of Europe to coordinate election monitoring rather than depending on the organization responsible for the conduct of the elections, namely the OSCE, is therefore both a welcome development and a significant departure from previous polls organized by the international community in the region. That innovation aside, the Council of Europe Election Observation Mission follows a traditional pattern, with the deployment of a small team of long-term observers to monitor preparations for the elections, including the already completed registration process, the conduct of the campaign and the functioning of the Central Election Commission. Several days prior to the vote, 150 short-term observers coordinated by the Mission will be deployed for an eight-day period to observe the voting process throughout the province. The Mission has complained of delay in the deployment of long-term observers: the first report indicated that as of August 8, slightly less than two-thirds of the nineteen long-term observed were present in Kosovo.[4] Although the Mission's first report is largely confined to an assessment of the registration process, early indications suggest that the Mission values its independence and intends to accurately reflect the "conformity of the election process with international standards."[5] If the experience of Bosnia is indicative, the Mission's commitment to those values may be severely tested if serious irregularities occur. In such a situation, there is likely to be considerable pressure from some western governments to overlook the problems and to certify the elections regardless.

The Implementation of Results

As noted above, implementing election results was one of the major challenges arising from the internationally-organized municipal elections in Bosnia. The difficulties in Bosnia were related to installing local officials representing one ethnic group in areas now dominated by another. In Kosovo, there is a majority Albanian population and Serbs in the province are boycotting the election. This does not mean, however, that issues over implementation will not arise. It is important to recall that de facto local authorities were established throughout Kosovo following the end of the war in June 1999. In many cases, those authorities were dominated by, or had strong links to, the Kosovo Liberation Army. Current polls show Ibrahim Rugova's LDK enjoying a lead over its main rival, the PDK, which is headed by former KLA leader Hashim Thaci and has strong ties to the former KLA throughout Kosovo. In the event of widespread victories for the LDK, many of the current de facto municipal authorities dominated by the KLA will be called upon to hand over power to their rivals. Under those circumstances, difficulties over implementation may arise.

Recommendations:

To the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and its member states

Pre-Election Certification

- No later that 48 hours prior to the vote, the OSCE Chairperson-in-Office should certify whether conditions necessary for the conduct of free and fair municipal elections in Kosovo exist. Those conditions should be based on paragraphs 7 and 8 of the Copenhagen document. The decision to certify should give due consideration to the recommendation of the Council of Europe Election Monitoring Mission (see below). If conditions do not exist, the elections should be postponed.

Enforcing Electoral Standards

- The powers of the Election Complaints and Appeals Sub-Commission should be enhanced. In particular, the subcommission should have recourse to effective sanctions in the most serious cases of electoral misconduct. Its rulings should not be subject to approval or veto by the Central Election Commission or its Chairman.
- Violations of the Code of Conduct that also constitute violations of the criminal or civil code should also be investigated by United Nations Civilian Police.

To the Council of Europe and its member states:

Pre-Election Monitoring

- Member states must ensure that the Council of Europe monitoring mission in Kosovo has adequate staff and resources to carry out its tasks throughout the electoral process.

Pre-Election Certification

- Prior to any decision by the OSCE Chairperson-in-Office regarding pre-election certification, the Council of Europe monitoring mission should prepare a public report detailing the work of the mission in monitoring the registration period and the assessing the conditions for elections. It should include a recommendation regarding pre-election certification. The report should be submitted to the Council of Europe Committee of Ministers, to the Head of UNMIK, to the Chairman of the Central Election Commission and to the Secretary-General of the Council of Europe.

Post-Election Certification

- Final certification of elections should be issued by the head of the Council of Europe Election Observation Mission not by the head of the Central Election Commission or OSCE Chairperson-in-Office. The certification should measure actual performance against the criteria laid down in international election standards including the Copenhagen Document, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and article 3 of Protocol 1 of the European Convention on Human Rights.
- Member states must ensure that the independence of the Election Observation Mission is respected, particularly in the event of serious irregularities in the vote.

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1. The universal right to participate in democratic elections is established by article 25 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and article 21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

2. There are also local election commissions in each municipality.

3. OSCE Mission in Kosovo, Central Election Commission: Electoral Rule No. 2000/2. Election Complaints and Appeals Sub-Commission. May 3, 2000.

4. Council of Europe Election Observation Mission: First Report (August 18, 2000).

5. Quoted from: "Media Briefing: Council of Europe Election Observation Mission in Kosovo."

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Many Western diplomats, including NATO officials and representatives from international organizations in Bosnia and Hercegovina, have acknowledged to Human Rights Watch that one of the international community's biggest errors in Bosnia was to hold elections prematurely. In the absence of conditions for free and fair elections, notably freedom of expression, movement and assembly, and with continued attacks on minority populations, the 1996 national and entity-level elections in Bosnia and Hercegovina served only to legitimize further the nationalist political parties and their leaders. It is worth recalling the warning issued by then-OSCE Chairman-in-Office (and Swiss Foreign Minister) Flavio Cotti in his June 1996 statement at the OSCE Permanent Council on pre-certification of the September 1996 Bosnian elections. Mr. Cotti noted that at the time of his statement, conditions did not exist for free and fair elections, and warned that unless significant progress was made toward creating those conditions prior to the elections, the result would be a "pseudo-democratic legitimization of extreme nationalist power structures." The more recent actions by the international community's High Representative in Bosnia and Hercegovina to dismiss elected officials opposed to the implementation of the Dayton-Paris peace agreement indicate the accuracy of Mr. Cotti's prediction.

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The Pre-Election Climate in Kosovo

More than a year after the end of the war in Kosovo, the security situation in the province remains a cause for serious concern. Attacks on minorities, including murder, continue. The weeks surrounding the first anniversary of the entry of the NATO-led Kosovo Force (KFOR) into Kosovo in June saw an upsurge in violence against minorities in the province. A series of grenade and land-mine attacks and drive-by shootings targeting Serbs left eleven dead and more than a dozen wounded. Violence continued during the summer: On July 12, a Serbian Orthodox priest and two seminary students were wounded in a drive-by shooting near the village of Klokot. A grenade was thrown from a moving car into a group of children at a basketball court in the Serb village of Crkvena Vodica on August 18, leaving ten wounded. On August 27, an Albanian man drove his car into a group of children in the same village before fleeing the scene, killing one child and wounding three. An eighty-year-old Serb farmer from the same village was shot dead later the same day. On September 14, a forty-five-year-old Serb woman was shot dead at her home in Kamenica. A sixty-year-old Serb shepherd who had been reported missing was discovered dead near Strpce on October 4, with gun-shot wounds to the body. With most minorities displaced outside Kosovo or living in minority enclaves under permanent KFOR guard, the decision by Serbs to boycott registration should have come as little surprise, even without the alleged manipulation by then-Yugoslav president Milosevic. In the case of Kosovo's minorities, therefore, it is hard to argue that the minimum conditions exist for the holding of free and fair elections.

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day. The wife of an LDK official died in an explosion at their home in Dragash on August 9. Several LDK offices were attacked during the same month.

On August 18, a bomb exploded at an OSCE building in central Pristina. The building was used to house several smaller political parties, including Bosniak and Turkish parties contesting the election, and the representative office of the Yugoslav government. Many observers suspect political motives in the September murders of Shefki Popova and Rexhep Luci, two prominent Albanians with close ties to the LDK: Popova, a veteran journalist (see media section, below) and Luci, head of Kosovo's housing and reconstruction department, were gunned down on consecutive days. On October 6, a municipal elections candidate from the Democratic Party of Kosovo (PDK, the party headed by former KLA leader Hashim Thaci), was arrested in connection with a triple-bomb attack in Prizren three days earlier.

In addition to the risk of further violence, there is a real danger of intimidation. Efforts to establish a local judiciary in Kosovo have been hampered by frequent reports of the intimidation of local judges, especially on "sensitive" cases involving minority defendants or prominent political figures. Some international officials now acknowledge that the nascent judiciary in the province demands the same degree of international supervision as the Kosovo Police Service. Election officials, party representatives and voters are likely to be subjected to similar pressures during the election campaign and particularly during the voting and counting of results. Without a marked improvement in security and a high degree of international supervision and protection, it is unlikely that elections will be conducted in an atmosphere free from "violence...intimidation [or] fear of retribution," in accordance with paragraph 7, section (7) of the Copenhagen document.

The Role of the Media

Freedom of expression and access to the media under paragraph 7, section (8) of the Copenhagen document are key elements of the conduct of free and fair elections. Yet there are serious constraints to freedom of expression in Kosovo at present, notably in the form of attacks on journalists. On September 10, Shefki Popova, a senior correspondent with the Albanian-language daily *Rilindija*, died in the town of Vucitrn after being shot and repeatedly stabbed by two unidentified men. *Rilindija* is widely seen as close to the LDK. The killing followed the disappearance a day earlier of Marjan Melonasi, a journalist from a ethnically-mixed family who worked with the Serbian-language service of Kosovo Radio-Television. On June 20, Valentina Cukic, the editor of a Serbian-language program of the multi-ethnic Radio Kontakt, was shot and badly wounded. Last year, the publisher and editor of *Koha Ditore* were verbally attacked and threatened after publishing an editorial condemning attacks on minorities.

In addition to the intimidation of journalists, biased coverage of the elections is also a concern. Although the internationally-funded electronic media are balanced in their coverage, many Albanian language daily newspapers and some private radio stations are extremely partisan in their reporting on politics in Kosovo.

The international community is clearly well aware of the dangers to the free and fair elections posed by inflammatory reporting and intimidation of journalists. A variety of measures have been introduced, including an UNMIK regulation forbidding hate speech, a code of conduct and training for journalists, European Union-funded media monitoring by the OSCE Mission in Kosovo, the explicit prohibition in the election code of conduct on the use by political parties of language that "incites hatred," and the decision to include media monitoring in the mandate of the Council of Europe Election Observation Mission. Nevertheless, the OSCE Mission in Kosovo and the Central Election Commission must guard against the possibility that the inflammatory rhetoric used by radio stations and mainstream newspapers will be used to incite violence during the election period, and the conduct of the media during the election should be fully incorporated into the final assessment of the Council of Europe Election Observation Mission.

Enforcement of Election Standards

As in Bosnia and Hercegovina, the enforcement of the international standards in the organization and conduct of the elections in Kosovo presents a major challenge to the international community. In particular there are concerns that the bodies set up to enforce electoral standards will be subject to international and local pressure to ignore serious violations or to use only perfunctory sanctions to punish them.

The main yardstick for the conduct of the parties during the election, aside from the international standards discussed above, is the Code of Conduct for the elections, which spells out the obligations of the parties. Two bodies are responsible for enforcement of the code and international election standards.[2] The Central Election Commission (CEC) has overarching responsibility for all aspects of the elections, including compliance with the Code. The CEC is chaired by the OSCE Mission Chief, Ambassador Daan Everts, assisted by two international and nine local deputies. Decisions are made by consensus, although the Chair has the right to decided unilaterally if consensus cannot be reached.

The Election Claims and Appeals Sub-Commission (ECAC) has specific responsibility for ensuring compliance with the electoral code. According to Electoral Rule number 2000/2, the ECAC is responsible for "adjudicating all complaints concerning the electoral process."[3] The ECAC consists of an international commissioner, Dieter Schoene and two local deputies. It has the right to hear complaints and appeals from any party or individual, as well as international agencies. As with the Central Commission, the decisions of the ECAC are made by consensus with the Chief Commissioner having the right to decide unilaterally in the event of deadlock. It has the power to order corrective action to be taken and to impose fines of up to 10,000 Deutsche Marks (approximately U.S.$4450). More serious penalties such as removing a candidate from a party list or banning a party from contesting the elections can be made only with the approval of the Central Election Commission. Decisions by the ECAC are final and cannot be appealed.

The experience of Bosnia and Hercegovina indicates that both bodies are likely to be faced with potentially explosive decisions, such as whether to impose sanctions on leading parties that may result in a reduction in the number of candidates they are permitted to field or even ban them from contesting some municipalities. Local officials on the Central Election Commission and Election Complaints and Appeals Sub-Commission are likely to be subject to pressures similar

to those faced by judges and prosecutors in Kosovo, increasing the risk of deadlock among their members.

Kosovo's political parties are unlikely to be the only source of pressure on the Central Election Commission and the Complaints and Appeals Sub-Commission. During preparations for national, entity-level and municipal elections in Bosnia and Hercegovina in 1996, the Bosnian Provisional Election Commission (PEC) came under significant pressure from some OSCE member governments to hold the national and entity-level elections despite the absence of the conditions set out by then-OSCE Chairman-in-Office Flavio Cotti, as well as pressure to go ahead with simultaneous municipal elections, despite clear indications from OSCE field offices that the necessary conditions did not exist. While the municipal elections were eventually postponed, the decision to go ahead with the vote at the national and entity level resulted in flawed elections in which existing nationalist parties in each of the communities were able to further consolidate power.

An equally troubling precedent can be found in the interference in the work of the OSCE's Electoral Appeals Sub-Commission (EASC) during the 1997 municipal elections in Bosnia. The Bosnian Provisional Election Commission initially made a correct decision to constitute the Bosnian Election Appeals Sub-Commission as an independent judicial panel to assess possible violations of the election law and apply sanctions where necessary. During the 1997 elections, however, the Head of Bosnian Election Commission (and OSCE Mission Chief) Ambassador Robert Frowick overturned several key rulings by the Bosnian EASC where it had struck candidates from a party's list for flagrant violations of the election rules. This interference in the work of the Bosnian election appeals body undermined the integrity of the elections and led several of its members to resign in protest.

Given the OSCE's experience with the EASC in Bosnia, the decision to constitute an appeals subcommission in Kosovo with limited independent powers of sanction suggests a conscious decision to create an emasculated subcommission. To date the Kosovo ECAC has functioned effectively, issuing a handful of rulings against parties for violations of the election code. In all but one case, it has imposed corrective action or relatively small fines. On October 3, however, the ECAC struck a candidate from the PDK party list in Lipljan, after the violent disruption of an LDK election rally in the town. The decision to strike the candidate was an encouraging sign that the ECAC is willing to use more serious sanctions in order to ensure compliance with the election rules. Nevertheless, the experience of Bosnia indicates that if serious irregularities occur that threaten the integrity of the elections in Kosovo, the Kosovo Complaints and Appeals Sub-Commission is likely to come under considerable pressure to refrain from recommending that the offending candidates or parties be prevented from running in the elections.

Election Monitoring

Effective and impartial monitoring of the campaign, events on voting day, and the counting and tabulation of results are crucial to the integrity of any election process. The decision to invite the Council of Europe to coordinate election monitoring rather than depending on the organization responsible for the conduct of the elections, namely the OSCE, is therefore both a welcome development and a significant departure from previous polls organized by the international community in the region. That innovation aside, the Council of Europe Election Observation Mission follows a traditional pattern, with the deployment of a small team of long-term observers to monitor preparations for the elections, including the already completed registration process, the conduct of the campaign and the functioning of the Central Election Commission. Several days prior to the vote, 150 short-term observers coordinated by the Mission will be deployed for an eight-day period to observe the voting process throughout the province. The Mission has complained of delay in the deployment of long-term observers: the first report indicated that as of August 8, slightly less than two-thirds of the nineteen long-term observed were present in Kosovo.[4] Although the Mission's first report is largely confined to an assessment of the registration process, early indications suggest that the Mission values its independence and intends to accurately reflect the "conformity of the election process with international standards."[5] If the experience of Bosnia is indicative, the Mission's commitment to those values may be severely tested if serious irregularities occur. In such a situation, there is likely to be considerable pressure from some western governments to overlook the problems and to certify the elections regardless.

The Implementation of Results

As noted above, implementing election results was one of the major challenges arising from the internationally-organized municipal elections in Bosnia. The difficulties in Bosnia were related to installing local officials representing one ethnic group in areas now dominated by another. In Kosovo, there is a majority Albanian population and Serbs in the province are boycotting the election. This does not mean, however, that issues over implementation will not arise. It is important to recall that de facto local authorities were established throughout Kosovo following the end of the war in June 1999. In many cases, those authorities were dominated by, or had strong links to, the Kosovo Liberation Army. Current polls show Ibrahim Rugova's LDK enjoying a lead over its main rival, the PDK, which is headed by former KLA leader Hashim Thaci and has strong ties to the former KLA throughout Kosovo. In the event of widespread victories for the LDK, many of the current de facto municipal authorities dominated by the KLA will be called upon to hand over power to their rivals. Under those circumstances, difficulties over implementation may arise.

Recommendations:

To the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and its member states

Pre-Election Certification

- No later that 48 hours prior to the vote, the OSCE Chairperson-in-Office should certify whether conditions necessary for the conduct of free and fair municipal elections in Kosovo exist. Those conditions should be based on paragraphs 7 and 8 of the Copenhagen document. The decision to certify should give due consideration to the recommendation of the Council of Europe Election Monitoring Mission (see below). If conditions do not exist, the elections should be postponed.

Enforcing Electoral Standards

- The powers of the Election Complaints and Appeals Sub-Commission should be enhanced. In particular, the subcommission should have recourse to effective sanctions in the most serious cases of electoral misconduct. Its rulings should not be subject to approval or veto by the Central Election Commission or its Chairman.
- Violations of the Code of Conduct that also constitute violations of the criminal or civil code should also be investigated by United Nations Civilian Police.

To the Council of Europe and its member states:

Pre-Election Monitoring

- Member states must ensure that the Council of Europe monitoring mission in Kosovo has adequate staff and resources to carry out its tasks throughout the electoral process.

Pre-Election Certification

- Prior to any decision by the OSCE Chairperson-in-Office regarding pre-election certification, the Council of Europe monitoring mission should prepare a public report detailing the work of the mission in monitoring the registration period and the assessing the conditions for elections. It should include a recommendation regarding pre-election certification. The report should be submitted to the Council of Europe Committee of Ministers, to the Head of UNMIK, to the Chairman of the Central Election Commission and to the Secretary-General of the Council of Europe.

Post-Election Certification

- Final certification of elections should be issued by the head of the Council of Europe Election Observation Mission not by the head of the Central Election Commission or OSCE Chairperson-in-Office. The certification should measure actual performance against the criteria laid down in international election standards including the Copenhagen Document, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and article 3 of Protocol 1 of the European Convention on Human Rights.
- Member states must ensure that the independence of the Election Observation Mission is respected, particularly in the event of serious irregularities in the vote.

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1. The universal right to participate in democratic elections is established by article 25 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and article 21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

2. There are also local election commissions in each municipality.

3. OSCE Mission in Kosovo, Central Election Commission: Electoral Rule No. 2000/2. Election Complaints and Appeals Sub-Commission. May 3, 2000.

4. Council of Europe Election Observation Mission: First Report (August 18, 2000).

5. Quoted from: "Media Briefing: Council of Europe Election Observation Mission in Kosovo."

KOSOVO & METOHIA

Who rejects the dialogue?

The separatist leadership of the Albanian national minority, as established by their policy and practice since 1990 when "Kosovo Republic" was proclaimed, are substantially endangered by those who do not let them be equal citizens, not by the state. Albanian leaders have placed the citizens of their nationality in a political ghetto, depriving them of all rights which belong to them according to the Constitution and the Laws. The census was boycotted, in order not to establish the exact number for the Albanian national minority in Kosovo and Metohija, the elections were boycotted, jobs in factories, mines, schools, hospitals, were abandoned under the pressure of the nationalists. The abandonment of the state schools was justified by the idea that schools on whose certificates there is a title "Republika Srbija" were not acceptable. Parallel schools were established, the medical personnel of Albanian nationality was withdrawn into illegal and inadequate medical services, the use of services of state hospitals, which are free of charge and at a high professional level was prohibited. At the same time, the state regularly published textbooks in Albanian, provided medical protection, information in Albanian, issued passports, etc.

The Government of the FR of Yugoslavia submitted, in the framework of the Geneva Conference on Yugoslavia, a proposal for the overcoming of the problem of education in Kosovo and Metohija.The separatist leadership in Kosovo and Metohija rejected that proposal and prevented the resolution of the problem.

In a number of informal contacts the Albanian side did not show the wish for the normalization of the situation in Kosovo. A concrete agreement on the normalization of the schooling system was signed by President Slobodan Milosevic and Rugova in September 1996. During the following months a meetings of the representatives of both sides was held with the intention to apply the agreement which had been achieved. The representatives of the Albanian minority demanded additional political concessions which were not mentioned in the political agreement. They demanded diplomas with the seal "Kosovo Republic", etc. Moreover, the demands concerned the taking of the university and college buildings in which the teaching would be performed outside the Yugoslav curricula, according to the curriculum of another state. Over 90% of the teaching in primary and secondary schools is in Albanian.

The Government of the Republic of Serbia invited, on March 11, 1998, the responsible representatives of the Albanian national minority to an open dialogue, for the solution of all concrete questions. The Government of the Republic of Serbia emphasized the fact that the dialogue is the only way to improve the political processes in order to solve the key problems of the citizens in this Province. All questions of Kosovo and Metohija should be solved in the framework of Serbia, by political means and according to international standards about the protection of the rights of national minorities, it was said in the communique from the meeting of the Government of the Republic of Serbia.

The Federal Government gave on March 12, 1998 its support to the invitation to open dialogue in order to find solutions for all concrete questions in Kosovo and Metohija.

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Saturday, March 17, 2000

Milosevic trial

There's still uncertainty over where Milosevic will be tried.

Tribunal Update 211, Last Week in The Hague (March 5-10, 2001)

It seems certain that former Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic will be prosecuted soon, but a question mark remains over what he will be charged with and whether his trial will take place in The Hague, Belgrade or, indeed, both.

Last week, Chief Prosecutor Carla Del Ponte and her deputy Graham Blewitt seemed to have different views on the subject.

Del Ponte ruled out any possibility of Milosevic being tried anywhere other than a Hague court. However, in a speech to the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies, Blewitt allowed for the possibility of the former Yugoslav president being prosecuted in both Belgrade and The Hague under Serbian and tribunal jurisdiction.

Blewitt has since been forced to clarify his statement, after some media interpreted it as an "about-turn" in the prosecution's stand on Milosevic. Del Ponte's deputy stressed last Thursday he was in complete agreement with Del Ponte and "those indicted by the ICTY must be surrendered to the tribunal".

The ICTY rules of procedure clearly provides for the possibility of holding hearings in the region, something which the United States has stated it is willing to support. But Del Ponte has tended to discourage this scenario and issued clear, tough public statements that Milosevic must be tried in The Hague. Blewitt's comments in London seemed to strike a more flexible tone about the trial venue.

The ICTY is insisting that there is no difference of opinion between the chief prosecutor and her deputy. It remains unclear if there is a disagreement over substance, crossed signals within the ICTY over public presentation or - what seems most likely - merely differences in the two prosecutors' style.

Prior to the confusion, Blewitt had told Tribunal Update that the tribunal's success depended on ordinary Yugoslav citizens seeing that justice is being carried out, and that the way to achieve this is by holding parts of Milosevic's trial in Belgrade. "This is something we have been advocating in the OTP for at least two years," he said.

Blewitt said it would be impossible to hold entire trials in Yugoslavia because witnesses, fearing for their safety, might be unwilling to cooperate.

He insisted, however, that there would be no compromise regarding the tribunal's primacy over crimes falling under its jurisdiction.

Blewitt told Tribunal Update that if there were a delay in Milosevic's trial in The Hague, there may be a possibility of prosecuting him first in Belgrade on charges other than those on the tribunal indictment.

"Here I see an area for compromise, " he said. " It is not uncommon throughout the world that persons are accused of crimes in a number of different jurisdictions, and those jurisdictions agree to the order in which persons can be prosecuted. If the Serbs and their government believe it important to prosecute Slobodan Milosevic at home, then we should not stand in the way."

Despite the pronounced readiness for "negotiations and compromises", the deputy prosecutor nonetheless urged the international community to continue to exert pressure on Belgrade by maintaining its insistence on economic aid for Serbia being contingent on Belgrade's full cooperation with The Hague.

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Saturday, March 17, 2000

Support for NLA Fighters Grows

A rift between moderate and radical Albanians widens as the Macedonian conflict spreads

By Veton Latifi in Skopje (BCR No. 227, 16-March-01)

Violent clashes between ethnic Albanian fighters and security forces have spread throughout northwestern Macedonia over the past week.

The insurgents, the National Liberation Army, have called on all Albanians in Macedonia to join them in their armed struggle. The interior ministry said it believes NLA supporters have arms caches all over the country and expect the fighting to spread.

The clashes have not only increased divisions between the country's two main ethnic groups but split Albanians themselves.

The majority of the Albanian population, who live mainly in the northwest of the country, had hoped for a political solution to their fight for equality. More and more now seem to be aligning themselves with the armed group.

This became apparent the day fighting around Tetovo erupted on March 14. Centered around the Ottoman fortress of Kale, the shooting broke out just one hour before a planned demonstration in the city's main square.

It turned out to be the first major show of public support for the NLA, deployed a few kilometers away in the hills.

The rally had been organized by NGOs with close links to the opposition Party of Democratic Prosperity, PDP, and the newly formed National Democratic Party, NDP.

Both are dissatisfied with the failure of Arben Xhaferi, the head of the ruling coalition member the Democratic Party of Albanians, DPA, to push through reforms to improve the community's civil and political rights.

DPA supporters at a rally held the day before in Skopje had chanted "We want peace and justice". The Tetovo square demonstrators called for an end to "Macedonian state terror against Albanians".

The latter chanted the name of the insurgents each time they opened fire from the surrounding hills.

The NLA, who first made their existence known following an attack on a police station near Tetovo in January, were recently involved in clashes with security forces along the Macedonian border with Kosovo.

Prior to quitting the frontier village of Tanusevci, they issued their demands: an end to the repression of Albanians and equal rights with Macedonians. "We want to improve the rights of our people who are facing discrimination at the hands of the Slavo-Macedonians," said an NLA statement. A key element of their demands is a call for a new census which they believe will show Albanians make up 45 per cent of the population - 20 per cent more than the official figure.

The government's unwillingness to include Albanians living or working abroad led to the community's boycott of the last census.

The constitution regards the Albanians as an ethnic minority, but the community claims it is a nation like the Macedonians - and should be treated accordingly.

"Over the last ten years, the Macedonian regime has been hiding under the democracy 'umbrella'," an NLA commander was quoted in the media earlier this week.

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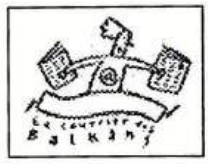

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" In reality, it has done nothing to improve conditions for Albanians, which is regarded merely as an ethnic minority. Our community has yet to be accorded its rightful status."

While all Albanians have the same goals, they are divided about the way they wish to achieve them. Most are disillusioned with the political path as DPA pledges to improve their lot have failed to materialise

Many of those discontented with the DPA's apparent impotence at driving through reforms are rallying around the newly formed NDP, led by former DPA deputy Kastriot Haxhirexha. The NDP's demands are much the same as those issued by the NLA.

"We have chosen the armed struggle since we have failed to accomplish our goals by political means," said Fazli Veliu, who claims to be the NLA's leader, in an interview given to the Italian news agency, ANSA.

A former teacher, Veliu, in his 60s, is wanted by the authorities in Skopje in connection with terrorist bombing attack in his home town of Krcevo in 1998. He denies the charge.

Interestingly, Veliu has been linked with Kosovan independence organisations. Many NLA fighters were former member of the KLA.

Veliu rejects suggestions the armed struggle is to create greater Albania. "We support the integrity of Macedonia, but want equal rights, our own national flag, language, and identity," he said.

The government has made it clear that it is not willing to negotiate with the NLA. "Macedonia will never negotiate with terrorists," said President Trajkovski at a meeting with foreign ambassadors on March 13.

But if the authorities do not seek some sort of dialogue, there's every chance the violence will escalate.

Before the Tetovo fighting erupted, one NLA commander said the fighters' strategy was to extend the armed conflict to Gostivar and Skopje and other parts of Macedonia.. " The NLA has cells throughout Macedonia - we are a regular army," he declared.

Veton Latifi is a regular IWPR contributor from Macedonia

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van holst en steijnen

From: global reflexion <office@globalreflexion.org>
To: <office@globalreflexion.org>
Sent: maandag 25 september 2000 07:08
Subject: Election Day Meddling

The Global Reflexion Foundation contributes, according to her ability, to the distribution of information on international issues that in the media does not recieve proper attention or is presented in a distorted way. We receive information from different sources, that does not necessary reflect our opinion. If you don't want to receive it, please send us an e-mail.

****
Monday, September 25, 2000

1. Election Day Meddling
2. Report of Canadian Election Observer in Yugoslavia

****

http://emperors-clothes.com/articles/doncheva/electionday.htm

Election Day Meddling
A letter from Blagovesta Doncheva in Sofia, Bulgaria
(9-24-2000)

Dear friends,

Enclosed is the rough translation of an interesting, informative article, published in 'Monitor.' Here's my opinion about the "parallel vote counting" discussed in the article. They have repeatedly carried it out here. It is a way to manipulate people on the day of the elections! What do they do? All day long they give figures and graphics. In most cases deliberately wrong figures and graphics. And thereby manipulate people most blatantly! (They are usually very active in the afternoon hours of the election day, which is logical.) What will they do now? They will deliberately announce that Kostunica leads with, for instance., 20-30%. They might even insist that he is nearing the 50 %. They will quote towns and whole regions. They will give graphics. Some people who would vote for Milosevich will say to themselves: "What's the use of voting? The other one is already elected!" And they will stay at home. Others will stay at home out of sheer fear. "They have already elected the other one. It is better to lie low now." Etc.

Some words about some names quoted in Monitor article.

Velko Valkanov is a Bulgarian Socialist party (BSP) MP but he is not a member of BSP. He is firmly at anti-NATO position (a kind of inner opposition inside the BSP Parliamentary group.) I don't know what to make of him: if he is so very much against the pro-NATO orientation of BSP, why is he still in the BSP group? But in this one he is right.

Evgeni Dainov - is the most faithful Bulgarian US-government flunkey and a totally amoral ass. Money is his God, his morals, his ethics, his love and his hate. Good is every cause that spews Money. Bad is every one that does not pour fresh Money or especially if it threatens his own Money. If his mother is still alive, and his Money Masters tell him to cut her into pieces, then fry them and last give them to the street dogs against a certain sum (or a position that goes with a nice package of money!), Evgeni the Rat will do it without hesitation. In his comment he reveals that he has given cell phones to the "kids" from Otpor but that monster Milosevich's people have taken them at the boundary. (There was an information that the Yugoslav Customs have confiscated 20 (!) cell phones from Otpor 'activists' on their way back from Bulgaria to Yugoslavia.)

It is the Election Day.

God help the Serbs..

God help us all..

Blagovesta Doncheva Sofia, Bulgaria

[The 'Monitor' article follows]
URL for this article is
http://emperors-clothes.com/articles/doncheva/bulgmed.htm
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Bulgaria Meddles in Yugoslav Vote

'Monitor,' [Bulgaria] September 22, p. 1-2-3

Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs, Marin Raikov, is behind an unprecedented plan for parallel Yugoslav vote counting from Sofia. Kostov threatens Milosevic with "categorical/decisive actions" if he 'manipulates' the vote on Sunday. Yugoslav charge d'affaires, Danko Protic, warns that the elections are "exclusively an internal problem."

By a Monitor Team
Translated by Blagovesta Doncheva

Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Marin Raikov, is most probably behind a plan for parallel Yugoslav President vote counting from Sofia, [Bulgaria,] a high level governmental official told 'Monitor.'
"The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has nothing to do with it. Those are NGO activities," the Foreign Affairs Ministry Speaker, Raiko Vlaikov, declared. On Sunday the UDF Political Academy and the U.S. organisation, "Freedom House," will organise parallel Yugoslav vote counting. The single Information Centre outside Yugoslavia will be in Hall 4 of the National Culture Centre and will closely observe the vote counting.

Meantime, in a special statement for Monitor, the Yugoslav charge d'affaires Danko Protic warned about the increased external pressure on his country:
"Those who are intervening in our inner affairs, keep talking about unrest in Yugoslavia if the opposition lose and are repeating the fabrications about an armed conflict between Serbia and Montenegro, increase additionally the pressure on Yugoslavia, and an alibi is thereby created for fresh interference in our internal affairs," the diplomat declared.
Premier Ivan Kostov, broadcast yesterday "the government position" on the Yugoslav election after a lunch in the Embassy of Germany with the NATO Countries' ambassadors in Sofia. The premier warned President Slobodan Molisevic in his Statement not to falsify the Yugoslav citizens' vote.

Kostov's Threats

Premier Kostov threatened that "there will be very strong reactions on the part of all the European governments in case of election manipulation....In case they are not honest, I admit that the actions will be very categorical," Kostov added. But he did not say if Bulgaria would take part in those "decisive actions". "Let's see what will happen," the Premier said in the German Embassy building in Sofia. Together with the German Ambassador in Sofia, Ursula Zeiler-Albring [sp?], he made a statement after a luncheon meeting with the other NATO countries' Ambassadors.

"We share the worries and misgivings about possible manipulations while the Yugoslav elections are going on. My misgivings do not include the possibility for a civil war there, but it is a fact that all of us in the region, including the NATO countries' ambassadors, are debating those problems, are interested in them, and we will watch the day September 24 very attentively. Lots of things will depend on it,' Kostov added.

Official Belgrade Misgivings

"When we talk about the elections in Yugoslavia, we have to underline that we are witnesses of unprecedented pressure with the aim of ensuring results which will be in the USA and NATO countries' interests. That fact additionally is destabilising our country," Danko Protic said. According to him, "it is not by chance that the European Union declared from Brussels just before the elections that it will lift the sanctions against Yugoslavia only if the opposition wins at the elections. Besides, those in

Brussels are constantly repeating their unprecedented undemocratic position that the elections will not be recognised if the Yugoslav President wins," the Yugoslav charge dâ□Taffaires continued. According to him, "insinuations are constantly being made that election stealing is being prepared in Belgrade, and in that way conditions are created for explaining the opposition's defeat by charging election manipulations on the basis of some untrue public opinion inquiries, giving great advantage of the opposition parties."

"The elections in all sovereign countries are exclusively inner affair because it is expected that the citizens express at them their will and their position on the different parties' policies and on some persons who want to take part in ruling their countries," Danko Protic sates.

The Blue (UDF) Academy and Freedom House commission "scrutineers"[scrutinisers?]

"The parallel vote counting is a mutual project of the Political Academy for Central and Southeastern Europe and of the U.S. NGO, "Freedom House," with which we have very close contacts", Orfei Duevski, explained to 'Monitor'. He is an MP from the UDF and the head of the Political Academy. According to some high-placed UDF officials, he has headed that organisation's Board of Directors thanks to Hristo Biserov's support; Bisserov is the UDF's First Secretary. The Board of Directors consists of two more MPs from the UDF, three Americans from the International Republican Institute, and the specialists in policy sciences, Evgeni Dainov and Ognjan Minchev. The Republican Institute had been that Academy's main sponsor last year. It still is its main sponsor. (1)

"I want to explicitly underline that it is not a UDF project. It is a project of the Academy, mainly of its expert members. The ideas come entirely from the experts and they are being realised with the help of their colleagues from Belgrade", Duevski claims. The Academy has sent to Belgrade Vassil Zanov, the head of the mathematiciansâ□T group at the Sofia Central Election Commission. His team is to send from Belgrade the raw election results, which will be reworked by the people in the Faculty of Mathematics at "Clement Ohridski," the Sofia University. Zanov is a professor there. The data will be sent to Sofia via E-mail.

On Election day Mr. Zanov will work in the office of the Centre for Free Elections and Democracy in Belgrade. "That is an analogue organisation to the Bulgarian Society for Honest Elections on the territory of Yugoslavia", the head of the Political Academy explained. According to an official press release of the Academy, the Centre for Free Elections and Democracy in Belgrade supports Voislav Kostunica, Milosevic's opponent.

Unprecedented vote counting

"They have no experience in the parallel vote counting in Yugoslavia. That is why we, with the assistance of Mr. Zanov, have decided to help the Centre for Free Elections and Democracy in Belgrade" Orfei Duevski told. But he could not explain what will be the interaction between 'our' specialists and the official Yugoslavian power and if the Bulgarians have an official authorisation for the elections on September 24.

"I hope that the official authorities in Belgrade would co-operate with such initiative which might disprove the accusations from everywhere that the Yugoslav elections will be manipulated", Duevski would only say. However, experts in that field claim that the parallel vote counting will be unprecedented if the Bulgarians are not authorised by the official authorities in Belgrade.

According to an official information of the BTA (Bulgarian Telegraph Agency), quoting the Bulgarian Society for Honest Elections, "60 of its activists will take part as scrutineers of the presidential election in Yugoslavia". Together with the Yugoslavian Centre for Free Elections and Democracy in Belgrade they had to form Vassil Zanov team according to the Political Academy.

"We will not send any data from Yugoslavia to Bulgaria and we even do not know if we will be allowed to go there", Anton Hidgov said. He is the head of the Bulgarian Society for Honest Elections. "We will be only

international scrutineers there. I do not want any information to come out from my name that might be used against us and we might not be authorised," Hidgov added. Last week the Bulgarian Society for Honest Elections had sent an official note to Belgrade to be authorised as scrutineers for the elections. The Yugoslav Mission in Sofia says that such a demand for authorisation has not passed through them.

Who pays

"The parallel vote counting project is financed by Freedom House," Duevski explained.

It is an American NGO and its members are Republicans and Democrats alike, influential businessmen, Trade Union leaders, experts on foreign policy and former administration employees. Zbignev Bzezinski, Kenet Adelman and Pol Volfovitz are among the more well-known names in the Freedom House Directors' Board.

"I have offered projects of mine many times to the Freedom House, but they react now for the first time", Evgeni Dainov, the member of the Director Board of the Political Academy said yesterday. He thinks though that "the money is not enough". "I am almost certain that we will spend more," Dainov added.

Raikov's Role

"The Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs has very good contacts with the Serb opposition and it is very probable he offered "parallel vote counting" at some of his confidential meetings with the Serb opposition leaders," 'Monitor'â□Ts source from the Government explained. He could not specify though when exactly Raikov had launched his idea.

In the middle of July our Ambassador in Belgrade Ivailo Trifonov personally engaged himself as a translator for the opposition Serb mayors, who were called in Sofia to receive instructions by Sofia Mayor, Stephan Sofianski.

Marin Raikov is responsible for the Balkans in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Some years ago he was a First Secretary in our Embassy in Belgrade. He is a Vice-Minister of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and a son of Raiko Nickolov, Bulgarian first diplomat in Yugoslavia for years on a run. Marin Raikov accompanied Kostov at all the meetings that year with the representatives of the Serbs and the Albanians from Kosovo, although they had taken part in the UDF Party building at "Rakovska" 134.

Comments

An MP commented on the parallel vote counting from Sofia:
VelkoValkanov, BSP
The parallel vote counting is a drastic and incorrect interference in Yugoslavia internal affairs. There is even a greater manipulation than that one. The West promises to lift all the sanctions and to pour the horn of plenty over the Serbs if they vote against Milosevic. Isn't that an attempt at buying a whole people, isn't that the most disgusting manipulation ever known? Our government and the ruling party join to that policy of manipulation. I will be very pleased indeed if the Serb people box the ears of both those Western politicians and our pro Western ones, and vote for Milosevic, refusing to be bought out. A centre of diversion/sabotage in relation to Yugoslavia is being created here, and that press-centre is only the beginning.

***

1) The International Republican Institute has offices in 15 lands including Albania, Angola, Nicaragua, Russia, Yugoslavia and South Africa. It is one of the "core institutes" of the National Endowment for Democracy and therefore part of the network of US government agencies which recruit local activists and set up front groups with the goal of exercising indirect colonial rule in
the guise of building what is called "civil society" (which amazingly refers to the groups they set up and fund!) and "Democratic institutions". "Democracy" is here not defined as something the people choose (as one might think) but rather as being aligned with the Establishments in the

NATO countries. A rather partisan definition.

The Monitor article notes that this particular civil society group (the "Political Academy for Central and Southeastern Europe") works closely with Freedom House, a US NGO, receives funding from the International Republican Institute, and plans to coordinate its "monitoring" with the Centre for Free Elections and Democracy in Belgrade, which, in turn, supports the candidate of the "democratic" coalition in Yugoslavia. Both the Centre for Fair Elections and the Yugoslav "democratic" opposition receive funding and training from US and NATO-country government agencies.

For more on how the U.S. is fostering indirect colonial rule in the guise of building "civil society" and "democracy" go to http://emperors-clothes.com/analysis/scam.htm

****

URL for this article is http://emperors-clothes.com/analysis/canadian.htm

Report of Canadian Election Observer in Yugoslavia
by Antoinette Martens [9-24-2000]

[Ms. Martens is a Canadian election observer reporting from Belgrade, Yugoslavia.]

The international observers of the Yugoslav presidential and parliamentary elections have arrived in Belgrade - some 200 of them from (so far) from 54 countries.

Contrary to the reports that "they have not been allowed in," there are registered observers from the following Western European countries: Belgium, Denmark, France, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Germany, Portugal, Sweden and UK. (So far, the single American observer is an active senior participant in the
Gore presidential campaign.) Among the observers are parliamentarians, delegates from political parties and organizations, as well as independents like the two participants from Canada.

The Canadian delegates have attended political rallies of the three major presidential candidates, in Belgrade and Novi Sad. These events were noisy and lively affairs, without any observable disturbances and any noticeable police presence. Literature was freely distributed and received at these events, in a way no different from political rallies in Canada.

One of us (Marjaleena Repo) has paid particular attention to election posters as she has been involved in the long standing and not-yet-finished fight for the right to poster in Canada. And she can report that posters are everywhere in the street scene, accompanied by graffiti and the defacing of each others posters even-steven fashion, it seems.

Repo has seen posters at work in downtown Belgrade, with posters urging women to vote, on top of other election messages! She had a chance to discuss this contradiction with five English-speaking Yugoslavian youth, with their buckets and sponges.

Unlike in Canadian cities, the posters appear not to be scraped down by city workers, but live to suffer the indignities from competing political parties. In addition, there are huge billboards advertising the three major presidential candidates all around the Belgrade cityscape. All in all, Belgrade has all the appearance of democracy in action...

While the Canadian and other Western media have already declared the election to be "rigged" (without any evidence, of course), we believe that the actual evidence for rigging and distorting the Yugoslav election results has been found in the once-democratic countries of U.S. and the European Union, who in an wholly illegal and undemocratic fashion are interfering in the domestic affairs of a sovereign country. This, of course, must be condemned by all true democrats, be they individuals, organizations or nations.

www.tenc.net * [Emperor's Clothes]
****

van holst en steijnen

From: <ssicc@planet.nl>
To: <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>; <106057.1021@compuserve.com>; <michel.collon@skynet.be>; <redactie@targets.org>; <yuambanl@bart.nl>
Sent: maandag 2 april 2001 17:55
Subject: Srbi i Milosevic

http://www.canoe.ca/OttawaNews/OS.OS-04-02-0005.html

Monday, April 2, 2001
Ethnic groups split on arrest

By ANDREA LANTHIER, Ottawa Sun

Two cultures, which were divided during the 1999 Balkan war, are now
divided by the arrest of Slobodan Milosevic.

Members of Ottawa's Albanian and Serbian communities bitterly disagree
on who should try Milosevic and for what.

"If he is tried by the Hague Commission, then it will be a way to convict all Serbs for atrocities they did not commit," said Slobodanka
Borojevic, president of Ottawa's Serb Heritage Society.

Milosevic faces criminal charges in his home country and charges of crimes against humanity and war crimes by the UN War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague, Netherlands.

Borojevic said Serbs believe Milosevic should face corruption charges,
but that's it.

NATO ATROCITIES

Otherwise international proceedings would mask the atrocities committed by NATO during the war, she said.

But members of the Albanian community believe justice will only be served if Milosevic faces the world stage.

"Corruption has nothing to do with the war," said Shano Bejkosalaj, who helped co-ordinate Albanian immigration during the war.

"He should be tried by international courts and he should be tried for
genocide."

Bejkosalaj said the refugees she works with still suffer from the atrocities they experienced during the war, and Milosevic should be held responsible.

"This is nothing against the Serb people," she said. "This is one madman who led them astray."

Saturday, March 17, 2000

Vojvodina Seeks Autonomy

Provincial authorities in Vojvodina present Belgrade with demands for greater autonomy

By Mihajlo Ramac in Vojvodina (BCR No. 225, 9-March-01)

The regional assembly in the northern Serbian province of Vojvodina is calling for the restoration of autonomy stripped away by former Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic over ten years ago.

Belgrade's new ruling DOS coalition - which includes three Vojvodina-based parties - promised a return to self-rule in the run-up to last year's electoral victory over the Milosevic regime.

But achieving the level of autonomy enjoyed before Milosevic's move to centralise power in Serbia will be no easy task.

Belgrade views such moves as another step towards the disintegration of the republic. A compromise is therefore expected, with Vojvodina reclaiming some powers, but putting aside demands for full autonomy.

The Vojvodina assembly passed the autonomy proposals, which required changes to over a hundred laws, by a majority vote on March 2. The self-rule petition was then sent to the Serbian parliament for consideration.

Members of Yugoslav President Vojislav Kostunica's Democratic Party of Serbia, DSS, voted against the autonomy laws in the Novi Sad assembly. The party has consistently claimed autonomy would lead to the break-up of Serbia.

The DSS prefers a regional division of Serbia, with Vojvodina enjoying equal status with other parts of the republic. But the DSS has yet to reveal details of its proposals.

Keen to avoid accusations of separatism, supporters of autonomy are at pains to point out that province's status needs to be resolved within the framework of Yugoslavia and Serbia.

The provincial assembly has therefore proposed that defence, state security, the monetary and customs systems, foreign policy and the judiciary would remain the preserve of the Yugoslav government.

The authors of the March 2 proposal suggest the province takes over control of pensions, disability allowances, health care, children's welfare, education, media, agriculture, national minorities, language and cultural life.

The autonomy issue is expected to provoke harsh words within the DOS coalition. A meeting of the coalition's leaders is scheduled to take place in Novi Sad in mid-March. They will discuss the autonomy plan.

There is a clear divide between the Belgrade-based DOS parties and the three Vojvodina coalition parties.

As part of the alliance's common agenda to overthrow Milosevic, it openly advocated "full autonomy" for Vojvodina.

But where the Novi Sad-based parties took this to mean executive, economic and judicial autonomy, others adopted a more woolly interpretation, saying these issues would be discussed after the December elections.

Immediately after the ballot, however, Vojvodina began its push for self-rule.

The new regional authorities sent a motion to the Serbian parliament demanding changes to eight laws relating to Vojvodina's official language, trade surplus and agricultural land.

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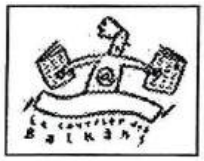

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Meanwhile, eight municipalities with a predominantly Hungarian population drew up plans for joint finances and institutions.

This put pressure on Novi Sad to take a harder line with Belgrade, and sent a signal to the latter that concessions would have to be made.

Although not in breach of Serbian law, which does provide for cooperation between municipal authorities, newspapers in Belgrade interpreted the move by the Hungarian-inhabited municipalities as a further step towards autonomy.

Belgrade's hostility to full autonomy became clear in mid-February when Nenad Canak, president of the Vojvodina assembly and member of the DOS coalition, hinted a referendum might be called to ask the province's population what they thought about the issue.

Kostunica's party was incensed. The DSS said a plebiscite was the first step towards Vojvodina's secession from Serbia.

Following the March 2 vote in Novi Sad, DSS members from Vojvodina met Kostunica. The president's office refused to comment on the meeting, but the party's coordinator in the province, Igor Kurjacki, said the autonomy question could not be settled before the status of Serbia within Yugoslavia was resolved.

"We have to observe certain constitutional procedures," Kurjacki said. "The constitution requires changes in order to solve the current territorial and political situation."

In other words, the whole issue should be put on hold.

Canak takes a different view. "Constitutional changes in Serbia make sense only if they resolve the question of Vojvodina," he said.

The people of Vojvodina are unlikely to be fobbed off. Most hark back to a "golden era" between 1974 and 1989 when the province had its own constitution and economic independence. National income was equivalent to the more developed former Yugoslav republics of Croatia and Slovenia, and higher than Serbia.

Since 1989, Vojvodina's finances have gone to Belgrade. The province's economy and agriculture were virtually destroyed by the loss of traditional markets in Slovenia, Croatia and Western Europe following the violent disintegration of the former Yugoslavia.

Opinion polls indicate 60 per cent of people blame the downturn on centralisation. A March 7 poll conducted by the Scan agency on behalf of the Vojvodina assembly's executive council estimates 60 per cent favour full autonomy.

But Dr Stanko Pihler, a professor of law at Novi Sad University, believes this is a long way off. The most influential political parties and leaders in Belgrade oppose autonomy for the province, Pihler points out. The international community is also reluctant for this issue to come onto the agenda.

Pihler believes the issue will rumble on for some time, while economic integration with the rest of Europe will encourage decentralisation and develop Vojvodina as a European region.

Belgrade will no doubt accept some of the March 2 demands and achieve a compromise with Vojvodina. But full autonomy is not on the cards, at least, not in the near future.

Mihajlo Ramac is a regular IWPR contributor.

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SUPPORT

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Department for International Development UK (DFID)

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van holst en steijnen

From: Despotovic Ruza <despot@wishmail.net>
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Sent: maandag 12 maart 2001 12:56
Subject: Fw: [SIM] INTERNATIONAL APPEAL: STOP THE WITCH HUNT AGAINST SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC

---- Original Message ----
From: "Miroslav Antic" <miroslav@antic.org>
To: "BALKAN" <balkannews@egroups.com>; "SIEM NEWS" <news@siem.net>
Cc: "NSP" <STOP-NSP@topica.com>; "Sorabia@Yahoogroups. Com" <sorabia@yahoogroups.com>; "SIM" <sim@antic.org>; "SIM-Egroups" <srpskainformativnamreza@egroups.com>
Sent: Monday, March 12, 2001 4:53 AM
Subject: [SIM] INTERNATIONAL APPEAL: STOP THE WITCH HUNT AGAINST SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC

>
> URGENT ACTION: PLEASE ADD YOUR NAME TO THIS INTERNATIONAL APPEAL TO STOP THE
> WITCH HUNT AGAINST SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC
> (http://www.srpska-mreza.com/action/appeal.htm)
>
> MARCH 10, 2001
>
> We, the undersigned, wish to register our disgust with and
> opposition to the planned trial of former Yugoslav President Slobodan
> Milosevic by the current Serbian authorities at the request of the United
> States and its NATO partners.
>
> While NATO's criminal aggression against the people of
> Yugoslavia goes unpunished, and reparations go unpaid, we are witnessing the
> repulsive spectacle of DOS ministers and officials (the new regime in
> Belgrade) serving as judicial handmaidens to NATO's criminal leaders and
> their illegal puppet court, the International Criminal Tribunal for the
> Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) at The Hague.
>
> We charge the ICTY and the American government with falsifying
> war crimes charges against President Milosevic solely for the purpose of
> manipulating public opinion against "the Serbs," justifying NATO's barbaric
> 78-day campaign of terror against Yugoslavia in 1999, and to deflect
> attention from the bombing's horrific consequences. Meanwhile, the ICTY has
> exonerated its NATO sponsors of responsibility for a host of well-documented
> war crimes and crimes against humanity, including the deliberate bombardment
> of vital civilian infrastructure, conspiracy to initiate a war of
> aggression, the lethal targeting of journalists, the use of anti-personnel
> weapons such as cluster bombs in areas of high civilian concentration, and
> bombing with the intent and effect of unleashing environmental catastrophe.
>
> Having cleared her NATO paymasters of criminal responsibility
> for their deliberate bombing of Radio Television Serbia (RTS) in Belgrade,
> which killed 16 journalists and support staff, ICTY Chief Prosecutor Carla
> Del Ponte now asserts that Mr. Milosevic and the RTS director, Dragoljub
> Milanovic, were culpable in these victims' deaths because they had been
> "notified in advance" that the facility would be bombed! Despite Del Ponte's
> promises, no evidence to support these charges has been made public. Mr.
> Milanovic has been ordered detained by a Belgrade judge, a clear effort by
> the DOS forces to dignify Del Ponte's outrageous claim.
>

> While some DOS spokesmen refer openly to the need to cooperate
> fully with the ICTY, others affect a different-sounding stance, calling for
> prosecuting Mr. Milosevic in a "Serbian trial," on charges of "corruption,"
> and "war crimes." But their call for a domestic trial of Milosevic is
> nothing but "patriotic" fakery: a pathetic trick aimed at concealing their
> own craven duplicity in carrying out the orders of their foreign masters. As
> the experience in Russia and the rest of Eastern Europe has shown, bowing to
> Western pressure will never improve living standards; and imposing political
> repression will only leave deep and long lasting scars on the national
> psyche.
>
> Let it be known that we categorically reject the case against
> President Milosevic:
>
> * Milosevic the so-called "ethnic cleanser" preached
> multinational unity, not nationalist intolerance. His famous 1989 speech
> that supposedly called for Serbs to shed Albanian blood actually said:
> "Yugoslavia is a multinational community and it can survive only under
> conditions of full equality for all nations that live in it." The effort to
> prosecute Milosevic is an attack on all who support multinational unity.
>
> * Milosevic conducted no persecution of Albanian civilians: he
> did not drive Albanians from Kosovo, except to clear civilians out of a zone
> of combat and bombing. Albanians who fled Kosovo fled NATO bombs and ground
> combat between KLA rebels and Yugoslav federal troops. Some 100,000 Yugoslav
> Albanians lived peacefully in the Serbian capital of Belgrade throughout the
> war, suffering no ethnic persecution.
>
> * The most notorious "atrocities" for which Milosevic is accused
> never happened: the 40 Albanians found dead in Racak were never "executed"
> but in fact were KLA troops killed in action in a variety of encounters,
> then laid out together in a ditch for the cameras. The 1500 bodies
> supposedly buried in the Trepca mines were never found. NATO specialists
> sent in to find proof of mass extermination of 100,000 Albanians in fact
> found only 2,800 bodies. And most of those were neither Albanian civilians
> nor even Albanians, but rather Serbs, Romas, Egyptians, Goranis and other
> victims of KLA atrocities.
>
> * There is no evidence whatsoever for the most preposterous and
> recent charges: that Milosevic knew in advance of the bombing of the RTS
> television station in Belgrade but let 16 people die to create outrage
> against NATO, or that thousands of Albanians were stuffed into meat grinders
> and disposed of in mineral mine-shafts in Mitrovica, etc.
>
> A trial of Milosevic on these false and outrageous charges would
> be nothing but a travesty of justice, a contemporary "show-trial." Those
> Western leaders who pursue it put the lie to the claims that the United
> Nations is a defender of the sovereignty of nations, or that NATO is a
> defender of freedom. This witch hunt also exposes the leaders of the present
> government in Yugoslavia as traitors to their own people who dishonor the
> Serbian nation and its great history of resisting foreign invaders,
> including most notably the Nazis in World War II when the Serbs stood alone
> against the Nazi onslaught.
>
> Crimes were committed in Yugoslavia - but not by Milosevic. They

> were committed by American and NATO leaders who authorized a low-grade
> nuclear war that specifically targeted civilians and left huge portions of
> the country contaminated for the next 4.5 billion years with radioactivity
> from depleted uranium armaments.
>
> Crimes were committed by the American leaders who casually
> ignored their own constitution's requirement that wars be formally
declared
> by Congress and then violated the UN Charter and numerous international
> conventions.
>
> A crime will be committed if the twice-elected President of
> Serbia is kidnapped from his own country and made to stand "trial" in an
> artificially created, American-made "court" that goes under the
> fancy-sounding name of an international tribunal.
>
> And a crime will be committed if the obedient, made in the USA
> government in Yugoslavia endangers the safety of President Milosevic in
any
> way that might allow gangsters or bounty-hunters to cash in on the $5
> million bounty posted by the US for delivering him into captivity.
>
> Slobodan Milosevic's real offense was that he tried to keep
the
> 26 nationalities that comprise Yugoslavia free from US and NATO
colonization
> and occupation; his nation's resources, industries, and media from being
> stolen by multinational corporations; his nation's institutions from being
> controlled by US consultants and advisers. His real offense was to defend
> his nation's freedom and sovereignty from a political "opposition" bought
> and paid for by the United States and installed into power by US
specialists
> in psychological operations. He and all those now under attack resisted
> Western colonization to the very end, even as American naval ships waited
> off the coast of Yugoslavia to ensure the "correct" results in
Yugoslavia's
> contested elections.
>
> Shame on those DOS leaders who consort and conspire with NATO
> politicians while seeking to assign the blame for NATO's crimes on the
very
> patriotic and progressive figures who did the most to fight NATO's
> neo-colonial aggression! In doing so, the DOS dishonors itself and
> desecrates the memory of those who lost their lives to NATO war crimes.
>
> DROP ALL CHARGES AGAINST DRAGOLJUB MILANOVIC!
> STOP THE POLITICAL WITCH-HUNT AGAINST PRESIDENT MILOSEVIC
> AND ALL FORMER YUGOSLAV LEADERS NOW!
> BRING THE NATO-KFOR WAR CRIMINALS TO JUSTICE!
>
> Barry Lituchy, New York City
> Jim Yarker, Toronto, Canada
>
>
> TO JOIN: Please email your name, location (town, state and
country)
>
> to: action@srpska-mreza.com
>
>
>
>> Srpska Informativna Mreza
>
> owner-sim@antic.org
>
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>
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>

van holst en steijnen

From: Despotovic Ruza <despot@wishmail.net>
To: Tanja Magnee <tanja.magnee@planet.nl>; Ratko Nikolic <R_Nikolic@zonnet.nl>; Richard Branka Novakovic <RICHARDENBEBA@PI.NET>; Nico /Neeltje Steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>; Ksenija Sigulinski <sigu@worldonline.nl>; Jelle van der Meulen <jellevdmeulen@introweb.nl>; Jan Beentjes <jbeentjes@mac.com>; Hans Hupkes <hans.hupkes@planet.nl>; feddema <feddema@wish.net>; Dusanka Isakovic <isakovicd@zonnet.nl>; Dolf Loth <loh@hesasd.nl>
Sent: zondag 8 oktober 2000 12:37
Subject: Fw: UPDATES to... Russia in Cahoots with New World Order (Again!) (TiM GW Bulletin 2000/10-3, Oct. 7, 2000)

----- Original Message -----
From: TiM Publisher
To: TiM GW Bulletins
Sent: Sunday, October 08, 2000 6:38 AM
Subject: UPDATES to... Russia in Cahoots with New World Order (Again!) (TiM GW Bulletin 2000/10-3, Oct. 7, 2000)

FROM PHOENIX, ARIZONA

Here are two additional UPDATES to our latest TiM Bulletin on the Yugoslav "revolution" - a "Wag the Dog"-type pre-arranged "palace coup," in which more than half a million Belgrade citizens were duped into acting as unpaid Hollywood extras (see **7. Germany, Norway Also Poured Cash into Kostunica/DOS' and Opposition Media' Coffers, 8. U.S. TiM Reader Confirms "Palace Coup" Theory,** and **9. Kostunica Invited to Washingon.**

To read the latest update and all of the above stories, just click (or double-click, depending on your computer) on the following Web address, and you'll be able to see it in full color, along with accompanying images:

http://www.truthinmedia.org/Bulletins2000/tim2000-10-3.html

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7. Germany, Norway Also Poured Cash into Kostunica/DOS' and Opposition Media' Coffers

An "Ostrich Revolution:" Serb Election Bought and Paid for by Western Funds

BERLIN, Oct. 7 - German Foreign Minister, Joschka Fischer, said in an interview with the Der Spiegel magazine that Germany had supported the Yugoslav opposition with millions of marks in financial aid, according to an Oct. 7 Reuters report.

Norway also said it had helped fund the Yugoslav opposition's election campaign, which led to victory by opposition candidate Vojislav Kostunica and soon afterwards to the overthrow of strongman President Slobodan Milosevic.
Der Spiegel said around $30 million, mostly from the United States, was channeled through an office in Budapest.

Another 45 million marks ($20 million) from Germany and other Western states went to cities that were under opposition control. Der Spiegel said the Foreign Ministry sent around 17 million marks through 16 German towns, which also contributed.

A spokeswoman for the Foreign Ministry confirmed the figures. "It was not disguised but rather it was entirely normal financial aid from the budget," she said.

She said four million marks in media support went to Yugoslavia. She declined to identify which media outlets channeled the money, but Der Spiegel said state broadcasters ZDF and Bayerischer Rundfunk were used. .

Der Spiegel also reported that Fischer, U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and some G-8 foreign ministers brought the Yugoslav opposition together in Berlin on December 17. "We read the riot act to the opposition then and told them to get their act together," it quoted one participant as saying (see "Cavorting with the Enemy, Dec. 23, 1999).

In Oslo, Foreign Ministry spokesman Victor Roenneberg told Reuters the government had given "several million crowns" in financial aid to Yugoslavia and provided supplies ranging from computer and communications equipment for the opposition's vote count to oil to opposition-controlled villages.

Norway also funded opposition-run newspapers, radio stations and Internet media, he said. Norwegian Foreign Minister Thorbjoern Jagland arrived in Belgrade early on Saturday and met with Kostunica, who was to be sworn in at a ceremony later in the day.

As the TiM has already reported (see Item 1 above), the Norwegian president is due in Belgrade on Monday.

TiM Ed.: So the so-called Yugoslav "revolution" turned out to be an election bought and paid for by the same countries that bombed Serbia last year. Yet my, now definitely FORMER friend, Vojislav Kostunica, kept denying that he and his DOS cronies took any money from anyone. Which makes him a... (TiM readers should feel free to fill in the blanks).

The Serb "demo farce" was then followed by a "Wag the Dog"-type pre-arranged "palace coup," in which more than half a million Belgrade citizens were duped into acting as unpaid Hollywood-style extras.

Some "revolution!" Prague's 1989 uprising has been dubbed a "velvet revolution." Belgrade's 2000 post-election protest should be named an "ostrich revolution."

Which means that when Hollywood gets around to making the Yugoslavia sequel to the "Wag the Dog" movie, its title will be already set. "Ostriches," of course.

(For our early warnings about the upcoming "demo farce," check out... American vs. Serbian "Demo Farce", July 28, Toward Another "Red October", Sep. 8, Washington Funds Serb Opposition Efforts, Sep. 19, Kostunica Leading Milosevic by Eight Points, Sep. 26, and The Last Days of Serbia).

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8. U.S. TiM Reader Confirms "Palace Coup" Theory

VIRGINIA, Oct. 7 - We received the following reaction to our first edition of this TiM Bullein from Ben Works, a Washington-based military analyst, whom the TiM readers may recall from his previous contributions to TiM:

> "Bob, "AV" (TiM Ed.: a Belgrade source) and I agree that we have seen the prestidigitation of a *palace coup - coup de theatre* co-opt the peoples' revolution.
>
> Charles Alverson's report was an insight-packed article. My friend Jelena (in Beograd) was very angry about the destruction too. And most of that went unreported in the news shows.
>
> More and more it appears that a *palace coup de theatre* has co-opted the revolution. The governing class takes care of itself first, last and always."

Ben Works, Virginia

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9. Kostunica Invited to Washington

WASHINGTON, Oct. 7, 2000 - Yugoslavia President Vojislav Kostunica has been invited to Washington to deliver the keynote address at The Yugoslavia Reconstruction Conference on November 13, according to today's Business Wire report.

The conference will feature the latest information on reconstruction, development, trade, and investments in Yugoslavia. The European Union and the United States have announced that sanctions will be lifted against Belgrade, resulting in substantial new trade and investments in numerous industrial sectors. European governments are also expected to approve $2 billion for aid and reconstruction projects for Serbia.

The Yugoslavia Reconstruction Conference convenes one day before another major Washington conference on the region. The Southeastern Europe Finance Conference, to be held November 14-15, will feature a variety of public-sector and private-sector financing available for the economic development of the region and is expected to be opened by keynote addresses by the prime ministers of Macedonia, Croatia, Bulgaria, Albania, and Moldova.

TiM Ed.: "Perpetual war for perpetual commerce: First you knock them down, then you build them up?" Ever heard that before? (check out this writers 1999 wartime Washington speeches - e.g, http://www.truthinmedia.org/Kosovo/War/day74.html).

Also, stand by for a Kostunica-Clinton and/or Kostunica-Albright photo-op? Wonder what the Serb voters would think of their new president then?

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Visit the Truth in Media Web site http://www.truthinmedia.org/ for articles on geopolitical affairs.

Final results of presidential election

September 28, 2000
Second round of voting for president
Belgrade, September 28 (Tanjug) - The Federal Electoral Commission held a session chaired by Borivoje Vukicevic, at which the final results of the federal presidential election were determined.
It was evaluated that these elections were successfully carried out in democratic and fair atmosphere. The Federal Electoral Commission had received no complaints from any of the polling stations regarding the regularity of the presidential election, which shows the high level of legality, that the Commission provided. Foreign observers' very good impressions on just finished presidential and federal elections in FR of Yugoslavia speak in favor of this evaluation.
The Federal Electoral Commission, at last night's session, adopted a Decision on determining results of the federal presidential election.
According to the final results from 10,673 polling stations, from total of 7,249,831 registered voters, 5,053,428 voters or 69,7 percent voted. The percentage of invalid ballots was 2,68.
The presidential candidates won the following number of votes:

* Miodrag Vidojkovic 46,421 or 0,92 percent
* Dr.Vojislav Kostunica 2,474,392 or 48,96 percent
* Slobodan Milosevic 1,951,761 or 38,62 percent
* Vojislav Mihailovic 146,585 or 2,90 percent
* Tomislav Nikolic 292,759 or 5,79 percent

On the basis of these results, the Federal Electoral Commission took note that none of the candidates won the necessary majority of votes in the first round and that a runoff presidential election will be held according to the law.
The two candidates with the highest number of votes - Dr.Vojislav Kostunica and Slobodan Milosevic - will run in the second round.
The Federal Electoral Commission determined that the second round will be held on Sunday, October 8, 2000.

Further steps to prevent election fraud

September 24, 2000

Condemnation of abuse of ballot papers

Belgrade, September 24 - The Yugoslav Central Electoral Commission, at yesterday's session, presided by Borivoje Vukicevic, reviewed several problems from its field and issued further instructions on the eve of tomorrow's voting.
The Yugoslav Central Electoral Commission informs public about foreign factors who lead subversive activity against FRY, and that a plan has been hatched to sabotage and compromise the presidential election in FRY. They have prepared a number of ballots for the presidential election, which their stooges among the Yugoslav people should drop in the ballot boxes, folded inside the regular ballot papers.
They planned it, because, under election rules, in case there is a single ballot in a box more than there were voters at that particular polling station, the polling must be declared invalid.

In this way, a couple of hundred individuals could invalidate the will of hundreds of thousands.
The Yugoslav Electoral Commission has therefore, at yesterday's session, decreed that the invigilators at the polling stations must check that the ballot paper of each voter in the presidential election is a single paper, with nothing folded in it.
The check will be made by each voter marking the ballot, folding it and then handing it over to an invigilator to see that it is a single paper, while not violating the secrecy of the voting, and then dropping it in the box.
The Commission appealed to the people to respect the reasons that have made this kind of control necessary.
At this session, the Commission reviewed several objections and adopted complete composition of the Federal Electoral Commission and electoral commissions of electoral precincts for the election of federal deputies to the Chamber of Citizens and Chamber of Republics in the Yugoslav Parliament.
This composition will be published in "Official newspaper of FRY", Department for information affairs of the Yugoslav Parliament stated.

Rules to be observed by all participants in electoral process

August 21, 2000
Belgrade, August 16 - At its session held on August 16, 2000 Supervisory Board for the holding of election in 2000 set rules which should be observed by all participants in the electoral process and on the basis of which Supervisory Board would evaluate their behaviour. These rules are:
1. Political parties, candidates, management bodies, organs of public opinions and other participants in the electoral process should contribute with their responsible and correct behaviour during pre-electoral and election activities, that elections in 2000 be held in democratic atmosphere.
2. All participants in electoral process are obliged to respect constitutionality, legality and ethics of public statements, as well as civilized behaviour and public appearance which excludes insults, slanders, telling lies and half-truth, disdain of person, offence of man's dignity, children abuse, for political purposes and other forms of manipulations.
3. Organs of public opinion are obliged to inform citizens on time, completely and truthfully, about all facts of significance for carrying out election and enable them to inform objectively on pre-electoral activities of political parties and candidates.
4. Organs of public opinion are obliged to enable political parties - submitters of lists and candidates, equal appearance in the frame of same daily terms, i.e. columns, in accordance with concluded agreements on number and duration of radio and TV programs for equal representing of candidates for president of the Republic and for federal deputies in Chamber of Citizens and Chamber of Republics of the Federal parliament.
5. Participants in electoral process in public appearances are not allowed to call to violence, stir spreading of ethnic, religious, racial and political hatred and intolerance, or to inequality of sexes.
6. Organs of public opinion are obliged to separate real reporting from promotion of some political party or candidate, in order to prevent media manipulations and uncritical joining in pre-electoral campaign, during regular reporting on current events.

7. All radio and TV programs, in other words columns in other organs of public opinion, which are intended for representing political parties and candidates as such, must be clearly marked.
8. Political convictions and eventual belonging to political parties are not allowed to appear in carrying out journalist and editor works in organs of public opinion.
9. Journalists and editors in organs of public opinion who are candidates in the elections can not participate in direct editorship and realizing of program and in reporting on pre-electoral campaign and elections.
10. All participants in election process are obliged to make it possible journalists to perform their tasks professionally and undisturbedly.
11. Organs of public opinion are obliged to enable public facing of the representatives of submitters of election lists and candidates.
12. Organs of public opinion should not use entertaining, art, scientific, educational, sport and similar programs and columns for presentation of candidates and their political and party programs.
13. It is not allowed that organs of public opinion, during pre-electoral activities and election, announce special additions with messages, which include hidden elective propaganda in favor or against some political parties or candidates.
14. Electronic media and other organs of public opinion are not allowed, during electoral campaign, to publish annotations which in unobjective and bias way favour or disdain participants in elections and in that way influence on voters' choice.
15. Electronic media and other organs of public opinion are not allowed to transmit, broadcast or rebroadcast foreign informative programs and parts by which principles and criterions, which apply to domestic means of information, are being violated.
16. Reporting, in organs of public opinions, on activities of state organs and organs of local self-rule autonomy are not allowed to use for political purposes.
17. Organs of public opinions are allowed to publish facts about personal lives of candidates, at elections, only with their agreement.
18. It is not allowed publishing of candidates' statements or representatives of political parties in organs of public opinions out of basic context in which they are given, nor putting those statements in unsuitable context, and also other forms of abuse and manipulations of statements.
19. It is not allowed fixing and malicious publishing of any authentic digital, video, photo and tone records and using of other tricks by which it is possible to influence on voters' choice.
20. Usual ethics, aesthetic, technical and other professional criterions and normative should apply to informative materials and propaganda video clips of political parties and candidates.
21. During use of informative-propaganda material in pre-electoral activity (posters, labels, advertisements and other) regulations about places, permitted for their hanging up must be respected and prevent destroying of monuments of culture and other public and private objects.
22. Organizations which broadcast radio and TV programs (whose founders are not state, members of the republic, province, city or municipality), and intend to represent submitters of electoral lists and candidates for federal elections, are obliged to, together with representatives of submitters of electoral lists, in accordance with these Rules, bring rules, by which equal representation of those candidates would be provided.

23. These rules apply to all participants in electoral process in the territory of the FR of Yugoslavia and are applied to all subjects which can influence on voters' choice at elections with their activity.
24. Organs of public opinions are obliged to publish now and on the whole the rules, which should be observed by all participants in electoral process on the basis of which Supervisory Board would evaluate their behaviour.
Unauthorized translation

Sokolj Chuse: Difficult conditions of voting in Kosovo and Metohija

September 28, 2000
Pristina, September 27 - President of Peace Union Board, Sokolj Chuse has stated today that this Board, as coalition of three Albanian political parties - Democratic Reform Party of Albanians, Democratic Initiative of Kosovo and National Party of Kosovo and Metohija, and also ethnic communities from Kosovo and Metohija - Turks, Muslims, Romanies, Egyptians, Gorani - under very difficult conditions, in circumstances of constant threats of KFOR and UNMIK and ethnic Albanian extremists, successfully participated at Yugoslav elections.
At the press conference in Pristina, Chuse stressed that citizens of Kosovo and Metohija who do not support terrorists and who plead for multiethnic Kosovo and Metohija, national and religious tolerance, order, peace and restoring economic activities, showed positive courage participating at Yugoslav elections. Chuse categorical concluded that conditions for voting were not adequate, and if they had been better, citizens' response would be much greater. Because of that, achieved results are especially valuable.
In Prizren's district, instead of planned 28 polling stations, because of the local objective situation, only eight was opened.
According to the knowledge and information of Central and municipal headquarters of Peace Union Board, preliminary data on voting, at which participated more than 35 000 of voters, mostly Albanians, were given

I am impressed with the way the elections were held

September 26, 2000

Elections in FR Yugoslavia

Belgrade, September 26th - I have been included in electoral processes all my life, I was very impressed with the way the elections were held at the polling places I visited. I saw a very civilized atmosphere in which people expressed their electoral will. I would especially emphasize that I did not see any policemen at the poling places. Everything was regular, I did not hear any complaints from any of the political parties` representatives. It was a normal civilized process in a democratic country. Elections were held according to the international democratic standards and regarding this I was assured that the elections were fair and regular. I think that citizens who voted can be proud because they participated in a very democratic process, Kris Sparou, an observer from the USA and a member of Democratic Party said for Serbian Broadcasting Corporation (RTS).

Yugoslav protest to the UN Security Council addressed on the occasion of opening of the US "Office for Yugoslavia" in Budapest

September 20, 2000

The continuance of US administration's subversive activities

New York, September 19th (Tanjug) - The opening of the US "Office for Yugoslavia" in Budapest is an open demonstration of force, pressure and brutal interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state by the outgoing US administration, the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry said in a protest to the UN Security Council.

The protest, addressed on the occasion of the opening of the "Office", headed by a US ambassador, on August 15th, was distributed today at the Palace of Nations as a General Assembly and Security Council document.

The "Office" has a personnel of 30 employees of various profiles, including members of the CIA, the National Security Council, the Pentagon, USAID and other similar US agencies. According to US officials, its main task is to help the opposition in Serbia and Yugoslavia and to influence the will of the voters ahead of the upcoming elections.

It openly means founding and financing various pro-American and pro-NATO organizations in FRY`s territory, financing opposition parties and so-called independent media, directing the work of American secret services and US media in reporting on FRY, as well as coordinating the US network and activities in the region of southeastern Europe against the legitimate government and constitutional institutions of FRY.

This "Office" is in fact the center for subversive actions like similar centers founded in Segedin, Temisvar, Sofia, Skoplje, Tirana and Zagreb.

With this act, the US administration practically pursues its last year's unsuccessful aggression on Yugoslavia, using subversive and spying activities inadmissible in international relations. It also endorses separatism and terrorism, fans dangerous aspirations in the region and violates international law.

The opening of the "Office" and its proclaimed tasks constitute a glaring violation of the US commitment to the UN Charter, the Vienna Conventions on diplomatic relations, the UN Declaration principles regarding relations and cooperation among states of October 24th 1970, and other international documents.

The Office activities and Hungary's acceptance of the use of its territory for activities against a third country also constitute a direct violation of the GA Resolution 54/168 of December 17th 1999, on the respect of national sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs of states as regards electoral process. It particularly violates its Paragraph 5, which stipulates that all states must refrain from financing political parties or groups in other states or undertaking any actions undermining their electoral processes.

The Hungarian government's acceptance and endorsement of the opening of the "Office" is a precedent in international relations, and raises the question of whether such acts are in line with the principles of good-neighborly relations and of the OSCE that Hungarian government allegedly supports. This act is reminiscent of the time when Budapest, albeit in different circumstances and under the influence of other powers, also served as a center for pressures and subversive activities against Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav government most strongly protests against such illegal activities of the US administration in the territories of Hungary and other states, with the aim of openly interfering in Yugoslavia's internal affairs, endangering its sovereignty and territorial integrity, and attempting to destabilize it. The Yugoslav government expects the Security Council to most strongly condemn such conduct and to urge the US administration to abide by the UN Charter, its international commitments and international law, the Ministry document says.

"Tanjug": Solana's trick

September 28, 2000
Making lies at spying center
Belgrade, September 27 (Tanjug) - In Brussels - European seat of NATO alliance, former Secretary-General of that military alliance, and now E.U. high representative for foreign policy, well known as Serb hater, Xavier Solana, immediately before elections in FRY, at CIA's initiative, opened special office for following political situation in FR of Yugoslavia, which is one more link in apparently spying-propaganda circle around Serbia and FR of Yugoslavia, systematically created, under the sponsorship of the USA, during last summer.
After director of American intelligence service George Tenet finished his suddenly, mysterious, Balkan tour, in August this year, chain of opening of spying-propaganda centers in Budapest, Sophia, Bucharest and Tirana began.
In that center, luxuriously equipped, in space bigger than 600 square meters - more than a hundred experienced spies and propagandists, who during Gulf war and later during NATO aggression on FRY in informative editorial offices of CNN, CBS, NBC and several TV stations, manufactured news and in that way directly influenced on west public opinion, are engaged so far.
Solana and his assistants, during elections, were in constant relation with KFOR and OSCE headquarters and nongovernmental organizations' net which American magnate of Hungarian descent George Soros finances in FR of Yugoslavia.
CIA invested five million dollars in forming that office, the strongest spying bastion towards FR of Yugoslavia.

World: Elections - confirmation of country's democratic choice

September 26, 2000
Elections conducted in a democratic way
Moscow, Beijing, Paris, Rome, London, New York, September 25th (Tanjug) - Elections in Yugoslavia are widely followed by the world media. It is marked that the elections went without any irregularities which might be fatal for their final outcome Itar-TASS Agency was constantly reporting on the elections and the general constatation is that they went without any serious incidents or slips.
All leading Moscow media have reported the statement of the Russian State Duma observing mission chief Konstantin Kosacov, who also marked that the elections were completely regular.
Respectable Chinese journal "Guangmin ribao" in a large article on the elections emphasizes open interference and pressures of the West on electoral process in Yugoslavia.

The Chinese journal reports that more than 200 observers from more than 50 countries followed the elections. It also marks that the observers from NATO countries which bombarded Yugoslavia were refused.
French press and electronic media have given great attention to the presidential and federal elections in Yugoslavia and local elections in Serbia. They emphasize that great number of people went to the poling places where they patiently waited even an hour in order to do their citizens duty.
French television has, early in the morning, broadcasted live the voting of Yugoslav president and president of Serbian Socialist Party Slobodan Milosevic with his wife Mira Markovic. The couple voted in the presence of a large number of domestic and foreign journalists. Milosevic afterwards said that he expected lasting stability and even quicker economic development after the elections.
French journals including "Le Figaro" emphasize that elections went peacefully and regularly without citizens` complaints and that a large number of young people voted at these elections, which was not the case in the past.
Most of the German media reported that the elections went smoothly and almost without incidents, but they did not want to give any predictions on the outcome of the elections.
Even "Deutche Welle" television, which unlike ARD and ZDF is under the direct control of the German state, said that "on the whole it was all completely regular".
"Junge Welt" has strongly criticized the European Union because of its interference in the elections in Yugoslavia, emphasizing that the issue is about "quasi-colonial interests of EU".
Australian media gave great attention to yesterday's elections in Yugoslavia judging that it was decisive voting.
Vienna journal "Standard" pointed out that the voting went "without larger incidents, in an unexpectedly peaceful atmosphere". The journal reported that since these were the decisive elections, large number of citizens was already at the poling places early in the morning.
Elections gained great publicity in Great Britain. The analyses emphasize the great number of voters, which is interpreted as one more confirmation of democratic choice of Yugoslav citizens.
London " The Guardian" says "importance which citizens give to these elections is felt everywhere".
Analyses in British press suggest that, regardless of the final electoral results, the only real losers are various separatists, because the importance given to yesterday's elections confirms that the West and the international community recognize only FR Yugoslavia as sovereign whole state. Apart from that fact, there is not much left of western policy towards Yugoslavia.
Front pages of the Italian press are full of reports on the elections. They are described as extremely important not only for FRY, but for the Balkans as well.
Reports from all journals in Greece mark that polls went in a democratic atmosphere and that a large number of citizens voted.
This impression, the journal "Eskusia" writes, was confirmed by Greek observers who did not find any major irregularities at poling places, nor anything which could deny that the job was well done.
Everything was completely peaceful and in democratic atmosphere, Papuljas said. He, according to "Eskusia", repeated in Belgrade that sanctions should be lifted.
The chief of the German observing group, Hano Harnish, said for the German agency DPA that the elections were democratic and that they went in a peaceful atmosphere.

Harnish also said that he did not notice any manipulations during the taking of poling boxes to the central place for counting the voices.
American journals including "The New York Times" and "The Washington Post" report that the elections in FRY went without incidents, emphasizing that a large number of people voted.

Yugoslav government message to Millennium Summit

September 08, 2000

Disastrous effects of globalization

New York, September 7th (Tanjug) - The government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia today sent a message to the Millennium Summit of the United Nations, underscoring a strong appeal for joint efforts to strengthen the role of the United Nations and protect its prestige and authority from the onslaught of force, arrogance and uniformity of thought.
The message reads as follows (official translation): The Millennium Summit of the United Nations is one of the most representative political gatherings in the history of international relations. It provides a unique opportunity to reaffirm all that has proved itself good and successful in the activity of the world organization so far, as well as to identify the new challenges facing mankind at the threshold of the new millennium.
The Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia considers that only by joint efforts of all member-States it is possible to ensure that the 21st century be stable, prosperous and just for all peoples of the world.
The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as a founding State of the United Nations, will continue to render its contribution to a faster and more efficient realization of these noble goals and for that purpose, is ready to cooperate openly and equitably with all States and peoples sharing this approach to the future of the world.
The expectations with which mankind looks at the change of the two millennia are conditioned not only by the rarity of the event, but also by a profound feeling that the preceding epoch as a whole has resulted in the triumph of human mind and skills, which contributed to overall progress. Great hopes and expectations, however, have been blurred by a singular paradox in which the world suddenly found itself.
The epochal technological progress and the realization of the undreamed-of possibilities of development have not been followed by appropriate transformations in the political and social superstructure. On the one hand, we have been witness to an unstoppable current of the process of integration, accelerated by new technologies and the improvement of the means of communication. On the other, sovereign countries are being broken up, precisely those countries that, by their multiethnic and multi-cultural being constitute the most natural basis for broader integrations.
Following the end of the so-called Cold War, international relations have not developed in the direction of progress and democratization, but of the suppression of equality and the strengthening of tendencies of hegemonism and unipolarity.
The balance of fear has not been replaced by equitable cooperation and development, but by a doctrine of interventionism, limited sovereignty, which brought about the weakening of the influence and the erosion of the reputation of the world organization. Instead of developing itself according to the criteria of tested values and principles, the civilization is overshadowed by the threat of the use of force-military and economic-financial.
This has, in essence, resulted in having the rich becoming richer and the poor becoming poorer. Neo-colonialism is being advanced under the aegis of the so-called

globalization and the control of the richest over the strategic sources of energy, raw materials and the market spread.
This development has caused disastrous consequences. The first casualty have been the unassailable principles of international law, such as sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs of States, sovereign equality of States and the right of free and unhindered development.
The aggression of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia last year outside and against the will of the Security Council is the greatest threat to the future of the United Nations and international law in general and constitutes a crime against peace and humanity.
Although committed against a small country, the NATO aggression had global goals: to set a precedent and legalize military interventions contrary to the Charter of the United Nations; to have NATO, as a typical regional organization, impose itself upon the United Nations and to have might impose itself upon the right; to demonstrate the domination of the United States of America in Europe and ensure its role of world policeman; to threaten peace and stability in Europe. The NATO aggression caused directly thousands of civilian lives and material destruction in excess of US$100 billion, which the perpetrators must make up for.
In this way NATO has discredited and presented itself as a danger for Europe, Asia and the world.
The same factors that spearheaded the aggression are continuing it now by other means: economic sanctions, support for separatism in Kosovo and Metohija and the Republic of Montenegro, spreading disinformation through their media and engaging in subversive activities against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.
This discredits them further as enemies of peace and stability and allies of separatism and terrorism from Taiwan to Gibraltar, from Tierra del Fuego to Cape of Good Hope.
Illegal military interventions and collective punishments of nations through the imposition of one-sided illegal economic and political sanctions have become also a typical instrument in the drive to bring about blind servility to one center of power.
Sanctions constitute the most massive form of violation of human rights today. More than one half of mankind, primarily the poorer one, is under various forms of sanctions imposed illegally by the richest countries.
Yugoslavia is, no doubt, a victim of hegemonism, interventionism and the neocolonialist concept of NATO, spearheaded by the United States of America.
By incitement to separatism, the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was broken up by force. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the country that continued its international legal personality, was the first to have sanctions imposed, its people were made to suffer and the incitement to separatism and terrorism in its territory was continued.
It was blackmailed by the so-called "Rambouillet Agreement" and finally, in 1999, NATO committed an armed aggression. Rambouillet was a classic case of ultimatum, the acceptance of which would have meant the occupation of the country and the hand-over of the fate of the people and the country to the foreigner, to NATO in this particular case. It is quite clear now that what the United States administration had prepared behind the back of its partners would not be acceptable to any sovereign country in the world. The Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is duty-bound to warn also on this occasion that the problems in the province of Kosovo and Metohija have been created through a systematic violation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1244, cooperation of UNMIK and KFOR with Albanian separatists and terrorists, the violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the

Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and through the ethnic cleansing of Serbs, Montenegrins, Muslims, Roma, Goranci, Turks and Egyptians.
This threatens not only the vital interests of Yugoslavia, but also of the entire region of the Balkans and Europe.
Under the auspices of international forces (KFOR and UNMIK) over 5 000 terrorist attacks have been committed in the 14 months, primarily against the Serbs, over 1 100 persons were killed, about 1 000 abducted and over 360 000 non-Albanians were expelled.
UNMIK and KFOR have thus brought grist to the mill to the concept of "Great Albania", which threatens peace and stability in the entire Balkans and amounts to attempts to dangerously involve the world Organization in a policy diametrically opposed to the goals of the United Nations.
The government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has therefore requested the United Nations Security Council to terminate the mandate of UNMIK and KFOR, directly responsible for the violation of Resolution 1244, expansion of terrorism, international organized crime, massive destruction of cultural monuments, violation of basic human rights, for chaos and general lawlessness.
The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has carried out all its obligations from Security Council Resolution 1244. It has prepared a contingent of military and police personnel for highly-professional engagement and insists on its immediate deployment in the Province in accordance with the said Security Council resolution.
The solution in Kosovo and Metohija - an autonomy with equality of all residents and ethnic communities within Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia - is possible to reach only through dialogue between representatives of all national communities and States. All this indicates that certain powers and groups devise technology for provoking the so-called "controlled" destabilizations, even regional conflicts.
Overt incitement to separatism and terrorism, therefore, by protagonists of the doctrine of a unipolar world in order to destabilize sovereign States constitutes one of the greatest threats to peace and stability on our planet.
The Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia pledges its support to building a system of international peace and security on the basis of democratic principles and equality of all countries and peoples. In that system, there must be no domineering centers of power and decision-making, either one or many.
It should be based on unity of diversity, on equitable and free use of all possibilities for achieving progress, on mutual cooperation and comprehending the world as a whole in which equal rights of all are respected. Yugoslavia is for a world of the equal, for the United Nations which is a true guarantor of international peace and security, for a world of democracy and equality of all, for the freedom of choice.
This vision calls for the following: - clear and strong affirmation and respect of the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations and international law; - reform of the United Nations, with an emphasis on the crucial role of the Security Council and its primary responsibility for peace and security; - opposition to all attempts to establish exclusive groups and clubs, the activity of which diminishes the role and influence of the world Organization; - respect for the right to a free choice of the road of one's own, without pressure and interference in internal affairs, as well as full sovereignty over economic and other interests of every country; - disarmament and equal security for all, as well as opposition to the one-sided strengthening of military potentials of individual States.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is firm in its openness and equitable cooperation with all countries that are in favour of peace, stability and the honouring of the Charter of the United Nations and for respect for vital interests of all countries and peoples.
Affirming itself in a large number of countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, as a reliable partner with rich experience, technology and first-class professionals in various fields of human activity, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is ready to intensify its efforts, in cooperation with the United Nations, other specialized international organizations and the Government of those countries, to bring about general progress.
The defence of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia from NATO has been a universal achievement of the freedom-loving world and an encouragement to all countries and peoples aspiring to freedom, equality and progress.
In order to safeguard and enrich the achievement, to transpose it into the world of freedom and progress for all and not only for a privileged minority, it is necessary that, by joint efforts, we strengthen the United Nations and protect its prestige and authority from the onslaught of might, arrogance and the uniformity of thought.

Sara Flounders: U.S. infernal plan at the bottom of the seizure of Trepca

August 24, 2000
New York, August 22 - Brutal seizure of Trepca mining complex by armed KFOR troops according the scenario of the middleman's foundation Soros, conceals an infernal U.S. plan to put one of the most valuable mines in the Balkans under the control of U.S. corporations.
This accusation was made by the co-manager of the biggest American anti-war movement International Action Center, Sara Flounders.
In the latest statement issued by the International Action Center seat in New York, Flounders reveals plans that were at the bottom of the attack and the theft of Trepca.
"The seizure of Trepca is a theft of an important industrial complex built by the efforts and investments of Yugoslav people", it is stressed in the analysis of the Action Center co-manager.
Flounders accuses NATO of being the U.S. military arm used to put Trepca under the control of American corporations. The first step was to turn it over to a consortium of private companies.
Consortium ITT Kosovo Ltd. is a joint venture of U.S., French and Swedish companies. Key partner in this consortium is the U.S. company Morrison Knudsen International. In July Morrison Knudsen merged with Raytheon Engineers and Constructors, a major military contractor that makes Patriot missiles and radar equipment for the Pentagon, Flounders reminds. This is an enormously lucrative deal for the companies involved.
According to the U.S. scenario ITT Kosovo Ltd. will administer Trepca, appoint executives and a board of directors and skim the greatest profit from every possible deal.
Sara Flounders says that those Ethnic Albanians who hold illusions that they will benefit from the seizure of Trepca should take a look at the plans made by George Soros and his middleman's organization, the so-called International Crisis Group which is behind the seizure of the Kosovo and Metohija mines.
These plans show that there will be no room for ethnic Albanians in the future operating of Trepca, since these foreign investors plan to use a small workforce.

It was precisely this International Crisis Group that was created with the aim of changing the borders of the Balkans under the NATO model, which had the task to perform the U.S. infernal plan for the seizure of Trepca, Flounders underscores.
She reminds that U.S. journalist reporting from Paris Diana Johnstone revealed in her February 28 text that Soros' International Crisis Group has openly called on Bernard Kouchner to take over the management of Trepca and to use the pretext of alleged environmental hazards.
The Soros group stressed that the take over should happen before elections in Yugoslavia so that the Belgrade leadership could be blamed for the loss of Trepca, Sara Flounders stresses.

van holst en steijnen

From: global reflexion <office@globalreflexion.org>
To: <office@globalreflexion.org>
Sent: woensdag 27 september 2000 06:25
Subject: Yugoslav elections

The Global Reflexion Foundation contributes, according to her ability, to the distribution of information on international issues that in the media does not recieve proper attention or is presented in a distorted way. We receive information from different sources, that does not necessary reflect our opinion. If you don't want to receive it, please send us an e-mail.

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Wednesday, September 27, 2000

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Election Report from Tanjug.

BELGRADE, Sep 26 (Tanjug).- The Federal Electoral Commission held a session Tuesday chaired by Borivoje Vukicevic and announced the first preliminary results of Yugoslav presidential election on the basis of results processed so far for 10,153 polling stations.
Turnout was 64.16 percent, or 5,036,478 out of the total electorate of 7,848,818. The five presidential candidates won the following number of votes:

- Miroljub Vidojkovic 40,765 or 0.80 percent

- Vojislav Kostunica 2,428,714 or 48.22 percent

- Slobodan Milosevic 2,026,478 or 40.23 percent

- Vojislav Mihailovic 130,598 or 2.59 percent

- Tomislav Nikolic 256,876 or 5.10 percent

Invalid ballots - 3.03 percent

According to these figures, a runoff presidential election is expected to be held.

According to the preliminary results of the federal parliamentary elections, the distribution of seats is as follows:

Chamber of Citizens:

- DOS (Democratic Opposition of Serbia) - 59

- SPS-JUL (Socialist Party of Serbia, Yugoslav Left) - 44

- SNP (Socialist National Party) - 28

- SRS (Serbian Radical Party) - 3

- SNS (Serbian People's Party) - 2

Two seats will go to SPO, DZVM or SSJ, depending on final results.

Chamber of the Republics:

- DOS (Democratic Opposition of Serbia) - 10

- SPS-JUL (Socialist Party of Serbia, Yugoslav Left) - 7

- SRS (Serbian Radical Party) - 2

- SPO (Serbian Renewal Movement) - 1

- SNS (Serbian People's Party) - 1

The final results will be made public within the deadline set by the law, the Commission said.

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Contradicting Western Leaders, International Observers Say Elections Were "Free and Fair"

BELGRADE, Sep. 26 - Contradicting western leaders, a group of 210 international observers from 54 countries has issued a statement in which it says the Yugoslav elections were generally "free and fair." Here are excerpts from a press release we have just received from Belgrade:

"The 210 international observers from 54 countries who have come to Yugoslavia to monitor the elections have among them current and former parliamentarians, representatives from political parties and organizations, as well as scholars, journalists and activists. They have been able to view the electoral activities from rallies to the actual voting on September 24 and many have taken the opportunity meet with the leaders of various political parties and the different presidential campaigns.

The observers feel strongly that they have had free, unobstructed access to the relevant activities, and particularly to the voting at the 24 when observers visited polling stations in different parts of Yugoslavia, including Montenegro and Kosovo.

In Montenegro, the 20 foreign observers witnessed an overall atmosphere of intimidation of the voters, originating from the government of Mr. Milo Djukanovic which is boycotting the elections. Everywhere there were huge billboards telling people not to vote. These had the appearances of threats: "Don't vote or else..."

Some of those who did vote, told the observers that they felt voting was risky for them, and could lead to the loss of jobs and other forms of harassment, as the polling stations were watched by the police and cameras not belonging to the media were pointed at the citizens coming to vote.

In one poll, Serbian refugees from Kosovo told the observers that hundreds of them had been left off the voters' lists, although they had the necessary documentation to be able to vote. (This situation was brought to the attention of the Montenegrin Electoral Commission and a more detailed report will be forwarded to the Federal Electoral Commission of Yugoslavia.)

The observers note that the voting process overall was orderly and smooth although it involved three separate ballots with multiple choices. The voting process, in the opinion of many, was equal or superior to the ones in their own countries.

The observers feel strongly that the so-called "international community" has been abusive of Yugoslavia and democratic principles, in declaring weeks ahead that the election will be "rigged," and heaping constant abuse at the authorities in Yugoslavia who are trying to carry out a complicated, multi-level election in stressful conditions. This abuse has continued after the election, with leaders of Western countries declaring only a few hours after the election that Mr. Vojislav Kostunica had won, as if they would have had privileged access to the voting results!

The observers leave Yugoslavia with a heightened respect for the integrity of the political process in the country. From what we have seen and heard, we believe that the results will truly reflect the will and the wishes of

the people of Yugoslavia."
Contact: Marjaleena Repo, Toronto & Saskatoon, Canada, e-mail: ccaftnat@sk.sympatico.ca.

http://www.truthinmedia.org/Bulletins2000/tim2000-9-8.html

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Early Election Results: Big Defeat for U.S. Fifth Column Tactics

by Jared Israel (9-26-2000)
Below we have reprinted the preliminary Election Commission returns, as posted by Tanjug, the Yugoslav news agency. The amazing thing is that despite every sort of meddling, the U.S. has failed to bring down the Yugoslav government. Indeed, the government coalition now has a majority in both houses of Parliament, which governYugoslavia.

This election has been quite something. Everyone admits that the "democratic" opposition is massively funded by US government agencies. The only difference between this funding and what the CIA used to do in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s is that in this case some of the funding is open. But some of it is not so open, with money smuggled into Yugoslavia in suitcases full of cash.(1)

The U.S. has subjected the Yugoslav people to the most extreme kind of intimidation. The 6th fleet is off the shore of Croatia conducting "maneuvers". Remember, Yugoslavia has been subjected to attacks by the U.S. and its allies and proxy forces for ten years, including 78 days of bombing. So the people have reason to be concerned about the 6th fleet. While holding this military stick over Yugoslav heads, the West has promised to lift sanctions and embrace Yugoslavia, if only the Yugoslavs get rid of Milosevich. This is a false promise. Several recent articles on Emperor's Clothes (www.tenc.net) deal with the punitive treatment Yugoslavia could expect if the US government gets its local agents in power.

Today, the US House of Representatives voted to give the "independent democratic" opposition $105 MILLION to continue what the U.S. press is now calling its "populist" struggle. Not bad. They get to be populists plus millions of dollars to line their pockets because note that this money is not going to solve the problems of ordinary Yugoslavs, it is going to reward "democratic" opposition organizations and individuals. It is bribe money. The U.S. Establishment likes to get something for its bribes, in this case political control.

$105 million is a lot of money in Yugoslavia. First of all, it's a small country with 1/25th of the U.S. population. And it is very poor, compared to the U.S. $150 (US) a month is an OK salary in Yugoslavia; you can live on $150 about as well as someone making about $2000 in the U.S.

So to get an idea of the effect of $105 million in U.S. terms, multiply by 25 (for population) and 13.333 (for salary.) This means that in equivalent US dollars, Congress just voted to pay $35 BILLION to the "independent" opposition.

So the U.S. government is holding out a big (though entirely deceptive) carrot and a big stick. What a spirit of resistance, that under these circumstances the Yugoslavs would give a majority of seats in both houses of Parliament to the parties the U.S .wants them to dump. This spirit of resistance is what the U.S. and Germany have been trying to destroy for ten long years. Indeed, Germany has been trying to break the Serbian spirit for a hundred years, if not more.

Parliamentary Returns

The most important elections are those for the two houses of Parliament. There, the Government Coalition of the Socialist Party, the JUL and Montenegrin SNP have gained an absolute majority in Parliament.

Presidential Returns Give Kostunica a Plurality, Requiring a Runoff Election

In the Presidential race, the Election Commission returns give both Milosevich and Kostunica under 40 and 48% respectively. Since both are

under 50%, a run-off is required.

But a run-off would be bad for the DOS. Milosevich will most likely fare better in a run-off than he did in round one. Why? For one thing, he will get most of the Radical Party vote. More important, many of the more nationalist Serbs didn't vote in round one because they didn't want to vote for Milosevich, but they will vote for him in round two because they see Kostunica's coalition as tied to the U.S. Kostunica's absolute numbers may go up, but his percentlocas of the total could well go down.

The U.S. has a problem. Even if Kostunica were to win the Presidential vote, the government is controlled by Parliament, and Parliament is solidly in the hands of the Governing coalition. Therefore the US is using its "democratic" opposition to try and destabilize the situation and bring the government down.

Djindjic Attacks Official Returns, Followed by Kostunica

At approximately 3:00 Eastern U.S. time Democratic Party leader Zoran Djindjic publicly attacked the Election Commission returns, claiming they were false. He provided no evidence. This is consistent, of course. Prior to the elections, Djindjic and the State Department and Robin Cook and every Western newsman assured us that Milosevich would "steal" the elections, but never indicated how, so why provide evidence now that "the deed has been done"?

Djindjic said his coalition would demand to see the official returns and "compare them with ours, one by one if necessary" and that they would reject a runoff because "we will respect the result that was registered on September 24." ('Reuters, 9-26-2000, 3.08 PM)

An hour later, the official candidate of the "democratic" coalition spoke up. Vojislav Kostunica followed Djindjic's lead, echoing the charges of fraud and the refusal to participate in the runoff. ('Reuters, 9-26-2000, 4.10 PM)

Kostunica was picked to be the "democratic" coalition's candidate because he had not been discredited (like Mr. Djindjic) as an agent of the U.S. government. But as we have pointed out, (2) Kostunica's character is not the issue because Kostunica is not the master of his fate. He relies on the DOS coalition and various "democratic" organizations, like the Group of 17 economists. They in turn rely on the U.S. government. How can Kostunica buck these forces? They have the U.S. money; they have the organizations; and they have the media. He has Kostunica and a tiny political party.

The Golden Rule: He Who Has the Gold Makes The Rules

The U.S. has given tens of millions of dollars to the "democratic" opposition. Kostunica says he has taken none of this money. If this is true, then Zoran Djindjic and the other "independent" democrats are getting it all. Djindjic has an organization able to smuggle cash across the border ("in suitcases" according to the N.Y. Times) (1) And the G-17 economists, a leading component of the US-funded opposition, has the ties to the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

So Zoran Djindjic speaks at 3pm and Vojislav Kostunica echoes him at 4. There you have it: a small example but one that reflects the true relation of forces. Whatever Mr. Kostunica really is, whatever he really wants, whatever he has convinced himself he is doing, he is only the tail. The dog is Zoran Djindjic, the G-17 economists, Vesna Pesic, Radio B292 and the rest of the independent democratic civil society peace activist opposition, and they all work for the USA

(1) Here is the quote from the 'NY Times' on how "democratic" opposition money gets into Yugoslavia:

> "The money from the West is going to most of the institutions that the government attacks for receiving it - sometimes in direct aid, sometimes in indirect aid like computers and broadcasting equipment, and sometimes in suitcases of cash carried across the border between Yugoslavia and Hungary or Serbia and Montenegro. Most of those organizations and

news media could not exist without foreign aid."
('N.Y. Times', 9-20-2000.

For the complete 'N.Y. Times' story and a commentary from Emperor's Clothes, see "'NY Times' Confirms Charge: U.S. Gov't Meddles in Yugoslavia" at http://emperors-clothes.com/news/erlang.htm

(2) See 'US ARROGANCE AND YUGSOLASV ELECTIONS' at http://emperors-clothes.com/engl.htm

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NATO Game-Plan: Destabilize Yugoslavia

by George Szamuely (9-27-2000)
It is entirely appropriate that US policymakers, their British parrots, and assorted NATO toadies are already debating the future course of Yugoslavia. Having first denounced last Sunday's elections as totally meaningless since they would inevitably be "stolen" by President Slobodan Milosevic, they then turned around and decided, before any results had been announced, that Vojislav Kostunica had won outright on the first ballot. So much then for Milosevic's chicanery. NATO's high-fives at the election results are reminiscent of the inane rejoicing that followed the end of the Kosovo bombing last year. It had taken 11 weeks to defeat a tiny power like Yugoslavia. And even then it was NATO that had to make the concessions, not Milosevic. Yet the Brits and the Americans celebrated, as if it were VE-Day all over again. The election results show a far from convincing win in the first round of voting for Kostunica, as well as a victory for the Government coalition in the Yugoslav parliament. NATO claims vindication. But if it has indeed "won"-and this is by no means clear-then it is only after a massive and unprecedented effort at intimidation. The Serbs were first bribed to vote the "right" way-thus the proverbial "carrot". And if that failed to do the trick, there was the threat of military action-the "stick".

It is hard to take any elections seriously under such circumstances. How can you cast a vote for the candidate of your choice if there is a chance of cruise missiles blowing up your home if you vote the "wrong" way? The best NATO can boast is that it avoided total humiliation. Incidentally, it is meaningless to talk of NATO any longer-today it is nothing more than an echo chamber for yapping Pentagon and State Department officials, and their fierce little pups in London. Here is the glorious record of NATO heroism: $75 million from Washington to bankroll the Yugoslav opposition. Millions more to aid municipalities deemed not under Milosevic's control. Millions to line Montenegrin President Milo Djuakonovic's pockets. US and EU promises to lift sanctions if Milosevic is voted out. Then there are the threats: Any result other than a defeat for Milosevic will be considered by Washington to be the product of fraud. The US reserves the right to intervene to prevent such a calamity.

Today, the United States is demanding that Milosevic steps down, even though the Yugoslav Federal Electoral Commission is saying that Kostunica did not receive 50 percent of the vote. The US Government is accepting without question the claims of the Democratic Opposition that Kostunica won 55 percent to Milosevic's 35 percent. Yet these figures are not based on any vote count, but on the reports of opposition poll watchers-hardly a disinterested bunch of observers. There were no American observers at the polls. The Russians were there. They claim they witnessed no election irregularities. Clearly, the orders emanating from Washington, and relayed through Budapest, is that the "opposition" take to the streets and demand Milosevic's resignation. Such protests could well elicit a violent response. This, in turn, could be seized on by the United States as a threat to the region, justifying military intervention. Alternatively, the "opposition" may be encouraged to boycott a run-off and establish a Government in exile-perhaps in Podgorica. Such a Government would enjoy diplomatic recognition and would in due course, act as a NATO stooge urging an invasion of Yugoslavia to remove the "illegitimate" Government in Belgrade.

In the meantime, military threats are increasing. "We...need to make sure that Milosevic understands there is very substantial capacity in the region"-thus British Foreign Secretary Robin Cook Britain has 15 warships in the Mediterranean near Yugoslavia operating in two training groups. They

are manned by 5,000 sailors, Royal Marines and aircrew. They include the aircraft carrier Invincible, which carries Harrier jump-jet fighters, the destroyer HMS Liverpool, helicopter assault ship HMS Ocean, the amphibious assault ship HMS Fearless and 10 more ships including minesweepers, a tanker, a store ship and Northumberland, a type-23 frigate. US and Croat forces are holding joint naval exercises 150 miles northwest of Montenegro. They include a simulated Marine landing on an island in the Adriatic Sea. On September 28, Romania and Bulgaria are planning a joint exercise at the Romanian Danube port of Turnu Magurele. The plan includes the construction of a pontoon bridge across the Danube and the evacuation of the local population.

On Monday, the US House of Representatives passed a bill authorizing $500 million in financial aid for opposition groups in Yugoslavia. $500 million is a huge amount of money in a country as small, impoverished and as burdened by economic sanctions as Yugoslavia. Funds of this magnitude cannot but corrupt the most virtuous of nations. Remember, this is a Republican-controlled House of Representatives, which normally protests foreign aid, debt relief, and handouts in general.

It is not hard to imagine what the future holds in store for Yugoslavia. Suppose the United States gets what it wants. Slobodan Milosevic steps aside and Kostunica takes over. There is a peaceful transition, and both the United States and the European Union lift sanctions as promised. In no time at all, the United States will demand the surrender of Milosevic to The Hague. Indeed, it will be an election issue, with George W. Bush baiting the Clinton Administration for being insufficiently zealous in its pursuit of Milosevic. Kostunica will probably refuse these demands. Soon the media will fall into lockstep parroting the line that as long as Milosevic is residing in Belgrade, he is the one who is really running the show. Every day journalists will be informing us that Kostunica is nothing more than Milosevic's puppet. Congress will then vote to cut off all further funds to Yugoslavia. The EU will follow suit. At that point, US-financed demonstrations will take place in Belgrade and other major cities. The protesters will demand that Milosevic be handed over to the Tribunal. If the US gets lucky, there will be some violence. At that point, Washington will summon Kostunica and tell him that he is jeopardizing Balkan stability. If he wants to stay in power, he will have to play ball with the United States. Milosevic must be handed over. The Rambouillet Accords will be put back on the table, along with Appendix B and the referendum on Kosovo independence. And while we are at it, Vojvodina will have to be offered a "special" status.

One thing is for sure, the United States will not simply permit Yugoslavia to walk away and happily enjoy the prestige that comes from having defied the world's greatest powers for over 10 years. Yugoslavia will be made to pay.
www.tenc.net [Emperor's Clothes]

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Despite all, many stay true to Milosevic

By LUTZ KLEVEMAN
PRISTINA, YUGOSLAVIA
Wednesday 27 September 2000

The many bars and cafes along the main road in Mitrovica, a drab industrial town in the north of Kosovo, were packed on Monday night with bearded Serbs watching the evening news from Belgrade. Many nodded in sombre satisfaction when the newsreader on RTS state television reported "a clear lead" for President Slobodan Milosevic midway through the vote-counting. Mr Milosevic may have sent their sons into four deadly wars, impoverished them, beaten them and taken them hostage in an isolated pariah state, but that is not how millions of Serbs see his 13-year rule. Random exit polls in the "other" Serbia outside the opposition stronghold, Belgrade, showed widespread support for the Serb strongman, casting doubts on Western beliefs that put Mr Milosevic's popularity down solely to propaganda and fear.
"Of course I voted for Milosevic because he defends the freedom of our country," said one voter leaving a polling station. The villain in the people's mind is NATO, not Mr Milosevic. While the nationalist frenzy of

the early 1990s might be abating, Serbs are still deeply divided between Western-oriented, mostly urban, democratic reformers and strong Slavic do-it-alone patriots.
Members of the first camp feel that by bombing the country and imposing economic sanctions, the West has not made life easier for them. "Nothing has helped Milosevic and hurt the chances for democracy in Serbia more than the bombing," said Milan Samardzic, a student activist. Alexander Mitic, a Belgrade-based journalist, explained: "The experiences of the last 10 years, the wars and the poverty, have made Serbs a very fearful people. They cling on to whatever seems a certainty - including Milosevic."
Serbs have become obsessed with even the most outlandish conspiracy theories. A front-page story in one tabloid blamed Yugoslavia's unusually hot summer on NATO planes blowing away clouds with laser rays to torture the population. The issue was sold out within hours. Even most Serbs in Kosovo, who have felt the disastrous consequences of Mr Milosevic's policies most painfully, still support him. Father Sava Janjic of the Gracanica Monastery recalled: "He appeared like a savior to the Serbs in Kosovo - and he still does, despite all."

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"The hardest problem to resolve may be Kosovo.
Mr. Kostunica will not find it easy to get his fellow Serbs to accept independence for Kosovo -- yet the Albanians will settle for nothing else. The key is to offer the Serbs territorial compensation for the loss of Kosovo, and that means looking in a wider Balkan context at the international borders that have not won acceptance, and negotiating territorial adjustments to achieve Balkan-wide stability."

September 26, 2000 - The Wall Street Journal

Yugoslavia After Milosevic

By David Owen.

The wisest course for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization countries to take in the immediate aftermath of the Yugoslav presidential elections would be to refrain from pontificating and gesturing. If past form serves as a guide, such actions only make it more difficult for the Serbian people to bring about an end to the Milosevic regime. Instead, the West should allow Vojislav Kostunica, the undoubted winner, to guide them on his post-election strategy.

In Mr. Kostunica, at long last, we have a credible Serb leader. He is too nationalistic, inevitably, but was fortunately never a Communist. We must givehim the political leeway he needs to heal political wounds and bind Serbia together.

Early today, the Milosevic government will go through the charade of announcing the election
results, and the West will be certain to condemnthe inevitable rigging of the ballot. But the reactions of the Serbian people, and the strategies they adoptin their struggle to oust Mr. Milosevic, are likely to be less predictable.

The key, in the next few days and weeks, will be the loyaltiesof the armed forces, which could be broken by prolonged peaceful demonstrations. But the police force, which has been turned into a paramilitary body by Mr. Milosevic, is unlikely to bend to demonstrators. They have been singled out by Mr. Milosevic for special treatment for more than a decade, and are relatively well-paid and well-equipped. I would expect them to stay loyal to Mr. Milosevic. I fear they will, as usual, try to engender panic by savagely attacking some demonstrators. A lot will depend on whether they show more restraint than has hitherto been their wont.

Two months ago, Mr. Milosevic changed the constitution to have direct elections for the Yugoslav presidency, scrapping the previous system of indirect elections by the federal parliament.
He expected the opposition to remain divided. But he miscalculated, and the 17 opposition parties came together to support Mr. Kostunica. The

Montenegrin government decided to boycott the election, leaving the result to be determined by Serbs, whether in Montenegro or in Serbia itself. In United Nations-administered Kosovo, polling stations for the election were open, but there were few Serbs left to vote. The truth inYugoslavia for many years has been that it doesn't matter who votes, but rather, who counts the votes.

Why did the Milosevic regime highlight the constitutional provision that a new president would only take office next summer? It is almost certain that Mr. Milosevic considered the possibility that he might be defeated by such a large margin that even he would not be able to escape its message. In such circumstances, it would be typical of him to aim to stay on for another nine months in the belief that he could broker a graceful exit.

Mr. Milosevic is at his most inventive when cornered. He is, after all, the man who went to war with NATO well aware that all he could expect to do was to negotiate after a period of fighting. He knew the Yugoslav forces could not win, but he also knew that the Serb parliament would never have accepted the terms of the Rambouillet accord.

The fact that Secretary of State Madeleine Albright advised President Clinton that Mr. Milosevic would fold after a few days of bombing was a testament to how little she understood Serbian intransigence. After 98 days of bombing, Mr. Clinton negotiated a settlement with Russian involvement under which -- in contrast to Rambouillet -- the U.N., not NATO, administered Kosovo. Furthermore, NATO troops did not enter Kosovo through Serbia, and the provisions on returning indicted war criminals were toned down. Many of the Serb tank commanders rolled out of Kosovo still eager to have a go at NATO, but Mr. Milosevic judged it was better to keep his armed forces virtually intact. We in NATO were spared any casualties.

Apart from former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, I have probably spent more hours negotiating with Mr. Milosevic than any other Western politician. Everything is negotiable, but he will provoke a civil war rather than end up facing trial for war crimes in The Hague.

I suspect that it will take all of Mr. Clinton's renowned political instincts to script an exit for Mr. Milosevic, one in which a civil war is avoided in Montenegro, or in Serbia itself. The Serb president will cling to office like a limpet. Mr. Clinton would be well advised to consult closely with Vladimir Putin. Moscow knows the Serb mindset far better than Washington.

The outlines of a settlement are not hard to discern. Mr. Milosevic has to accept that Mr. Kostunica has won the election, and that the latter must become president soon. Mr. Kostunica has already said he will not send Mr. Milosevic to The Hague, and the West should have enough common sense not to push him on this point.

That does not require the Hague court to grant an amnesty, but it would mean that NATO countries would refrain from applying sanctions against the Kostunica government if it were to allow Mr. Milosevic to stay on Yugoslav territory without being arrested. Perhaps the best solution would be for Mr. Milosevic to be sent as Ambassador to the Yugoslav embassy in Beijing. China would not object.

In view of the massacre at Srebrenica, for which he bears personal responsibility, I cannot see how the West can avoid demanding that Gen. Ratko Mladic be sent to The Hague. Gen. Mladic, a hero of the Serbian armed forces, lives quite openly in Belgrade, and has been seen attending soccer matches in the city. His extradition would prove deeply unpopular with the army, so we may have to acquiesce in the existing head of the Yugoslav armed forces, Gen. Nebojsa Pavkovic, being spared an international trial.

Loud objections will be heard, of course, which assert that any settlement that does not involve Mr. Milosevic's head would be a sell-out. Yet the price of peace in the Balkans may well be that high, though like most people, it sticks in my gullet that Mr. Milosevic might escape trial.

Recovery could be quite quick in a new Yugoslavia, provided the West really does help in its reconstruction and that Mr. Milosevic does not destabilize the country. The hardest problem to resolve may be Kosovo. Mr. Kostunica

will not find it easy to get his fellow Serbs to accept independence for Kosovo - yet the Albanians will settle for nothing else. The key is to offer the Serbs territorial compensation for the loss of Kosovo, and that means looking in a wider Balkan context at the international borders that have not won acceptance, and negotiating territorial adjustments to achieve Balkan-wide stability.

(Lord Owen has served as Britain's foreign secretary and as the European Union's peace envoy to Yugoslavia.)

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U.S. House Approves $500 Million for Serb Opposition

WASHINGTON, Sep. 25 - For nine years, the Serb democratic opposition received next to nothing by way of financial aid from Washington. Then as we revealed last week, they were funded to the tune of $77 million. Now that figure has jumped up to $500 million, according to a Sep. 25 Reuters report.

In a move meant to put more pressure on Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic after Western nations declared him beaten at the polls, the House of Representatives passed a bill on Monday by a two-thirds majority in a voice vote authorizing $500 million in financial aid for Serbian opposition groups, the Reuters wire said.

Although the outcome of Sunday's Yugoslav elections will not be announced until later this week, the United States, Britain, Germany, France and other members of the European Union all declared on Monday that Milosevic had lost to main opposition challenger Vojislav Kostunica.

http://www.truthinmedia.org/Bulletins2000/tim2000-9-8.html

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Global Reflexion - Amsterdam - The Netherlands

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The Top 25 Censored Media Stories of 2000

17 Censored
IMF and World Bank Staff Tightly Connected to New Yugoslav Government

Emperor's New Clothes
September 28, 2000
Title: The International Monetary Fund and the Yugoslav Election
Author: Michel Chossudovsky and Jared Israel
emperors-clothes.com/indexe.htm

SF Bay Guardian
8/23/2000
Title: Colony Kosovo
Author: Christian Parenti
www.sfbg.com/News/34/47/47wykoso.html

Faculty evaluator: Peter Phillips Ph.D.

Student researchers: Jaleah Winn, Katie Sims, Dana Balicki, Steve Quartz

The G-17 is a Yugoslav economist group that supported presidential candidate Vojislav Kostunica and wrote the policy statements for the post-election economic reform of Yugoslavia.
The impression the G-17 likes to give is that it is an independent and Yugoslav-oriented group. The reality is vastly different. It is actually funded through the Washington-based "Center for International Private Enterprise" (CIPE), a group set up through the National Endowment for Democracy, in return a CIA-related group created in 1983.
The G-17 group calls for Yugoslavia to work more closely with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) toward the development of a market economy. Former Eastern bloc neighboring countries that have followed this tact have had massive wage deflation and increased poverty for the bulk of their citizens.
One of the key participants in the G-17 group is Veselin Vukotic. It was Vukotic who in 1989–90 orchestrated the breakup of more than 50 percent of Yugoslavia's industry, some 1,100 firms, resulting in the layoff of more than 614,000 workers.
Three of the G-17 members, Dusan Vujovic, Zeliko Bogetic, and Branko Milanovic are Washington-based staff members of the IMF and World Bank. Dusan Vujovic, a senior economist at the World Bank is the key link between the G-17 and Western institutions. From 1994–96, Vujovic played a key role in forcing structural adjustments programs in Bulgaria. Social services, including price controls, subsidized food, housing, and medical care, were stripped away. The World Bank now admits that more than 90 percent of Bulgarians live below extreme poverty level.
On its website the G-17 states that its aim is to establish, "…a network of experts in all Serbian towns able to create and practically implement necessary changes in all fields of social life. With Kostunica in power in Yugoslavia, the G-17 will try to implement market reforms. They are not simply a group of economists, but rather a network supported by the IMF and the World Bank.
Other former Socialist/communist countries have followed IMF and World Bank recommendations. Their first activity is to do away with social service protections. Second, they use economic manipulation and new laws to force business—public and private—into bankruptcy. These businesses are then purchased at rock bottom prices by multinational corporations. In Hungary, market reforms led to the closing of the only light bulb manufacturing firm, forcing everyone in Hungary to now buy light bulbs manufactured by General Electric.
The Ukraine signed an agreement with the IMF in 1994. They received a $360 million loan in exchange for "economic shock treatment" policies for their citizens. The price of bread shot up 300 percent, electricity 600 percent, and public transportation 900 percent, and the Ukraine currency collapsed. People were forced to buy necessities at "dollarized" prices when they were earning, on average, $10 a month. The U.S. dumped grain surpluses on the Ukraine market, destroying the domestic agriculture market. Misery and poverty skyrocketed in the Ukraine after IMF policies were implemented.
According to writer and IMF researcher Professor Chossudovsky, the G-17 paradigm economic program for Yugoslavia contains the same measures the IMF forced on Russia, Ukraine, Bulgaria, Peru, and many other nations. The results have been social and economic devastation. The same thing will happen in Yugoslavia if the G-17 is allowed to implement their policy recommendations.

Update by Michel Chossudovsky and Jared Israel
Kostunica Coalition Drives Up Prices & Blames...Milosevic

The Kostunica government has already started to implement deadly IMF "economic medicine." The first

step consisted of lifting price controls on fuel and basic consumer goods, and services. Prices have increased, as much as three times, causing extreme hardship for Yugoslav working people.
The country had been impoverished by years of economic sanctions, not to mention the IMF reforms applied in 1989–90, before the break-up of federal Yugoslavia. But a system of state subsidies and price controls nonetheless prevented a total collapse in the standard of living, as occurred in neighboring Bulgaria.
That system of price controls is now being disbanded by the Kostunica government on orders of the International Monetary Fund (IMF):
"When Kostunica supporters forced out most managers in state-owned shops and factories and put their own people in charge, that system of controls collapsed and prices immediately shot up. The cost of cooking oil has more than tripled since last Friday, when Milosevic announced that he was stepping aside. The prices of sugar and cigarettes are about to jump again. After Kostunica's supporters forced out Milosevic-era factory directors, the new ones are moving quickly to make their plants more profitable." (Los Angeles Times, October 15, 2000)
To make sure the government could not finance subsidies, the G-17 economists forcefully took control of the Central Bank and immediately imposed a freeze on money creation ("printing of money"). This held up the outflow of cash, which the government needed to sustain price controls on basic consumer goods. According to interviews conducted with Belgrade residents shortly after the election, the price of milk had already doubled from 8 to 14 dinars per liter, largely affecting children; the price of cooking oil had more than tripled, from 13.5 to 55 dinars; sugar had gone from 8 to 45 dinars. These interviews support the earlier Los Angeles Times report.
Shoppers are commenting, "Ah, democratic prices!" The Serbian use of black humor masks rising anger among ordinary people. Faced with this simmering rebellion, the Kostunica government, advised by the G-17 economists, have performed a dazzling flip.
Prior to the Oct. 5 coup d'état, the government made some attempt to protect domestic producers and ensure (under very difficult conditions) the distribution of essential food staples, fuel, and electricity at controlled prices. The Kostunica coalition abolished price controls then seemed to be using the suffering it created to justify the dumping of low priced (often inferior) food and products, thus destroying small producers.
The Western media, which just a few days earlier had congratulated Kostunica for removing price controls, now uncritically trumpets the line that it's all Milosevic's fault.
Concerning the rapid increase in prices, the program drafted by Dinkic's G-17 Plus is rather explicit: "Immediately after taking the office, the new government shall abolish all types of subsidies. This measure must be implemented without regrets or hesitation, since it will be difficult if not impossible to apply later, in view of the fact that in the meantime strong lobbies may appear and do their best to block such measures... This initial step in economic liberalization must be undertaken as a "shock therapy" as its radical nature does not leave space for gradualism of any kind. (From the G-17 'Program of Radical economic Reform' www.g17.org.yu/english/programm/programr9.htm)

The G-17 program they wrote attacking Milosevic had stated in no uncertain terms that "they would do it,"—that is, they would get rid of price controls. They have driven Milosevic out and begun to "do it." Naturally if prices have spiraled, it is Milosevic's fault.
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5. Economic Liberalization

Internal Liberalization and Stimulation of Competition

Complete liberalization of economic life will lead to the release of private initiative, the development of healthy competition and equality of all before the law. The prices shall be formed freely, existing monopolies shall be eliminated and preconditions will be created for companies to freely enter all branches while entrepreneurial initiative will be encouraged.

The free forming of prices will lead to a system of prices reflecting the relative availability of goods services and production factors. The abolishment of subsidies and the practice of endlessly covering the losses of public companies from the country's budget or by printing money, will reduce budgetary and quasi-fiscal deficits, which will in turn curb the inflation. Of course, objective problems with respect to the price liberalization system will eventually arise in the energy sector, public utilities and transportation services, the prices of which are today substantially below production costs, and these problems will have to be treated separately. Nevertheless, sudden liberalization of prices in these sectors would lead to a significant rise in the general level of prices and would additionally instigate inflation and jeopardize the living standard of the population. Therefore, in a strictly limited transition period until the companies in these sectors are organizationally and economically qualified for independent operation and until the increase in the overall economic activity improves the income of the population, the state would be obliged to provide these public companies with necessary financial support, but primarily from income generated through the sales of public debt bonds on the capital market.

One of the most urgent tasks of the new government will be the struggle against monopolies. The monopolies are harmful in a market economy since they decrease production, raise prices and fail to stimulate increase in productivity. In our economy public (state-owned) companies are systemically mixed with the government which in consequence results in the abuse of its function of regulating the public interest. In addition, the "socialist giants" which operate in the regime of public or social ownership generate the lion's share of total losses of the economy. Some of their parts could spin off (e.g. production of arms could be separated from car production, postal services from telephone communications). After that, smaller enterprises could be quickly privatized. At the same time, new producers should be encouraged in branches which are found to be monopolistic. Entry of new companies will be stimulated by eliminating the red-tape and legal monopolies (for the time being the law anticipates the existence of monopolies in certain branches), and by formulating incentive credit and tax policies (new enterprises in sectors considered to be monopolistic could have a lower tax burden and more favourable credit terms). In the period until the market race gains momentum, it will be necessary to control the rates of return and growth rates of prices in monopolized sectors. A continuous and especially effective means to fight the monopolies will be the liberalization of foreign trade.

The new government shall provide its full support to all forms of loyal competition. Competition is the heart of market economy. It, ultimately, always results in the reduction of prices, growth of production and increase in productivity of labour. Stronger competition will be stimulated by simplifying the procedure for entry of new enterprises (the necessary documentation and licenses will be reduced to minimum), facilitating and reducing the cost of transactions and reduction of taxes. Even the owners of small capital must be given the opportunity for an easy start and investments and the state shall be obliged to create the conditions for the banks to support the new programmes. In view of the fact that most existing banks cannot provide appropriate credit support to the private sector, the country shall be opened for foreign banks with distinguished reputation. In addition, special loans from international financial organizations would be used via the new domestic banks only for crediting the development of small and medium scale enterprises.

In order to facilitate the economic activity of private entrepreneurs, taxes have to be low and certain. Not one tax may be used retroactively. It is particularly important to reduce the taxes and contributions on wages in order to stimulate new employment. Small entrepreneurial sector will be substantially relieved of taxes so as to enable the people to engage in gainful employment legally (rather than in moonlighting) and to pay relatively low taxes. This policy would contribute to legalizing the existing grey economy and will, without additional investments, yield benefits for the society and individuals. This will mark the road towards the basic long-term objective of the new government, the creation of a wealthy citizen as a precondition for a wealthy state.

Liberalization of Foreign Trade

Internal liberalization must be accompanied by liberalization of foreign economic relations. All

import and export quotas will be abolished. A few relatively low tariff rates (up to 30 per cent) shall apply to industries across the board and shall be equal for all: companies and individuals, state and private sector. Agricultural sector alone can count on a higher degree of protection, but not in excess of the one prevailing in developed market economy countries. Liberalization of imports will reinforce competition and reduce the prices on the domestic market, while liberalization of exports will give the chance to compete on the foreign market to all, rather than a few politically privileged individuals. In parallel with the policy of import liberalization the new government shall take anti-dumping measures and fight disloyal foreign competition in line with international standards and practices.

In conceiving and implementing the measures of foreign trade liberalization account shall be taken of the rules of the WTO which require: (i) abolishment of non-tariff instruments of trade protectionism (quotas, licenses, agreements etc); (ii) drastic reduction of import restrictions justified by the protection of the balance o payments; (iii) prohibition of direct and limitation of indirect subsidizing of exports; (iv) harmonization of all national regulations on the quality, packaging and standards, as well as a series of other measures which largely spell a thorough break with inward-looking policies such as are currently pursued in the FRY. The accession of the FRY to the WTO will make our country accept two groups of obligations. The first consists of those which have to be implemented without any reservations by the vary fact of entering the membership of the organization, and which are not subject to negotiations: (1) elimination of non-tariff forms of protection; (2) general reduction of tariff levels; (3) gradual decrease of dispersion of tariffs. The second group includes obligations, primarily tariff concessions or concessions in the spheres of services, which will become subject to negotiations at the time of negotiation of our membership in the WTO. In order to successfully complete these negotiations the new government shall previously formulate its strategy in this sphere and establish long-term objectives of the trade policy which will reflect our specific needs (e.g. selective protection of agricultural products), and devise appropriate negotiating tactics accordingly.

The new government shall promote conditions for foreign investments. Once a new market environment is created the Government will no longer have to take special measures to stimulate foreign investments. Foreign investors shall enjoy completely the same facilities and treatment as domestic investors. With a proper economic policy there is no need to grant special privileges to foreigners. Only the countries which aim to "punish" their own population and pursue a poor economic policy have to grant special privileges to foreigners in order to attract their capital. Economic and legal regulations must be simple, good, stable and equal for all - domestic as well as foreign investors.

In order to create the conditions for general revitalization and modernization of economy, the new government shall offer appropriate concessions to investors who are interested in financing major infrastructural projects (roads, railways, public utility systems, etc.). A tender for this purpose will be equally open for domestic and foreign companies, but it would be realistic to expect that these projects will be initially financed by the prevailing share of foreign capital. Quite independently from federal and republic authorities, certain municipalities would be offered the possibility to resolve the problems of financing their local public utilities in a relatively short time. They will be able to appear on the international capital market with an issue of special municipal bonds and, with the help of interested specialized foreign financial houses, ensure the necessary investments.

Stages and Dynamics of Economic Liberalization

The sequencing of fiscal, monetary and foreign trade policies will be of critical importance for the success of reforms. Not all measures of economic liberalization should be taken simultaneously. On the contrary, there is an optimum sequence of economic liberalization which has to be observed in order for the reform to be a compete success.

Stage I

In the first year of the reform, before inflation is completely eliminated and capital market liberalized, the balance of public finances will have to be settled. Fiscal control must precede financial liberalization. The state budget must be balanced. In order to achieve this, public spending must be limited to its appropriately low share in the GDP (approximately 40 per cent).

Experience of countries in transition provides ample proof that achieving and sustaining the fiscal balance is a difficult job of decisive importance for the success of the programme of stabilization and economic reform as a whole. It is a sphere wherein changes are the most difficult to make for two main reasons. On the one hand, numerous traditional recipients of budgetary funds seek to retain their acquired rights. On the other, after a substantial growth in domestic

and foreign competition the number of new pretenders to assistance and support from the budget shall also increase. However, the experience of all developing and transition countries unambiguously indicates that under the conditions of a lax (insufficiently restrictive) fiscal policy no monetary policy can be successful, irrespective of the given type of stabilization.

Immediately after taking the office, the new government shall abolish all types of subsidies to inefficient companies (retaining only subsidies to agriculture). This measure must be implemented without regrets or hesitation, since it will be difficult if not impossible to apply later, in view of the fact that in the meantime strong lobbies may appear and do their best to block such measures. The government must, at all cost, resist the pressures to take "short-term measures" which would help the companies in unsurmountable difficulties. This initial step in economic liberalization must be undertaken as a "shock therapy" as its radical nature does not leave space for gradualism of any kind. So dramatic a change in economic policy will suddenly alter the overall climate in the country and mark the beginning of a thorough change of the old economic system. All goods and services, labour and capital will soon obtain their real value. An entirely different way of thinking will soon be affirmed and will inevitably initiate the change of all habits and conformist models of non-market behavior. This positive change cannot be achieved through a long-drawn-out process of a "trial and error" type, but has to come in consequence of economic considerations in a market setting.

In order to balance the state budget, the new government will prescribe relatively low taxes, but with a wider taxable base, both for enterprises and households. With a sufficiently wide tax basis, the state will be able to collect sufficient income to set-off inflationary pressures without having to introduce an additional arbitrary income tax on the company profits or private property of households. At the same time, all non-budgetary state subsidies (quasi-fiscal operations of the central bank) which have thus far remained outside the parliamentary or legislative control will now be incorporated into the regular (balanced) budget or else completely cancelled. Namely, the NBY actually carries out operations of fiscal nature, e.g. when it finances the public sector under non-market conditions with accumulation of an enormous losses in its own balance. The NBY losses (quasi-fiscal deficit) are created due to; (1) financing of non-financial public sector with cheap loans from a fresh money issue; (2) subsidizing "priority sectors of economy" (e.g. agriculture, export oriented production, etc.); (3) losses due to interest rate differences in selling the foreign exchange for less than its market price; (4) saving of troubled banks from bankruptcy. Bearing in mind that the annual amount of quasi-fiscal deficit is estimated at about 3 billion DEM, the new government shall be forced to eliminate it completely or incorporate a part of it in the regular budgetary balance. Thereby, it will permanently eliminate the danger of pressure on the NBY to engage in excessive money issue.

The policy of balanced public finances has to be accompanied by an extremely cautious stabilization monetary policy which will be safeguarded by the independent position of the NBY. The growth of money supply will be somewhat lower than the growth of the nominal GDP. The establishment of firm fiscal and monetary policies, strict financial discipline and curbing the inflation on a lasting basis which is bound to result from these measures, will be the main precondition for Stage II of economic liberalization - full liberalization of prices and foreign trade.

Stage II

Full liberalization of prices and foreign trade might start only after macroeconomic stabilization, full balance of the budget and lasting stability of prices and the exchange rate have been established. In this economic environment privatization will be intensified, as ownership rearrangement will then be able to guarantee an economic growth. A rush into complete liberalization of prices and foreign trade and mass privatization before Stage I is completed would not solve a single one of these problems. On the contrary, in a situation characterized by instable prices and exchange rate, huge deficits and policy of soft budgetary limitations, this would only cause new economic distortions and general disappointment with the measures of the reform.

In this stage new economic legislation will take root. All actors in economic activities will know the real rules of the game. The struggle against all forms of monopolies and protectionism will continue. This will also include gradual liberalization of prices in the sectors of energy, public utilities and transportation

services.

Foreign trade liberalization will be braced by the complete internal convertibility of the new domestic currency. Already in Stage I, multiple exchange rates will be abolished and unlimited sale and purchase of foreign currencies enabled. The pace of exposing the domestic economy to foreign competition shall be announced in advance so as to encourage the domestic enterprises to timely complete appropriate structural adjustment. Foreign competition will inevitably spur internal competitiveness of the domestic economy, initiate the process of learning of domestic producers and ensure higher quality supply on the domestic market.

The current system of foreign trade protection is such that it is dominated by quantitative restrictions (quotas) and relatively high tariff and non-tariff charges. Observed by the degree of processing of goods, effective rate of protection has a cascade structure: final consumer products have an extremely high level of protection and are only a bit ahead of industrial semi-manufactures, while domestic producers of raw materials and energy have negative effective protection. This high degree of effective protection of final industrial products enables the survival of these industries regardless of the fact that they have a negative value added in terms of world prices, i.e. that they generate enormous losses. A sudden liberalization of foreign trade with retention of the existing non-competitive economic structure would automatically cause a complete collapse of the domestic industry regardless of the level of the exchange rate. Therefore, foreign trade liberalization must develop gradually.

The process of foreign trade liberalization will start from exports, by eliminating all quantitative restrictions to exports and the creation of a foreign exchange market based on a crawling band which will efficiently support foreign trade transactions. This will soon be followed by a thorough, but gradual and clearly defined liberalization of imports with the accompanying application of instruments for the protection against disloyal competition. As a result, all the existing quantitative restrictions (quotas, import licenses, etc.) will be abolished and replaced by appropriate tariff rates. Initially, the level of tariff rates will be relatively high (up to 30%), but it will be gradually reduced over a period of 5 to 10 years, according to a schedule to be determined in advance and made known to domestic producers.

Economic liberalization shall continue with the further development and complete opening of the domestic capital market. The experience has shown that countries in transition which have managed to stabilize the general price level and exchange rate, along with the liberalization of the capital market also achieve a much higher productivity of capital compared with those whose financial systems have remained repressed. However, it is not desirable to promise or advocate a higher degree of liberalization of the domestic financial market before the necessary conditions are created. Namely, the full convertibility and premature elimination of all limitation to capital transactions, as well as early deregulation of financial markets might cause an unacceptable degree of instability in monetary and capital flows. On the other hand, the elimination of once introduced measures of liberalization may be highly unpopular and ultimately unproductive. Therefore, the timetable of the this economic liberalization will be determined by the speed and results achieved in Stage I.

Depositors on the liberalized financial market (lenders) must obtain a real positive interest rate on the money they have invested from the users of their funds (borrowers). The banking system will be relieved of restrictive requirements to hold too large reserves of money and the formation of interest rates will be completely free. Naturally, this will be possible only after a strict financial control is established, which will no longer give the government an opportunity to fill its budget by inflationary taxes or taxing the depositors in another inadequate way. The crediting of enterprises and households will be intensified. This will yield positive results only if the level of prices is stable, i.e. subject to the previous successful completion of Stage I of the reform.

Only after the unnecessary restrictions are eliminated and stable macroeconomic conditions for business operation of domestic banks created, will it be possible to count on a strong presence of foreign banks. Otherwise, earlier inclusion of foreign financial institutions into operations on the domestic financial market would be motivated exclusively by short-term speculative motives and would ultimately result in a continuing capital flight out of the country.