

Milosevic & Aanklacht

Map 2D

Political Hostage of the New World Order

Public Meeting

Tuesday 17th December 2002

7.30 pm

Conway Hall (Club Room), Red Lion Square, London W1

Speakers: Christopher Black (Canadian attorney, Milosevic legal advisor)
Stan Gasparovski (Serbian activist)
Brian Denny (Campaign against Euro-federalism)
Paul Davidson (Committee to Defend Slobodan Milosevic)

Former Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic is not only fighting for justice and international law at the NATO tribunal in The Hague, he is fighting for his life. His condition, "Essential hypertension with secondary organ damage: hypertrophy of the left ventricle" is urgent and life-threatening.

Yet the court refuses the request for his provisional release, refuses adequate medical attention and refuses to accept a cardiaccardiologist's report that he be given adequate rest. This estimated two-year case plows on regardless of all health considerations.

COME AND HEAR ABOUT THIS AND THE RECENT SERBIAN ELECTIONS

**Join the struggle for justice! Defend Milosevic and International Law!
Oppose the New World Order which destroyed Yugoslavia and threatens Humanity!**

An ecumenical group of Christians in London have appealed to The Netherlands Embassy for intervention by the Netherlands Government to spare the life of Mr Milosevic. A request has been made that the Netherlands Ambassador in London meets a delegation to discuss this issue, of Mr Milosevic's maltreatment & his continued unlawful detention.

A spokesperson for the group, (William Spring) comments:

"We regard the detention of Mr Milosevic as unlawful, as he was not transferred to The Hague by a legal process. The Tribunal refuses to rule on the crime committed over his person. Mr Milosevic should be released immediately, not only on that ground, but because he has clearly demonstrated he has no case to answer in respect to any of the various allegations made against him. Our ecumenical peace group CANA UK coalesced during the NATO war on Yugoslavia. For the 1999 attack on Yugoslavia there was no concern about the niceties of a UN resolution - it was just done - using the

18-12-02

London to protest at the treatment of Mr Milosevic in the Hague. The letter was first made to the Dutch Ambassador in London first by e mail on November 15th 2002, but also by fax on 6th December 2002, & in the absence of a reply, a delegation subsequently delivered the letter to The Embassy. Yet there is still no acknowledgement from the Netherlands Ambassador to these repeated requests. We are concerned, not merely @ the discourtesy expressed to a number of concerned people, Dutch & UK citizens in London, (some of whom are quite eminent in their fields), but at the indication of total indifference by The Netherlands Government to the cause of human rights. The Hague Tribunal is a victor's court. It is not there to dispense justice. It exists only to provide legitimacy for the aggression perpetrated on Yugoslavia in the 1990's by the USA & the EU, an aggression which led to the partition of the country, & the establishment of NATO military bases on Yugoslav territory, (so that other non-aligned & third world countries could be also bombed & coerced by the Americans & the EU, in the same way as Yugoslavia was destroyed). What remains of Yugoslavia is now a puppet state, under the control of the US-NATO- EU conglomerate. We are concerned @ the way international law is manipulated & twisted & brought into disrepute, a process which has the endorsement of The Netherlands Government. We have expressed to the Netherlands Government our disappointment that it has become party to the kidnapping & the resultant continued torture of Mr Milosevic. In a covering letter to The Ambassador, on delivering the protest to The Embassy, we wrote: "we are making serious allegations - that the Netherlands Government is condoning torture on Dutch territory. If Milosevic dies the Netherlands Government will be complicit in the murder of this man."

ends

A copy of the original letter to the Netherlands Ambassador in London + attached documentation is pasted below.

For further information telephone 0044 208 376 1454

canauk@blueyonder.co.uk

<http://www.canauk.human-rights.org>

To the Royal Netherlands Embassy
38 Hyde Park Gate
SW7 5DP

by e mail, fax & post

15th November 2002

For the attention of the Ambassador
His Excellency Baron Willem Oswald Bentinck Van Schoonheten

Your Excellency

18-12-02

A group of concerned UK & Dutch citizens here in London request the honour of meeting you to express our concern @ the endorsement by the Netherlands Government of torture, criminal acts, & wholesale violations in The Netherlands (both those past & those now contemplated) of the provisions of the European Convention of Human Rights, including Six.

We refer to the proceedings @ the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia & the case now pending against Slobodan Milosevic, which may be regarded as exemplifying the standard of justice dispensed out at The Hague since the inception of the Tribunal.

There is an international Committee for the Defence of Slobodan Milosevic with various autonomous national sections. The delegation we propose would consist of members of the British Committee plus other concerned parties.

What we are immediately concerned about is the proposal to declare Mr Milosevic a lunatic.

The Court has now demanded psychiatric reports on the prisoner, usually a prelude to sectioning someone.

By declaring Mr Milosevic insane the Court will then seek to appoint counsel over his head, proceed with a predetermined conviction, & lock him up.

It is clever ruse, worthy of the debased imaginings of Carla del Ponte, the Chief Inquisitor.

I enclose a letter I have sent to Judge May.

I also paste below copy of a press release + a communication sent to The Security Council President, where I state:

"The Security Council has set up what is an inquisition. There has not been an Inquisition in The Netherlands since the sixteenth century, but the current Netherlands Government is indifferent to the profound human rights abuses being perpetrated upon Mr Milosevic & other political prisoners detained in The Hague."
I am sending copies of this correspondence also today to the Law Officers in UK, with a request for information on procedure so I can proceed with my Court application against Judge May re my torture allegation.

What you have is a Court in The Netherlands & it is against the President of that Court I am proposing to bring criminal proceedings, (with I think some likelihood of success - unless of course the UK Government blocks those proceedings, which they might.)

What is evident is Mr Milosevic is not a lunatic - unless he has been made insane through the vicious & protracted psychopathological sadistic tortures inflicted upon him over a period of years since he first arrived in The Netherlands & for all this it is your Government which is to blame.

I must say Milosevic does not appear insane, although he does look tired.

I have no doubt the Americans who run The Tribunal would like to drive the man mad.

This would be more convenient than killing him off.

What the prisoner needs are proper conditions @ The Hague, & a proper ruling on his kidnap, & an immediate release. If this does not happen he should be granted bail on his own surety.

I realise many people have spoken to The Netherlands Government about this scandal & your Government takes the view that the Hague Court is no longer Dutch territory.

This is a convenient way for your Government to wash its hands of its responsibilities.

But the transit of the prisoner to your Court was indisputably through Dutch territory & air space, & there is no doubt he was delivered to Holland through a means entirely criminal, having been kidnapped in Serbia & Zoran Djindjic had no legal authority to arrange for him to be transferred out of the country.

Yet the Court refuses to rule on this crime committed over his person.

There are a number of other points we would like to raise with Your Excellency for onward transmission to your Government.

I paste below this communication other relevant documentation, including my letter to Judge May.

Yours sincerely

William Spring

1 Scales Road London N17 9HB

Tel: 0208 376 1454

**To the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia
for the attention of Judge May**

From William Spring 1 Scales Road London N17 9HB

6th November 2002

also by fax & post

Dear Judge May,

As you probably don't know, as your officials haven't told you, I have sent various e mails to you in the past relating to your role in the trial of Mr Milosevic.

I am concerned not only @ the indignities you & your fellow judges routinely inflict upon the accused, but at indications you consistently interfere with his defence, limiting his time, while seeking to protect dubious witnesses, (as for example when the well known war manufacturer /CIA agent/ & Jesuit massacre defender William Walker appeared before you).

I have looked @ the transcripts, although I was not in Court myself.

But you should have known & did know how important the evidence of Walker was, & in fact you gave him two days to present his evidence.

But Mr Milosevic you only allowed him 3 hours to cross examine & in the middle of that cross examination you cut Mr Milosevic off, as you have done so many times in the past, @ the very point when Mr Milosevic was asking questions relating to Walker's role in his cover up of the murder of six Jesuit priests in El Salvador in the 1980's.

At that time Walker was employed as a CIA agent (using US diplomatic cover), running the contras, useful experience for him prior to taking over a similar role in Kosovo.

Walker told your tribunal "I made an inaccurate statement, in hindsight".

Mr Milosevic then pointed out how, when the KLA was blamed for the killing of the Serb teenagers in Pec, he had said, " when you don't know what has happened, it's a lot more difficult to sort of pronounce yourself ... to this day we do not know who committed that act."

But Walker did not exercise the same degree of caution regarding Racak.

At that point you intervened to stop the cross examination by saying: "your attempt to discredit this witness with events so long ago the Trial Chamber has ruled as irrelevant. "

And later:

"This is an absurd question, absolutely absurd. Now you're wasting everybody's time."

But the time spent cross examining the initiator of the Kosovo War was not wasted.

It is vital to get to the truth about the 1999 NATO war on Yugoslavia.

It may be that as a lawyer you don't have any regard for the truth, by which I mean you don't regard its pursuit as a priority.

But as a contemporary historian, & as a concerned citizen, worried @ the waste of UK taxpayers' money spent funding your illicit judicial forum, I do.

My point is you have disqualified yourself by prejudice & bias from any further conduct of this case.

I have made a formal complaint to the Lord Chancellor about your conduct of the trial

I refer as well to the failure of The Tribunal to provide medical facilities for the prisoner, nor access to family, nor access to lawyers, nor access to potential witnesses, such as myself, nor access to advisers, nor access to telephones & fax machines, nor access to the Internet, nor even access to a computer.

You give him inedible meals & you deny him exercise.

You are engaged in torture.

You sneer @ the prisoner - you generally seek to demean him, you inflict indignities & gratuitous humiliation upon him.

I believe you & the other UK officials @ the Court, including Steven Kay, the MI6 agent drafted in so the prosecution can also take over the

defence, all of you have systematically conspired to deny the prisoner a fair trial, both on account of the numerous rulings you have made against him, & those you have not, particularly in respect to the conditions of his unlawful detention.

You are aware how he is being unlawfully detained, having been kidnapped, i.e. illegally abducted, (through the complicity of agents of the British Government, & the RAF) from the sovereign territory of Yugoslavia.

These agents & the RAF personnel were acting upon the instructions of Geoff Hoon MP.

Yet the crime committed over his person you refuse to rule on.

You have refused to consider the circumstances by which Mr Milosevic arrived @ your Court.

You & Stephen Kay are no better than the Japs, (who were probably quite humane gaolers of our men on the Burma Road, compared to the insidious protracted long term psychological torture you inflict on Mr Milosevic).

Nothing is worse than the turning of the planetary moral & legal order upside down, the bringing of international law into disrepute, so that those who are actually criminals, (such as Walker, & NATO satrap Paddy Ashdown, + the German NATO air commander, I think his name is Nauman or something like that, but all of whom were responsible for the aggression against Yugoslavia), they are allowed accuse Milosevic, but they are not held responsible for their own crimes.

This is absurd.

Now we hear the Americans are planning another set of show trials, this time for Iraq.

Corrupt Courts, staffed by corrupt judges, & corrupt prosecutors, travel in the baggage of the Allies, as the Bourbons travelled in their baggage in 1815.

Section 134 of the Criminal Justice Act 1988 prevents any official of the UK Govt engaging in torture in any capacity, for which reason I am sending a copy to this letter to the Lord Chancellor & to the A-G.

Yours sincerely

William Spring

Appeal to Chinese Government re President Milosevic

An appeal has been addressed to the Chinese delegate @ the United Nations Security Council, its President H.E. Wang Yingfan, asking the Council to intervene in respect of the trial of former Yugoslav President Milosevic "to stop this grisly farce".

William Spring Director of an ecumenical peace group CANA UK says President Milosevic is held in "Gestapo conditions" & is denied proper food, exercise, fresh air, family contacts, access to legal advisors, & logistical support in terms of his attempts to respond to The Tribunal.

He accuses the presiding judge of torturing the prisoner, contrary to UK law, & the Netherlands Government & the Security Council of running an Inquisition.

"There has not been an Inquisition in The Netherlands since the sixteenth century, but the current Netherlands Government is indifferent to the profound human rights abuses being perpetrated upon Mr Milosevic & other political prisoners detained in The Hague."

He accuses prosecutor Carla del Ponte of seeking to deny to Milosevic "a basic right in natural justice, i.e. the freedom to prepare his own defence. This right is enshrined in all human rights documents, emanating both from the UN & the Council of Europe. Article Six of the European Convention of Human Rights specifically says that one can represent oneself in any criminal or civil proceeding."

He calls on the Court to grant Mr Milosevic immediate bail & to rule on "the crime which has been committed over his person". (He emphasises the criminal nature of the process by which Mr Milosevic was transferred to The Hague, a conspiracy to abduct in which Geoff Hoon MP was "a prime mover").

A further appeal is made to the Chinese Government that "... the Peoples Republic of China fulfil its role in terms of protecting against the banditry of the British & American Governments international socialism, justice, the legal order, & world peace."

Documentation attached first sent to the Chinese Embassy in London relating to last week's UN Security Council resolution over Iraq accuses the French of conceding world hegemony to the Anglo-Saxons, & Russia & China of running away from their international obligations by failing to veto the US - UK war plan.

"The failure to cast a veto has destroyed the United Nations" comments William Spring. "The UN should respect the national sovereignty of its members & not conduct negotiations under the threat of force. This is illegal in international law. Tony Blair is fanning the flames of terrorism. The UK-US response to terrorism is to make more terrorists. The planned attack on Iraq is a criminal enterprise which will do nothing to reduce international tension."

Text of appeal to the Chinese delegate @ the Security Council is pasted below.

ends

information telephone 0044208 376 1454

By e mail, also by fax & post

To the President of The United Nations Security Council

Permanent Representative and Ambassador of The Peoples Republic of China

The Honourable Comrade His Excellency Wang Yingfan

*UN Security Council
New York*

USA

November 12th 2002

Your Excellency

This e mail is to express to Your Excellency & to your Government our profound concern that the Peoples Republic of China fulfil its role in terms of protecting against the banditry of the British & American Governments international socialism, justice, the legal order, & world peace.

We refer to two items:

1. The role of the Security Council in maintaining & sustaining the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia.

2. The unanimous vote of the Security Council this week regarding Iraq.

Re (1) we are particularly concerned about the conditions in which the UN is holding one of its high profile political prisoners, Mr Slobodan Milosevic, who the Tribunal, i.e. the prosecutor & presiding judge, appear anxious to murder, by virtue of denying him adequate medical attention, proper meals, respite care, exercise etc, or any facilities to assist him in conducting his defence.

I paste below this communication a letter I have e mailed & faxed & posted to presiding Judge May.

I have had no acknowledgement from The Court so far.

Although on assignment to The Hague Judge May remains as one of Her Majesty's judges & consequently as an official of the United Kingdom Government can be indicted (subject to the approval of the Attorney General) for the crime of torture in the English Courts & my application is precisely this.

The Security Council has set up what is an inquisition.

There has not been an Inquisition in The Netherlands since the sixteenth century, but the current Netherlands Government is indifferent to the profound human rights abuses being perpetrated upon Mr Milosevic & other political prisoners detained in The Hague.

Therefore it is for The Security Council to intervene to stop this grisly farce.

Carla del Ponte must be prevailed upon to withdraw her motion that the prisoner be denied a basic right in natural justice, i.e. the freedom to prepare his own defence.

This right is enshrined in all human rights documents, emanating both from the UN & the Council of Europe.

Article Six of the European Convention of Human Rights specifically says that one can represent oneself in any criminal or civil proceeding.

It is not Mr Milosevic's decision to represent himself which is aggravating his illness, but the inhumane & Gestapo conditions in which he is held.

One solution is to grant him immediate bail.

The prisoner has no wish to abscond. He simply wishes to answer his accusers - to press The Tribunal to rule on the crime which has been committed over his person.

(You are aware how he was abducted illegally, kidnapped, from Yugoslavia, by criminal elements, a conspiracy against Yugoslav & international law in which a prime mover & accomplice was a Mr Geoff Hoon, UK Defence Secretary).

I attach as appendices in reference to point (1) a copy of the letter I have sent to Judge May

I attach as appendices in reference to point (2) a copy of an appeal sent to your Embassy here in London on November 8th + a copy of the statement issued to the press later that day following the adoption of the Security Council resolution on Iraq.

Yours truly

William Spring

Director CANA Christians Against Nato Aggression UK.

Tel 0044 208 376 1454

1 Scales Road London N17 9HB England

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van holst en steijnen

Van: "Paul Davidson" <p.davidson@btinternet.com>
Aan: <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>
Verzonden: donderdag 12 september 2002 13:18
Onderwerp: The Belgrade Forum- MILOSEVIC TRIAL - STATEMENT /3

Geopolitika by ARTEL

www.artel.co.yu office@artel.co.yu
 Date: 12 September 2002

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THE BELGRADE FORUM: MILOSEVIC TRIAL - STATEMENT /3/

THE BELGRADE FORUM FOR THE WORLD OF EQUALS

THE MILOSEVIC TRIAL - STATEMENT /3/

Done in Belgrade on 12 September 2002

In its two previous statements The Belgrade Forum for the World of Equals /Forum/ expressed its concern about the conduct of the trial of Mr. Slobodan Milosevic before the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia /ICTY/ in the Hague. The Forum also called upon all human rights organisations to appoint their observers at the trial in order to ensure the right to a fair trial is fully observed.

Further to these statements, several members of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe made a motion before this body for the observers to be appointed at the trial. The result of this initiative remains to be seen in the near future.

In the meantime, The Forum notes the following irregularities:

- on 14 June the cross-examination of the NATO retired general Klaus Naumann / the man who authorised the bombardment of targets in downtown Belgrade/ by one of the amicus curiae Mr. Tapuskovic, was abruptly cut short by Judge May with an explanation that "the witness had a plane to catch";
- on June 11 nothing but a legally scandalous situation occurred when the witness Mr. Avdiju claimed to have survived a firing squad followed by a four hour period in open flames in a house in Mala Krusa. Witness then claimed that his surname was not Avdiju, but changed into Krasniqi, and he also admitted that some of the four signatures at the end of the witness statement were not his. Although Judge Kwon did try to throw some light on this issue, it is rather regrettable that the Chamber never requested the witness to lodge his signature with it on the spot;
- witness K12 who had refused to testify claiming to have been exposed to "a psychological processing" by the prosecution was held by the Chamber to be in contempt of court. The Forum wonders why the unfortunate K12 was not helped by the Chamber and relieved of the psychological pressures he was exposed to and notes that no other witness was penalised in this way, in spite of the fact that many testimonies were rather incredible;
- witness Mr. Ali Djogaj, a grave-digger from Kosovo, claimed on 3 July to have loaded a refrigerator lorry with bodies from a mass grave in Kosovo and categorically contended this had happened in April 2000. There were no Yugoslav Army and police in Kosovo at the time. Judge May personally acknowledged the date. However, the following morning the Chamber allowed the witness to reappear before it and to change his testimony. The relevant date was not April 2000 anymore, but "April 1999". When Mr. Milosevic protested, Judge May said that the transcript had to be looked into.

The Forum recalls that in its first statement it called upon the Chamber to take penal measures against the witnesses whose testimonies were obviously incredible and the Forum then noted that great many witnesses from Kosovo claimed not to have even heard of the KLA. On August 30, however, Mr. Gani Boqaj, sentenced for the criminal act of terrorism, testified that every single man in his village was a KLA member! And the Office of the Prosecution, in the final stages of its Kosovo case, made sure to bring as many KLA members to testify as possible. One of these witnesses even claimed "to have killed as many Serbs as he took aim at". The Forum notes that the credibility of these witnesses, who are openly hostile to the Yugoslav state and Mr. Milosevic, is non-existent.

The Forum also notes that it is not only the witnesses from Kosovo whose testimonies are deprived of credibility. For instance, Mr. Ian Hendry, a police detective from Britain, reappeared before the Chamber in order to "persuade" it that on two, more or less, identical photographs of the same deceased from Racak, blood could be visible on one of the photos and not on the another. Gen. Klaus Naumann, who might have also authorised the bombing of Mr. Milosevic's residence and his daughters TV station "Kosava", continued his hostile campaign before the ICTY with some outrageous claims. The Forum considers it utterly unacceptable that the testimony of the witness who might have committed war crimes and the crime of attempted murder of Mr. Milosevic and his family can be treated as impartial before the ICTY.

The Forum calls upon:

- the Federal Government of the FRY to take concrete steps in order to implement the decision of the Yugoslav Federal Constitutional Court pertaining to an illegal deportation of Mr. Milosevic to the Hague;
- the President of the FRY Mr. Kostunica to personally address all heads of states and ask for their engagement in granting Mr. Milosevic a provisional release - defence as a free man from the Hague;
- the Governments of the FRY and Serbia to address all parliaments in the world and request their support for the release of Mr. Milosevic.

The Forum considers that the prosecution has failed to link Mr. Milosevic with the alleged crimes in Kosovo and the proof for this is the obvious attempt of the Prosecutor to link the Yugoslav security forces and Mr. Milosevic with the established NATO crimes, such as the bombing of the "Dubrava" prison and Albanian refugees in Bistrezin and Meia. In order to try to exculpate NATO in this way, the prosecution has called many false witnesses, such as Musa Krasniqi and Gani Baqaj, both sentenced for the criminal act of terrorism; this is obviously an abuse of power by the prosecution and the reason for mistrial to be declared. For the aforementioned reasons The Forum considers that the Kosovo case should be immediately dismissed by the Chamber. Another reason for the dismissal is a total lack of equality of arms between Mr. Milosevic and the prosecution.

Finally, the Forum remains concerned not only about the conduct of the trial, but also about the health of Mr. Milosevic whose recent blood pressure was 200/120 due to the trial effort. The Forum repeats its call to all human rights organisations and other relevant bodies to appoint their observers in the next phase of the trial and it calls upon the trial Chamber to put a stop on the Prosecutor's practice to call sentenced, indicted or suspected criminals as witnesses, witnesses who are employees of the Office of the Prosecutor, as well as those who testify from the second hand. There have been to many witnesses of this kind and The Forum reminds the Presiding Judge May that hear-say testimonies are not admissible before the courts of law in his own country. The aforementioned witnesses cannot help the Chamber, but only expose Mr. Milosevic to an undue exhaustion.

President of the Forum Vladislav Jovanovic
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van holst en steijnen

Van: "Artel" <artel@tehnicom.net>
Aan: "Van Holst en Steijnen advocat Holandija" <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>
Verzonden: maandag 16 september 2002 23:42
Onderwerp: RE:;Belgrade forum letters to ICTY

Dear Mr. Steijnen, I am sending you enclosed two previous letters of Belgrade forum to the ICTY and would inform Mr. Jovanovic about your message.
 Many respects,
 ARTEL- Rade Drobac

THE BELGRADE FORUM FOR THE WORLD OF EQUALS: STATEMENT REGARDING MILOSEVIC TRIAL

Acting President of the Forum
Vladislav Jovanovic
 Done in Belgrade on 10 June 2002

Recalling its statement of 14 May 2002, the Forum remains deeply concerned about the conduct of the trial of Mr. Slobodan Milosevic before the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in the Hague.
 The Forum is concerned about the Tribunal's acceptance of Mr. Fred Abrahams of the Human Rights Watch as a witness, in spite of the fact that he was previously employed by the Office of the Prosecutor in this case. Such a dual role of the witness can hardly contribute to his ability to give an objective, impartial and unbiased testimony.
 The Forum once more expresses its deepest concern about the continued impatience exercised by the Presiding Judge Richard May during the cross-examination of witnesses. On 22 May 2002, during the cross-examination of Dr. Eric Baccard, the forensic medicine expert, one of the amicus curiae Mr. Tapuskovic was abruptly cut short by the Judge May while questioning the witness on events in Racak. Noting that the Racak events have triggered the 78 day long bombardment of Yugoslavia and that Mr. Tapuskovic's cross-examination was stopped while he was dealing with some crucial issues with explanation that "his time was up", the Forum considers it unacceptable that such crucial issues be pushed aside by the Presiding Judge in a such impatient manner. There is no doubt that such a manner has detrimental effect on the process of ascertainment of the truth.
 The Forum notes that Mr. Milosevic's right to cross-examine witnesses was also interfered with while questioning Gen. Misha Mazoneev, again concerning the events in Racak. While noting that Mr. Milosevic's questions were legally and factually relevant, The Forum is rather concerned about an unprecedented outburst of impatience by the Presiding Judge May on that occasion.
 Finally, the Forum expresses its deepest concern about the fact that the Office of the Prosecutor increasingly rely on testimonies of the witnesses who have extensive criminal records. Credibility of these testimonies is therefore extremely questionable.
 Considering that such a conduct of the proceedings continues to have detrimental effect to Mr. Milosevic's right to a fair trial, the Forum once again calls upon all human rights organisations to appoint their observers at the trial, or to follow the proceedings in other appropriate manner. The Forum also calls upon all human rights organisations to take any action they deem appropriate in order to stop the violations of the right to a fair trial of Mr. Slobodan Milosevic. President of the Forum Vladislav Jovanovic Done in Belgrade on 10 June 2002

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Deep concern of the Belgrade Forum about the conduct of the trial of Slobodan Milosevic

Letter of Vladislav Jovanovic,
 acting President of Belgrade Forum
 to Claude Jorda- ICTY

International Criminal Tribunal for Yugoslavia- Den Haag
 To: Claude Jorda
 Belgrade, 15 May 2002

Dear Mr. Claude Jorda,
 I express my deep concern about the conduct of the trial of Mr. Slobodan Milosevic before the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in the Hague and growing evidence of partiality of the Tribunal.
 I am especially concerned about the Tribunal's acceptance of Mr. Riddle-Mayer as an independent expert in the field of historical monuments of culture. This acceptance came in spite of the fact that Mr. Riddle-Mayer had obtained funding for his one-sided Kosovo research project from his own sources and then offered his services to the Office of the Prosecutor of the ICTY. On the other hand, I am aware that it is a well-established practice of impartial criminal courts anywhere in the world that experts for a particular expertise are appointed by courts themselves, while the financing of these expertises is strictly determined by the rules governing the procedure.
 I am also concerned by a large and growing number of issues which the presiding Judge Richard May declares as irrelevant during the cross-examination of the witnesses by Mr. Milosevic. To this end, strict time restrictions are imposed on Mr. Milosevic, even when he is cross-examining some of the most important witnesses such as Mr. Ibrahim Rugova, President of Kosovo, on 3 & 6 May 2002. I consider it unacceptable that issues such as, for instance, the ascertainment of the role, character and sources of financing of the KLA are declared as irrelevant. At the same time, no significant effort has been made by the presiding Judge May to make Mr. Rugova give precise, concise and concrete answers to the questions posed by Mr. Milosevic and amicus curiae. Mr. Rugova's testimony was characterised as a shame for international justice by many lawyers and journalists present in The Hague, reported Belgrade daily *Glas Javnosti* on 4 May 2002.
 Noting that great many witnesses from Kosovo testify not to have ever heard of the KLA, I am concerned that not a single witness has been warned that a false statement is subject to penal measures under Article 91 of the Rules of Procedure and Evidence. These measures must be applied in order to prevent incredible testimonies, abuse of power by the Prosecutor's Office and undue exhaustion of Mr. Milosevic who is exposed to a rather long trial. Finally, I am deeply concerned about the constant changes in order of appearance of witnesses by the Prosecution which the Chamber allows too

17-09-02

ightly.

The Milosevic case is a complex one, raising complex issues and too narrow, selective and impatient approach by the Chamber to these issues can have detrimental consequences for the rights of Mr. Milosevic. Considering that such an approach has already started affecting his right to a fair trial, I call upon all human rights organisations to appoint its observers at the trial, or to follow the proceedings in other appropriate manner. I also calls upon all human rights organisations to take any action they deem appropriate in order to stop the violations of the right to a fair trial of Mr. Slobodan Milosevic.

Yours sincerely,

Vladislav Jovanovic,
Acting President of The Belgrade Forum
for the world Of Equals
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van holst en steijnen

Van: "Vladimir Krsljanin" <vlada@sps.org.yu>
Aan: <Undisclosed-Recipient:@smtp.sps.org.yu;>
Verzonden: vrijdag 13 september 2002 09:38
Onderwerp: Rebirth of People's Unity in Belgrade: Free Milosevic! Free Balkans!

Media Center Belgrade, Reports, 09/13/2002



COLLAPSE OF KOSOVO INDICTMENT

Press conference by the Yugoslav National Committee To Defend Slobodan Milosevic "Freedom." The conference topic "Collapse of the Kosovo Indictment" was addressed by Bogoljub Bjelica, deputy president of the Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) and president of the Committee, dr Vojislav Seselj, president of the Serbian Radical Party (SRS), Goran Matic, vice-president of the Yugoslav Left (JUL), Radisa Z. Kovacevic, member of the Presidency of the Patriotic Alliance of Yugoslavia, and dr Branko Rakic, member of the Committee.

"These days we witness the collapse of the Kosovo indictment against our people and peace in the Balkans. In the name of our national being, we demand Slobodan Milosevic's immediate release. What members of the SPS and citizens want is a policy of national unity and its implementation," said Bjelica.

"Each day of the trial to Slobodan Milosevic makes his triumph more convincing. Since Serbia and the Serbs are in the dock in The Hague, it is Slobodan Milosevic that defends both Serbia and the Serbs," said Seselj and added, "Slobodan Milosevic's defense proved the Kosovo indictment false and alleged evidence fabricated. Indictments issued by Bosnia and Croatia will be also grounded on false evidence. But I am confident Slobodan Milosevic will win out over The Hague Tribunal."

In Goran Matic's view, The Hague Tribunal deals with forging history, rather than with justice. "Slobodan Milosevic has faced the court and managed to 'smash' the Kosovo indictment. However, the court will meet with an even bigger fiasco when it comes to indictments issued by Bosnia and Croatia. This will ruin the decade-long campaign against genocidal Serbs and provide grounds for creation of the FRY's internal policy," said Matic.

To join or help this struggle, visit:

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

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

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

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

DISZIPLINARBESCHWERDE GEGEN EINEN "FREUND DES GERICHTS" BEI DER
 NIEDERLÄNDISCHEN ANWALTSKAMMER (18. 09. 02)
 - Erklärung des Rechtsanwalts Nico Steijnen im Namen von Slododan
 Milosevic -

Nico Steijnen: STATEMENT On behalf of Mr. Milosevic

Den Haag, 18 September 2002

On behalf of Mr. Milosevic the Dutch counsel of Mr. Milosevic Nico Steijnen has filed a complaint against the Dutch member of the amici curiae trio Wladimiroff at the disciplinary tribunal of the Dutch Bar Association.
<http://www.nato-tribunal.de/AIK.htm>

3-2-03

problem
 against him"

Mr. Milosevic has strongly protested against these pronouncements and he has asked for measures against Wladimiroff. He also demanded access to the press on his turn, in order to get the opportunity to repair the damage, brought about by Wladimiroff upon him.

However, routinely this was refused by the so called tribunal, which gave order to Wladimiroff to deliver a written statement on the matter.

Already in an earlier stage Mr. Milosevic had opted for legal action against the assignment of the amici curiae, especially Wladimiroff. However, due to logistic problems this had failed to occur until now.

In the complaint filed at the disciplinary tribunal Wladimiroff is charged for:

- 1) usurpation of the right of Mr. Milosevic to conduct his own defence, without any interference;
- 2) active interference with the defence of Mr. Milosevic, despite the explicit will of the last one;
- 3) fundamental thwart of the defence strategy of mr. Milosevic, which is based upon the fact that the tribunal is to be considered illegal, by his, Wladimiroff's, performance, based upon exactly the opposite, namely upon the assumption that the trubunal were a legal institution;
- 4) So violation of Article 6, par 3 ad c European Human Rights Convention, stipulating: "Everyone charged with a criminal offence has the following minimum rights: c. to defend himself in person (..)";
- 5) violation of the basic principle for all lawyers all around the world that a lawyer shall only take up the defence of somebody, when this is based upon the consent of the one concerned;
- 6) violation of the 'praesumptio innocentiae' towards Mr. Milosevic;
- 7) Inflicting heavy damage to his case by , as being a sort of imposed co-counsel, rammed throught the throat of mr. Milosevic, beforehand declaring him guilty;
- 8) violation of a number of specific Dutch regulations, based upon the Dutch Law for lawyers.

 K o m m e n t a r :

Zur Rolle der "Freunde des Gericht" im "Verfahren" gegen Slobodan Milosevic

<http://www.nato-tribunal.de/AIK.htm>

3-2-03

In the Dutch daily Haagsche Courant edition of September 12, 2002, Wladimiroff stated in an interview inter alia:

"It is for sure that, when his process would relate only to Kosovo and one would draw up the balance now Milosevic would be convicted. Clearly a linkage has been established between the army and the police, the massacres in Kosovo and Milosevic."

and:

"The second part of the process, in which the crimes in Bosnia and Croatia will be at the centre, will be more easy for the prosecutors", Wladimirof thinks. "They have had more time to prepare and they know better the problems. So it cannot be a problem for them to fix completely the evidence against him"

Mr. Milosevic has strongly protested against these pronouncements and he has asked for measures against Wladimiroff. He also demanded access to the press on his turn, in order to get the opportunity to repair the damage, brought about by Wladimiroff upon him.

However, routinely this was refused by the so called tribunal, which gave order to Wladimiroff to deliver a written statement on the matter.

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- 8) violation of a number of specific Dutch regulations, based upon the Dutch Law for lawyers.

K o m m e n t a r :

Zur Rolle der "Freunde des Gericht" im "Verfahren" gegen Slobodan Milosevic

siehe auch folgenden Auszug aus: Klaus Hartmann und Klaus von Raussendorff, "Die dritte Anhörung - Slobodan Milosevic gegen »Haager Tribunal«: Ein Kampf gegen die Globalisierung der Barbarei auf dem Gebiet des internationalen Strafrechts (Teil 1) in: "junge Welt" vom 11. Dezember 2001; <http://www.jungewelt.de/2001/12-11/010.php>:

" »Die drei Anwälte ersetzen keine Verteidiger, die Milosevic weiterhin ablehnt«, berichtet die Frankfurter Rundschau sachlich korrekt. Woher kommt dann aber die völlige Verwirrung über den Status dieser »amici curiae«, zu deutsch »Freunde des Gerichts«, im »Verfahren« gegen Milosevic? Mal sprechen die Medien von »Milosevics Pflichtanwälten« (APA v. 29.10.01). Reuters aus Belgrad nennt den jugoslawischen Anwalt in dem Team einen »Anwalt, der vom UN-Strafgerichtshof ernannt ist, um für Slobodan Milosevic zu agieren«. Dann heißt es wieder, die amici wollten lediglich »dem Gericht übersetzen, was der Angeklagte über die - von ihm bestrittene - Rechtmäßigkeit des Tribunals gemeint hatte« (Der Standard). Milosevics eigener Schriftsatz, der doch wohl für seine eigenständige Verteidigung maßgeblich sein sollte, kommt in den Medien überhaupt nicht vor oder nur so: »Die drei Rechtsexperten haben eine von Milosevic an das UNO-Tribunal verfaßte Motion über die Zuständigkeit des Gerichtes aufgegriffen und dazu kritische Bemerkungen verfaßt.« (Neue Zürcher Zeitung).

Diese Verwirrung geht nicht allein auf das Konto der Journalisten. Sie ist vom »Tribunal« selbst verursacht. Eigentlich ist ein »amicus curiae«, d.h. »Freund des Gerichts«, im angelsächsischen Recht ein »sachverständiger Berater des Gerichts (über Spezialfragen oder fremdes Recht)«. Die Hervorhebungen stehen so im Wörterbuch der Rechts- und Wirtschaftssprache von Alfred Romain, dem die Definition entnommen ist. Anders bei Richter May. Er entschied in der Verhandlung am 30. August 2001, daß ein amicus des »Haager Tribunals« den »Angeklagten« zwar nicht repräsentiert, aber bestimmte Aufgaben, die sonst einem Verteidiger obliegen, unabhängig vom »Angeklagten« übernehmen kann.

Derartige erstaunt kaum bei einem »Gericht«, das, aus keiner bestimmten Rechtstradition schöpfend, seine Verfahrensregeln selbst bestimmen kann. »Tribunal«-intern scheint man sich nicht ganz einig, was internationales Gewohnheitsrecht hinsichtlich des Rechts eines Anklagten auf Vertretung vor Gericht erfordert. Die Anklägerin bestreitet, daß ein Angeklagter das Recht hat, sich selbst zu verteidigen. Obwohl sie sich mit ihrem Antrag, Milosevic einen Zwangsverteidiger zu verpassen, am 30. August eine Abfuhr holte, kam sie am 29. Oktober erneut mit der Behauptung, es gebe kein Recht des Angeklagten, sich selbst zu verteidigen. Frau Del Ponte ist aus größerem Holz geschnitzt. Vielleicht spielt sie hier unbewußt in einem Spiel mit verteilten Rollen. Vielleicht merkt sie tatsächlich nicht, daß die Erfinder der Lösung mit den drei »Freunden des Gerichts« ebenso wie sie nur eins im Sinn haben: Die Position des »Angeklagten« möglichst nicht unverfälscht an die Öffentlichkeit gelangen zu lassen.

Am 30. August verhinderte Richter May sozusagen mit Brachialgewalt, daß Milosevic zur Frage der Gerichtshoheit, d.h. der Illegalität des »Tribunals«, vor der Medienöffentlichkeit ausführlich Stellung nehmen konnte. Er erlaubte einfach nicht die Verlesung des umfangreichen Schriftsatzes. Die Verhinderung des Mündlichen, eines Grundrechts des Angeklagten, sollte dadurch mit dem Schein der Ausgewogenheit bemantelt werden, daß auch Frau Del Ponte nicht gestattet wurde, ihre Anklage in Anwesenheit der Presse zu verlesen. Auch dies ein abgekartetes Spiel; denn das Verlesen der Anklage wurde am 29./30. Oktober ausgiebig nachgeholt. Inzwischen hatten aber die amici curiae in einem Schriftsatz vom 19. Oktober 2001 zu der Frage der Rechtmäßigkeit des »Tribunals« Stellung genommen. Am 30. Oktober durften sie ihre Meinung im Gerichtssaal erläutern. Ergebnis: Kein Wort in den Medien über die substantiellen juristischen und politischen Argumente von Milosevic zur Illegalität des »Tribunals«, statt dessen die Wiedergabe der »Übersetzung« der Meinung des »Angeklagten« durch die amici curiae.

Was zur Rolle der »Freunde des Gerichts« zu sagen ist, hat Milosevic, an Richter May gewandt, mit einer ironischen Formulierung auf den Punkt gebracht: »Was die amici curiae betrifft, habe ich Ihre Erläuterung, als Sie die amici curiae ernannten, dahingehend verstanden, daß ihre Ernennung zu einem fairen Verfahren beitragen soll, wenn es überhaupt in einem derartigen illegalen Verfahren Sinn macht, den Begriff 'fairer Verfahren' auch nur zu erwähnen. Ich denke, daß durch diese Ernennung eine Kollektion neuer Konzepte angereichert wurde. Diese Umstände, unter denen zwei Mannschaften für denselben Zweck arbeiten, könnten nun die Bezeichnung Das Haager Fair Play erhalten. (...) Es freut mich, daß die Herren der Gruppe der amici curiae sich bewußt sind, daß sie nicht in meinem Namen sprechen dürfen, und daß ich mit ihnen nichts zu tun habe.«

Rechtsanwalt Steijnen rügt in Ziffer 3 seiner Beschwerde an die Anwaltskammer, dass Wladimiroff, die Verteidigungsstrategie von Milosevic, die auf der Tatsache aufbaut, dass das "Tribunal" als illegal zu betrachten ist, ins Gegenteil verkehrt, indem er von der Annahme ausgeht, dass das "Tribunal" eine legale Institution ist. Wie trickreich die "Freunde des Gerichts" in dieser Frage agiert haben, ist im zweiten Teil des zitierten Artikels nachzulesen (Klaus Hartmann und Klaus von Raussendorff, Von vornherein Partei - Slobodan Milosevic gegen »Haager Tribunal«: Ein Kampf gegen die Globalisierung der Barbarei auf dem Gebiet des internationalen Strafrechts. Zur dritten Anhörung am 29. / 30. Oktober 2001 (Teil 2 und Schluß) "junge Welt" vom 12. Dezember 2001; <http://www.jungewelt.de/2001/12-12/007.php>):

" Um das Problem des »International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY)« zu lösen, »müßte im Grunde ein rückwirkender Legitimierungsbeschluß der UN-Vollversammlung herbeigeführt werden«, was aber nicht im Interesse der USA und anderer Staaten läge, spekulierte die Berliner Zeitung schon am 3. September und nannte als Ausweg die Einholung eines Gutachtens des ebenfalls in Den Haag angesiedelten Internationalen Gerichtshofes (IGH), des wichtigsten UN-Rechtsprechungsorgans. In dieser Frage rieten nun die »amici curiae«, die drei »Freunde des Gerichts«, dem Tribunal, einen solchen Antrag an den IGH zu stellen. Denn: »Ein kritischer Aspekt der Entscheidungen des ICTY zur Gerichtshoheit (jurisdiction), insoweit seine Errichtung angefochten wurde, ist die Tatsache, daß die Richter des Tribunals über ihre eigene Zuständigkeit zu befinden atten.« Die amici empfehlen daher »eine andere Methode, die Gültigkeit der ICTY-Rechtsprechung zu testen, die kritische Stellungnahmen zur Selbstfeststellung von Rechtsgültigkeit vermeidet.« Das ICTY sei ein »untergeordnetes Organ des Sicherheitsrats«. Daher »könnte argumentiert werden«, daß es »eine inhärente Befugnis besitze, ein Gutachten des IGH einzuholen«. »Rechtliche Hindernisse« stünden dem nicht entgegen. Aber: »Letztendlich könnte der Sicherheitsrat im Namen des ICTY ein Gutachten einholen.« Art. 96 der Charta der Vereinten Nationen besagt, daß nur die Generalversammlung oder der Sicherheitsrat ein Gutachten anfordern können. Andere »Organe« der Vereinten Nationen und »Sonderorganisationen« können dies nur »mit jeweiliger Ermächtigung durch die Generalversammlung«. Soweit der Vorschlag der amici, der gegen Ende der Sitzung vom 30. Oktober von Richter May abgelehnt wurde. "

Wie der niederländische Rechtsanwalt Wladimiroff als einer der drei "Freunde des Gerichts" außerhalb des "Gerichts"saals im Sinne einer Verurteilung von Milosevic agiert, erklärt er selbst in einer Stellungnahme, nachdem er seine persönliche Vorverurteilung in die Welt gesetzt hat, indem er die "Verwirrung" bedauert, meint, er sei leider "missverstanden" worden, aber unverfroren seine Vorverurteilung in raffinierter verschleierter Form wiederholt.

09/16/2002 20:13 CET -- Amicus Curiae At Milosevic Trial Vladimiroff Accepts Responsibility But Denies Contents of Text

The Hague - Dutch lawyer Mikhail Vladimiroff, amicus curiae at Milosevic trial, stated he accepted the responsibility for 'confusion' created by his interview to Dutch press. At the same time he denied its contents.

In a written statement to the judicial council, published today in the Hague Tribunal, Vladimiroff admitted he gave an interview to Dutch press agency ANP. However, he added his words were 'misinterpreted'. 'Haagsche Courant' published his statement of 7 April that the evidence about Kosovo crimes would have been enough to declare him guilty, if the judges were to decide right that same moment.

In my opinion, the content of this article does not reflect the spirit of my conversation with the journalist. The quotations are a false presentation of what I said', stressed Vladimiroff in a statement submitted on request from judicial council. He confirmed he spoke to the journalist of ANP agency about justification of Milosevic trial and the role of amicus curiae and other participants in the process. The article was not submitted to Vladimiroff for authorization, so he thought it was only going to serve as information.

Vladimiroff precised he was unaware the article was published before 11 September, when Milosevic mentioned that before judges. Milosevic then said Vladimiroff 'discredited himself and accused him of prejudicing the decision of the judicial council'. According to Hague Tribunal statute, that was 'obstruction of justice' and 'disrespect for the court'. 'I understand the disturbance on the side of the accused because of my quotations in the article. I am truly sorry that the article made the accused think those were my words. I have acted upon my good will and I had no intention to evaluate the evidence during my meeting with that journalist. I did not authorize the article and if it were shown to me, I would have never authorized it. Just the same, I gave that interview and I accept the responsibility for the confusion its unauthorized publishing caused', stressed Vladimiroff in his statement. He mentioned he later spoke to the journalist who was defending his view of the conversation, but also admitted the article was just his interpretation of what they spoke about. 'I disagree with his interpretation.'

During the discussion about the interview, amicus curiae told judicial council 'he surely did not say there was enough evidence to sentence the accused at that very moment'. 'I said something like: 'In this phase, judging by the evidence presented by the Prosecution, there is a connection between the accused and events in Kosovo. Maybe not all of the events, but even half of it would be enough to be a relevant factor in bringing the decision by the judicial council. But that is a matter of the court.' He confirmed that in a written statement sent to judges.

It is expected in the Hague Tribunal that the judicial council brought some decision soon about this case. Milosevic trial will be continued on 26 September, by presentation of evidence on the indictment for crimes against humanity in Croatia and genocide in Bosnia. The prosecutors finished the presentation of evidence for Kosovo indictment on 11 September.

Klaus von Raussendorff (25.09.02)

[5]

SPENDENAUFUF

FREEDOM ASSOCIATION - YUGOSLAV COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC

TOLGES TOOR D

20-9-2002

KRUISVERHOOR

Yemeni was de laatste getuige van de aanklager die ik heb mogen aanschouwen gedurende mijn bezoek aan het tribunaal. Ook hij verklaarde getuige te zijn geweest van moord op burgers van zijn dorp in Kosovo. Vanuit de zolder van zijn woning zou hij getuige zijn geweest van de moorden en ook zou hij twee Joegoslavische commandanten hebben horen discussiëren over het aantal doden bij de 'slachting' in Racak.

Yemeni, 24 jaar oud, was volgens zijn eigen zeggen burgemeester van de plaats waar deze moorden werden gepleegd. Een stukje van het Kruisverhoor:

M. 'Bent u lid van het UCK?'

Y. 'Ja'

M. 'Bent u lid van een bepaalde politieke partij?'

Y. 'Ja'

M. 'Wat is de naam van die partij?'

Y. 'De Democratische Partij'

M. 'Wie is de leider van die Partij?'

Y. 'De heer Thaci' (Thaci was in 1999 leider van de UCK.

M. 'Wanneer werd u lid van deze partij?'

Y. 'Ik weet het niet'

M. 'U weet niet wanneer u lid werd?'

'Oké, wanneer ongeveer werd u lid?'

Y. 'Ik weet het niet.'

Rechter May: 'Meneer Milosevic, gaat u verder, het is niet relevant dit te weten.'

M. 'Het is zeer relevant. Oke, ik ga verder. Hoe is het mogelijk dat u op zo jonge leeftijd al burgemeester was van uw dorp. Dit is zeer ongebruikelijk.'

Y. 'Ik was burgemeester omdat ik de moderne beschaving vertegenwoordig, in tegenstelling met de achterlijken Serven. Moderne beschaving zoals we nu in Kosovo aan het opbouwen zijn, heeft leiders nodig zoals ikzelf, om ons uit de achterlijkheid te halen waar de Serven ons in hielden'

=====

Gaat u ook eens wat uren naar het Tribunaal. Milosevic zal het op prijs stellen als er belangstelling is. U kunt hem ook steunen door geld naar het steunfonds te sturen. Intussen worden er bij andere gerechtshoven processen gevoerd door hem, die ook belangrijk zijn, maar die wel betaald moeten worden.

Giro 972992 jur. hulp natosve 07 te Zeist.

milos.zet

HET TRIBUNAAL

Slobodan Milosevic eist het vertrek van de Nederlandse advocaat Michail Wladimiroff als "Vriend van het Hof". Hij vindt dat Wladimiroff niet langer als onafhankelijke vriend kan functioneren gezien zijn uitspraak in een interview met de Apeldoornse crt. Daarin zei die advocaat dat er reeds voldoende bewijzen tegen Milosevic gepresenteerd zijn om hem te veroordelen.

Na de kritiek van Milosevic, die hij gisteren uitte tijdens de laatste procesdag over Kosovo, heeft Wladimiroff zijn standpunt mondeling toegelicht.

De drie procesrechters bepalen de komende tijd of de raadsman mag aanblijven. Rechter Richard May benadrukte gisteren al dat het Milosevic-proces voor een professionele rechtbank wordt gevoerd en artikelen in de pers daarop geen invloed hebben.

Wladimiroff en twee andere advocaten werden vorig jaar benoemd om er op toe te zien dat Milosevic een eerlijk proces krijgt in Den Haag. Milosevic weigert zich te laten bijstaan door een advocaat en voert zijn eigen verdediging.

Volgens het aangehaalde artikel wel knap maar hij zou beter uit zijn als hij wel een deskundige genomen had. Zeker iemand die zo'n blunder maakt. Wladimiroff schendt zelfs de rechten van Milosevic. Tegen niemand mag het "schuldig" worden uitgesproken als een rechter dat (nog) niet gedaan heeft.

Blijkbaar ziet Wladimiroff de bui al hangen, want hij vertelde in bedoeld interview reeds al enige tijd te overwegen om op te stappen vanwege onenigheid met de griffier van het tribunaal over vergoedingen. Hij vindt het evenals zijn collega's onaanvaardbaar dat de griffier eerder gemaakte financiële afspraken wil schenden wegens bezuinigingen. Ja, soms noem je iets "betaalde" vriendschap. Ik dacht dat daarvoor een woord was, maar dat had ik mis. Dat was voor betaalde seksuele omgang en niet voor juridische omgang. Mijn excuses.

Maar niet bezuinigen? Kom nou, dat moeten we toch allemaal in het belang van ons land? En we zijn toch allemaal gelijk volgens artikel 1?

=====
ION JOHNSON -in Target- een heel klein gedeelte.

Omdat er van het proces bijna niets meer wordt uitgezonden besloot ik het eens 2 dagen bij te gaan wonen. Omdat ik aantekeningen maakte kreeg ik gezelschap van een Nederlandse student medicijnen. Hij vroeg mij of ik over het proces dacht als hij. : "Ik weet niet veel van dit soort zaken, maar iedereen kan zien dat dit geen behoorlijke procesgang is, nietwaar? De rechter is volledig gekeerd tegen de verdachte. In feite is hij openlijk beledigend tegenover Milosevic, wat is dit voor een vertoning?"

Milosevic 20 sept 2002

Paddy Ashdown kwam zijn verklaring uit, "jouw soliditeit
mestige zelf in Kosovo en adhat 20. Blouyent, kom je van
het ICTY" namens de EU, op een moment dat de NATO
volop bezig was te bombarderen en dus te murderen!
Dit is dus de context van het optreden van Ashdown

Bovendien leeft Ashdown erin dat het UCK een
terroeristische organisatie is.

Als het Joegoslavische tribunal langzamerhand wil
trekken om de eerste verklaring van Ashdown, dan
ook om de tweede!

Maar dat betekent dan dat er, bij het optreden van Milosevic,
vrijwillig gehoorde moet worden de oorlogsverdragen.

Nu zegt Ashdown wel dat er in Ierland geen oorlog
wordt ingezet tegen de IRA, maar in het Midden-
Oosten gebeurt dat met een leger op de oorlogsverdragen,
wel voortdurend.

En eindelijk worden de draagvlakkende verdragen Afrekenen
om zich niet te ontkennen aan de verdragen in het
ICC, is dat zij zeggen dat het oorlogsverdragen, en het
naam de interpretatie van de middeleeuwse verdragen, te
ontwikkelen is.

Op het moment dat Ashdown zijn uitspraak doet, stond de
verdragen paragraaf 101 van de Verdragen dat er 100.000 doden waren
vande de Afrekenen. Milosevic ging uit van zijn eigen kunnen en zij, eigenlijk,
"Je blijft de verdragen van de Afrekenen zijn de Afrekenen" 27

"Dit is er uitspraak en de politiek van de regering komt.
En ik heb me daar niets van aan."

En is deze leze van de Nething gewaagd: "moet u hem
niet de relevantie van stellen?"

van holst en steijnen

Van: "Vladimir Krsljanin" <vlada@sps.org.yu>
Aan: <Undisclosed-Recipient:@smtp.sps.org.yu;>
Verzonden: dinsdag 24 september 2002 15:43
Onderwerp: HAGUE KILLS!

STOP THE MURDEROUS NATO MACHINE AT THE HAGUE

Belgrade, September 24, 2002

In their common press conference the Chairman of the International Committee to Defend Slobodan Milosevic professor Velko Valkanov and the Chairman of the Yugoslav National Committee "Sloboda" Mr. Bogoljub Bjelica sent an appeal to international public to react powerfully in order to stop the mechanism for destruction of human lives and health in The Hague dungeon.

They underlined that it is duty of the Yugoslav authorities as well as of international organizations to prevent the evil machinery which systematically undermines the health of the prisoners, up to most tragic consequences.

Reminding about the exhausting treatment of President Milosevic combined with the negligence about his heart problems by the NATO "tribunal", Valkanov and Bjelica also presented the

INFORMATION ON MURDERS AND**BRUTAL ARRESTS OF SERB PATRIOTS BY NATO HAGUE "JUDICIARY"**

February 1996, near Sarajevo - General Djordje Djukic was arrested and taken to The Hague. He was released only a month before his death caused by pancreas cancer.

June 1997, near Erdut - Former Mayor of Vukovar was arrested after he left a meeting with Jacques Klein, despite security guarantees granted by Mr. Klein. According to the "Tribunal"'s report, he committed suicide in his prison cell at The Hague near the end of 1998.

July 10, 1997, Prijedor - Manager of Prijedor hospital dr Milan Kovacevic was brutally arrested. He died from a heart attack after a year spent in The Hague prison, because of the lack of medical care and belatedly medical assistance.

End of August 1999, Vienna - Col. General Momir Talic, Chief of the Republika Srpska Army Headquarters, was arrested, despite his immunity as a participant of an OSCE Expert Seminar and guest of the Military Academy in Vienna. He has been released recently from the Hague prison for the reason of his serious illness (the lung cancer which escalated due to the lack of medical care).

On July 10, 1997, Sima Drljaca, retired Chief of Prijedor police, was killed in an "arrest attempt" by the British commandos from SFOR, on the shores of Gradina lake. Mr. Drljaca was killed in the presence of his juvenile son.

On January 09, 1998, on the road between Ustipraca and Srbinje, in another "arrest attempt", Dragan Gagovic was brutally killed by shot in the head by SFOR soldiers, who stated that they shot in self-defense. All this happened before the eyes of four kids.

On April 12, 2002, in protest against the treason of the Belgrade puppet regime, which adopted an unconstitutional law on "cooperation" with the NATO tribunal, Vljako Stojiljkovic, MP and former Serbian Minister of Interior, committed a suicide on the stairs of the Yugoslav Parliament building.

To join or help this struggle, visit:

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

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

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

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

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

From: Klaus von Raussendorff <redaktion@aikor.de>
To: Klaus von Raussendorff <raussendorff@web.de>
Sent: Wednesday, September 25, 2002 11:41 AM
Subject: Den Haag: Fortsetzung im Zirkus Del Ponte

Liebe Leute,

das Internationale Komitee für die Verteidigung von Slobodan Milosevic bittet aus Anlass der Fortsetzung des "Prozesses" in Den Haag am 26. September 2002 zu einer Pressekonferenz im Hotel Bel Air (in der Nähe des Tribunals) um 15.30 Uhr. Dazu dokumentiere ich:

DEN HAAG: DER WEG-SCHAUPROZESS GEHT WEITER

Von Klaus Hartmann

(Vizepräsident des Internationalen Komitees für die Verteidigung von Slobodan Milosevic)

[1]

A b d r u c k u n d V e r b r e i t u n g z u m f a i r e n G e b r a u c h
e r w ü n s c h t

ZU PROTOKOLL

MILOSEVIC NIMMT MARKOVIC INS KREUZVERHÖR

Aus: KONKRET 9/02

[2]

PUTSCH IN BELGRAD

Moritz Hunzinger, Einflußagent der Rüstungsindustrie, hat sich nicht nur einen deutschen Verteidigungsminister gehalten, sondern auch den serbischen Ministerpräsidenten aufgebaut

Von Jürgen Elsässer.

Aus: KONKRET 9/02

[3]

DISZIPLINARBESCHWERDE GEGEN EINEN "FREUND DES GERICHTS"

- Erklärung des Rechtsanwalts Nico Steijnen im Namen von Slobodan Milosevic und Kommentar zum Hintergrund der Beschwerde - (18. 09. 02)

[4]

SPENDENAUFTRUF

FREEDOM ASSOCIATION

YUGOSLAV COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC

(07.09.2002)

[5]

Mit internationalistischen Grüßen

Klaus von Raussendorff

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unter "Info-Dienst der AIK" runtergeladen werden

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[1]

DEN HAAG:
DER WEG-SCHAUPROZESS GEHT WEITER

Von Klaus Hartmann*

Am 26. September 2002 beginnt beim Haager "Tribunal" die "zweite Runde" gegen Slobodan Milosevic. Nach vier Wochen Sommerferien gab es Ende August bis zum 11.09.2002 erst noch 14 Tage Nachsitzen zum Thema Kosovo, und nach weiteren vierzehn Tagen Pause will nun "Chefanklägerin" del Ponte mit den nachgelegten "Anlagen" zu Kroatien und Bosnien versuchen, ihr Kosovo-Debakel wieder wett zu machen.

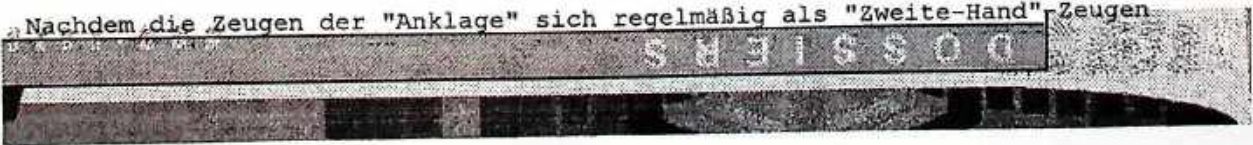
Bloß - wer weiß von dem Debakel? Die "Öffentlichkeit" hat seit Monaten kaum etwas vom Verlauf des "Prozesses" vernommen, da die übergroße Mehrheit aller Medien auf jede Berichterstattung über den Haager Schauprozess verzichtete (gab es nicht einmal so etwas wie die "Chronistenpflicht?"), und auch auf irgendeine Kommentierung der Zwischenbilanz.

Dieses Schweigen ist berechtigt, nichts beweist besser, dass der "Prozess" die Erwartungen der Förderer des "Tribunals" in Den Haag maßlos enttäuscht hat. Was als Schauprozess gedacht war, ist für die Mehrzahl der Medien zum Weg-Schauprozess geworden. Daraus spricht die pure Enttäuschung darüber, dass die erwartete Überführung des allenthalben als "Schlächter vom Balkan" vorverurteilten Delinquenten nicht gelang und in den Augen der rapide abnehmenden Zahl von "Prozess"-Beobachtern auch immer unwahrscheinlicher wird.

Dass Del Ponte das Blatt zu ihren Gunsten wenden könnte, wird überwiegend bezweifelt, wie an den wenigen vereinzeltten Berichten dieses Sommers zu erkennen ist: "Zweifel sind angebracht, ob das Tribunal seine Aufgaben tatsächlich in der vorgesehenen Frist erfüllen kann", meldet das Neue Deutschland am 22.06.2002: "Denn es knirscht merklich im Getriebe des Internationalen Gerichtshofes, dessen Tätigkeit immer weniger Aufmerksamkeit findet." Und in seiner Ausgabe vom 05.08.2002 sieht das gleiche Blatt die Sommerpause als Erholung für eine genervte Mannschaft dringend geboten: "Der Haager Strafgerichtshof für das ehemalige Jugoslawien (ICTY) macht Urlaub. Die Damen und Herren scheinen es nötig zu haben, denn die Stimmung in den Büros ist denkbar schlecht. Der alles andere als günstig verlaufende Prozess gegen Slobodan Milosevic" habe "Carla Del Ponte nervlich offenbar ziemlich belastet. So erzählt etwa eine Juristin, die mit Del Pontes Stellvertreter Geoffrey Nice in einigen Gremien sitzt, vom nicht gerade motivierenden Umgang der Schweizerin mit ihrer Mannschaft: 'Sie kritisiert ihre Mitarbeiter lautstark vor versammeltem Team.' Besonders Geoffrey Nice dürfte Ziel des Zorns der resoluten Frau Del Ponte sein. Er musste in den letzten Wochen immer öfter eine Bürde auf sich nehmen, die sich die Chefanklägerin zu erfolgreicherer Zeiten nicht nehmen ließ: die Anklage gegen Slobodan Milosevic zu managen. Fast scheint es so, als suche Del Ponte nach einem Ausgang aus dem durchwachsenen Prozess."

Die Neue Zürcher Zeitung am 20.06.2002 attestiert, dass der "Angeklagte" die "Kreuzverhöre ... in den vergangenen vier Monaten zum Teil überzeugend geführt hat. Gelegentlich sogar dermaßen gut, dass sich der Beobachter im Gerichtssaal die Frage stellte, wer denn eigentlich in diesem Prozess angeklagt ist."

Nachdem die Zeugen der "Anklage" sich regelmäßig als "Zweite-Hand"-Zeugen



NATO- oder CIA-Angehörige, oder auf Politiker, die ihren seit Jahren notorischen Serbenhass auch in Den Haag "bezeugten". Sie bewiesen in erster Linie ihre verbohrt ideologische Sichtweise, worin sie freilich mit qualifizierten "Tribunals"-Personal übereinstimmten.

Allerdings war diesen "Hochkarättern", u.a. William Walker, der "Massaker"-Entdecker, NATO-General Naumann, Kolonialgouverneur Ashdown und Rambouillet-Erpresser Petritsch, noch eine besondere Funktion in der "Beweisführung" zugeacht. Um zu einem Schuldspruch zu kommen, muss nach den selbstverfassten Regeln dieses "Tribunals" nicht bewiesen werden, dass Slobodan Milosevic Verbrechen geplant oder befohlen hat, allein, wenn er von ihnen erfahren und sie nicht verhindert habe, ist er schuldig. Doch selbst grundsätzliche Anhänger des "Tribunals" äußern Zweifel, dass dies Del Ponte gelungen sei.

Klaus Bachmann ist einer der wenigen Journalisten, die zumindest alle paar Wochen mal aus Den Haag berichten, mal mehr, mal weniger objektiv. In der Frankfurter Rundschau vom 07.08.2002 schrieb er unter der bemerkenswerten Überschrift "Im Haager Tribunal gegen Slobodan Milosevic regiert der Zufall, die Wahrheit über Jugoslawien wird dabei nicht herauskommen":

"Belasten einzelne Zeugen den Angeklagten, weil sie gegen ihn oder sein Land voreingenommen sind? Nato-General Klaus Naumann hat Milosevic schwer belastet mit seiner Aussage, dieser habe Schnaps trinkend Massaker an Albanern angekündigt und sei von ihm über das Massaker in Racak informiert worden. Das würde nach dem Statut des Tribunals für eine Verurteilung genügen - wenn Milosevic seinerseits damals Anlass hatte, Naumann zu glauben. Wie glaubwürdig waren für Milosevic Naumanns Worte, wusste er doch, dass alle Informationen von dem US-Diplomaten William Walker stammten?"

Welchen Einfluss Walkers proalbanische Haltung auf seine Haltung gegenüber Milosevic damals und auf seine Aussage vor dem Tribunal hatte, wurde nie ausgelotet, bedauerte das NRC Handelsblatt am Tag nach Walkers Auftritt in den Haag."

Nach mehreren weiteren Beispielen kommt Bachmann zu dem Schluss: "Das Beweismaterial, das die Richter würdigen sollen, ist weniger Ergebnis einer unabhängigen, unparteiischen Ermittlung, als ein Zufallsprodukt, bei dessen Zustandekommen die Machtverhältnisse in den Herkunftsländern der Zeugen die entscheidende Rolle spielen. Ganz gleich, wie das Urteil der Richter am Ende lauten wird: wird man es fair nennen können, wenn es sich nur auf jenen Teil der Beweise stützt, die dem Gericht gerade zugänglich waren?"

Am 26. Juli 2002, dem letzten Verhandlungstag vor der Sommerpause sollte nach vielen Flops endlich ein ernsthafter Schlag gegen den Angeklagten geführt werden. Die Anklage hatte einen "Insider", einen Kronzeugen geladen, den früheren Chef der jugoslawischen Staatssicherheit, Rade Markovic. Der war allerdings zuvor von den Belgrader NATO-Statthaltern um Djindjic und Co. inhaftiert und für den Prozess präpariert worden, sodass eine schriftliche Aussage Markovics vorlag, die den früheren jugoslawischen Präsidenten beschuldigte, die planmäßige Vertreibung der Kosovo-Albaner angeordnet zu haben. Entsprechend gut gelaunt und erwartungsfroh war del Ponte und ihr Anhang.

Doch in der Neuen Zürcher Zeitung vom 27.07.2002 musste man lesen: "Einer der wichtigeren Zeugen im Haager Prozess gegen den früheren jugoslawischen Präsidenten Milosevic zu Kosovo, der frühere serbische Geheimdienstchef Rade Markovic, hat sich am Freitag vor dem Uno-Kriegsverbrechertribunal von einer schriftlichen Erklärung distanziert, die er früher in Belgrad unterzeichnet hatte. Markovic, der zur Befragung aus seiner Untersuchungshaft in Belgrad nach Den Haag überstellt wurde, erklärte, er habe das Papier zwar unterschrieben, den Inhalt jedoch nicht gelesen. Ihm sei der Vorschlag unterbreitet worden, eine neue Identität anzunehmen und sich ins Ausland abzusetzen. Als Gegenleistung sei von ihm verlangt worden, Milosevic zu

belasten; andernfalls müsse er mit ernsthaften Konsequenzen rechnen."

Im Kreuzverhör bestätigte Markovic hingegen ausdrücklich die Existenz der Befehle zum Schutz der gesamten Zivilbevölkerung ohne Unterschied der Nationalität, zum Verbot von Plünderung und Brandschatzung sowie zur Ahndung von Kriegsverbrechen, die durch Angehörige der Armee oder Polizei begangen worden waren. Der vorsitzende "Richter" May wollte verständlicherweise nicht hören, dass die Methoden der Aussageerpressung, die gegen Markovic angewandt wurden, ein Verstoß gegen die UN-Erklärung gegen die Folter von 1988 darstellt - für May war damit der Punkt erreicht, Slobodan Milosevic wieder das Mikrofon abzustellen. Aber auch die hörbaren Äußerungen wurden nur spärlich und nur von wenigen Medien berichtet, und von der Öffentlichkeit kaum wahrgenommen. Trotzdem war dieser Verhandlungstag der bis dato größte anzunehmende Reifall im Zirkus del Ponte, von dem sich die gesamte "Anklage" bis zur Unterbrechung am 11.09.2002 nicht mehr erholte.

Das Internationale Komitee für die Verteidigung von Slobodan Milosevic zieht aus dem Fiasko von Del Pontes "Kosovo-Anklage" den zwingenden Schluss, dass die unverzügliche Freilassung des "Angeklagten" überfällig ist. Zumal der jetzt beginnende Schauprozess über Kroatien und Bosnien nur noch weniger Verwertbares zu Tage fördern kann: Slobodan Milosevic wird als ehemaliger Präsident Serbiens angeklagt, für Ereignisse, die in anderen Ländern stattfanden, an denen andere Armeen beteiligt waren, die unter anderem Befehl gestanden haben. Die gesamte "Anklage" ist eine einzige Konstruktion, und zwar aus der Geschichtsfälscherwerkstatt, um die Verantwortung der Westlichen Mächte, insbesondere Deutschlands und der USA, an der Zerstörung Jugoslawiens zu verdecken. Zur Durchsetzung ihrer Deutungshoheit und Definitionsmacht hält sich die NATO den Zirkus del Ponte. Wie lange noch?

*Klaus Hartmann ist Vizepräsident des Internationalen Komitees für die Verteidigung von Slobodan Milosevic, Sprecher der Deutschen Sektion

<http://www.free-slobo.de>

[2]

Aus: KONKRET 9/02

ZU PROTOKOLL
MILOSEVIC NIMMT MARKOVIC INS KREUZVERHÖR

Mit dem Prozeß gegen Slobodan Milosevic geht es wie mit Dow Jones und Dax: Immer mal wieder werden neue Tiefststände gemeldet - jedenfalls für diejenigen, die in das Den Haager Jugoslawien-Tribunal investiert haben.

Mittlerweile gibt es ernstzunehmende Insider-Meldungen, daß Chef-Anklägerin Carla del Ponte das sinkende Schiff verlassen und sich einen neuen Job suchen will. Anlaß für ihre Frustration könnte der 26. Juli gewesen sein: Am letzten Verhandlungstag vor der Sommerpause sollte nach vielen Flops endlich ein ernsthafter Schlag gegen den Angeklagten geführt werden. Die Anklage hatte einen hochkarätigen Zeugen geladen, den früheren Chef der jugoslawischen Staatssicherheit, Rade Markovic. Markovic war im März 2001 verhaftet und seither für den Prozeß präpariert worden. Dem Gericht lag eine schriftliche Aussage Markovics vor, in der er den früheren jugoslawischen Präsidenten beschuldigte, die planmäßige Vertreibung der Kosovo-Albaner angeordnet zu haben. Milosevic nahm den Zeugen ins Kreuzverhör

Milosevic: ... Du hast unzählige Berichte, die von Angehörigen aller Ebenen der Staatssicherheit angefertigt ... und in die Zentrale geleitet wurden, gelesen. Ist es so?

Markovic: So ist es.

Milosevic: ... Bekamst du irgendeinen Bericht oder irgendwann den Befehl, die Albaner mittels Gewaltanwendung aus dem Kosovo zu vertreiben?

Markovic: Nein, so einen Bericht habe ich weder bekommen noch darüber etwas gehört ...

Milosevic: Hast du irgendwelche Informationen bekommen, die auf die Existenz so eines Befehls, eines Plans, einer Anordnung hinweisen könnten, oder daß irgendwie suggeriert wurde, die Albaner gewaltsam zu vertreiben?

Markovic: Nein, ich habe niemals so eine Information bekommen, es gab keine Andeutungen, ich kenne keinen Plan, die Albaner zu vertreiben.

Milosevic: Du hast an Sitzungen teilgenommen, und zwar nicht nur auf der Ebene des Innenministeriums und anderer Ministerien und der Armee, sondern auch an Sitzungen bei mir. Erinnerst du dich, daß auf diesen Sitzungen gerade das Gegenteil angeordnet wurde, nämlich der Schutz der Zivilisten während unserer Aktionen gegen die Terroristen?

Markovic: Natürlich. Verpflichtend war nicht nur der Schutz der serbischen, sondern auch der albanischen Bevölkerung. Die Angehörigen der Sonderpolizei (Mup) hatten die Aufgabe, die einen wie die anderen zu schützen ...

Milosevic: Hast du irgendwann einmal gehört, daß irgend jemand bei der Polizei oder dem Militär die Vertreibung oder nationalistische Diskriminierung von Zivilisten befohlen, angestiftet, geplant oder nahegelegt hat?

Markovic: Nein, so etwas habe ich niemals gehört ...

Milosevic: Lag dir im hier behandelten Zeitraum irgendein Bericht darüber vor, daß Angehörige der Staatssicherheit oder der Sicherheitsorgane irgendwelche Kriegsverbrechen im Rahmen eines Planes begangen haben, den die Staatssicherheit, die Polizei oder die Sicherheitsorgane ... konzipiert hatten?

Markovic: Nein. Kein Verbrechen. Ich bekam keinerlei Informationen über solche Kriegsverbrechen. Im Kosovo haben einzelne Militär- oder Polizeiangehörige Straftaten verübt. Die uns bekannt gewordene Vorfälle wurden gemäß der Vorschriften geahndet und vor Gericht verhandelt. Und dazu wurde gestern hier ein Dokument (der Armee; Anm. KONKRET) vorgelegt, in dem in Punkt 8 steht, daß man alle Straftäter identifizieren muß ...

Milosevic: ... Kannst du dich an Befehle aus dem Oberkommando erinnern, die durch alle Kommandoebenen zirkulierten ..., in denen verlangt wurde, die Kriegsgefangenen in Einklang mit den Bestimmungen und Richtlinien des internationalen humanitären Rechts, des Kriegsrechts und der Genfer Konvention zu behandeln? ...

Markovic: Ja ...

Milosevic: Kannst du dich ... an die Sonderbefehle des Oberkommandos erinnern, in denen Brandschatzungen albanischer Häuser und Entwendung des persönlichen Eigentums von Albanern verboten wird?

Markovic: Das wurde mehrfach befohlen, und auf das Verbot der Brandschatzung und der Plünderung haben Sie, Vertreter des Innenministeriums und Vertreter des Militärs insistiert ...

Milosevic: ... Ist es richtig, daß man dich verhaftet hat, um Druck auf dich auszuüben, damit man mich anklagen kann?

Markovic: Ja, deswegen haben sie mich verhaftet.

Milosevic: Hier steht, was du gegenüber den Untersuchungskommissionen der (jugoslawischen; Anm. KONKRET) Bundesregierung ausgesagt hast: "Sie verlangten von mir, Slobodan Milosevic zu belasten, und sie verlangten, daß ich Straftaten zugebe und dazu aussage, sie seien mir von Milosevic befohlen worden." Ist das so?

Markovic: Ja, so ist es. Mir ist gesagt worden, daß ich persönlich in diesem Falle nicht zur Rechenschaft gezogen werden würde, sondern daß ich frei in ein Land meiner Wahl ausreisen könnte und eine neue Identität bekäme ...

Milosevic: ... Vom Ende deines Studiums bis zu deiner Verhaftung hast du bei der Polizei gearbeitet. Ist es richtig, daß ein Untersuchungshäftling ausschließlich in der Obhut des Gerichts sein darf und nicht in der der Polizei?

Markovic: Nach unserer Strafprozeßordnung befindet sich ein Gefangener ausschließlich in der Obhut des Gerichtes ...

Milosevic: Ist es richtig, daß im Gefängnis sogar die Wärter keine Angehörige des Innenministeriums, sondern Angehörige des Justizministeriums sind, also nach der staatlichen Gewaltenteilung der Judikative unterstehen?

Markovic: Die Wärter im Gefängnis unterstehen dem Justizministerium.

Milosevic: Ist es richtig, daß dich Angehörige der Staatssicherheit illegal und ohne Genehmigung des Gerichts aus dem Gefängnis geholt haben, um auf dich Druck auszuüben ...?

Markovic: Die Angehörigen der Staatssicherheit hatten keine Genehmigung des Untersuchungsrichters, mich hinauszubringen. Sie hatten nur eine Genehmigung, mit mir innerhalb des Gefängnisses zu sprechen.

Milosevic: Ist es auch richtig, daß man dich nach einem Monat U-Haft zu einem Gespräch, an dem auch Innenminister Mihajlovic beteiligt war, hinausbrachte ...?

Markovic: Zum ersten Mal sprachen sie nach einem Monat Gefängnis mit mir. In den folgenden Monaten sprachen sie mehrmals mit mir. Ich habe buchstäblich meine Dienstübergabe im Gefängnis gemacht ... Nach vier Monaten Gefängnis brachten sie mich hinaus, zu einem Treffen mit Petrovic, dem Chef der Staatssicherheit, seinem Vertreter Zoran Mijatovic und mit Innenminister Mihajlovic. Das haben sie selber zugegeben, allerdings behaupteten sie, sie hätten damit einem Antrag von mir entsprochen.

Milosevic: Ist es auf deinen Antrag hin geschehen?

Markovic: Wenn es sich um einen von mir gestellten Antrag gehandelt hätte, hätten sie auch eine Genehmigung des Untersuchungsrichters vorlegen müssen, und sie hätten mich nicht zum Abendessen ausgeführt.

Milosevic: Ist es richtig, daß sie dir ... angeboten haben, daß du nur sechs Monate Gefängnis bekommst, wenn du bereit bist, mich fälschlich zu belasten?
...

Markovic: Sie sprachen über meine schwere Lage und machten mich auf alle möglichen weiteren Konsequenzen aufmerksam. Dann boten sie mir als Alternative an, Milosevic als Auftraggeber der Verbrechen zu beschuldigen, dadurch werde meine Verantwortung getilgt.

Milosevic: Ist es weiterhin richtig, daß sie dir auch eine neue Identität, die Ausreise in ein anderes Land und lebenslange finanzielle Unterstützung für dich und deine Familie angeboten haben, wenn du mich fälschlich

beschuldigst? ...

Markovic: Ja, das ist richtig.

Milosevic: Ist dir auch bekannt, daß die UN-Generalversammlung im Jahr 1988 eine Erklärung gegen Folter verabschiedet hat, wonach ein solches Verhalten wie dir gegenüber, also Gefangene durch Drohungen und Erpressung zu Aussagen zu zwingen, ausdrücklich verboten ist? Ist dir bekannt ...

(Richter Richard May schaltet Milosevic das Mikrofon ab)

May: ... das ist nicht relevant für diesen Zeugen in diesem Verhör. ... Wir werden uns hier nicht darüber unterhalten, was in Jugoslawien in der Zeit seiner Verhaftung geschah. Wie Sie wissen, interessiert uns, was im Kosovo passiert ist.

Milosevic: Herr May, das Verhalten des Marionetten-Regimes in Belgrad ist vollkommen identisch mit der falschen Anklage, die ...

May: Genau das wollen wir hier nicht behandeln ...

Milosevic: Ich habe sehr viele Fragen zu stellen.

May: Bitte, Herr Milosevic, gehen Sie zu einem anderen Thema über ...

(Milosevic befragt Markovic zu dessen schriftlicher Aussage, wonach Milosevic auf einer Sitzung während des Krieges die Beseitigung von Albaner-Leichen aus dem Kosovo und ihre Verbringung nach Zentralserbien befohle habe.)

Milosevic: ... Ist es richtig, daß deine hier vorliegende Aussage von genau den Leuten vorgelegt wurde, die dich schon seit eineinhalb Jahren traktieren?

Markovic: Ja, das war ein Gespräch mit diesen Leuten ...

Milosevic: ... Habe ich in dieser Sitzung in irgendeiner Form darüber gesprochen, Beweise über irgendein Verbrechen zu beseitigen?

Markovic: Nein, Sie haben nur die Assanierung genehmigt. (Das serbische Wort asanacija, das Markovic hier verwendet, entspricht dem deutschen Fremdwort Assanierung, das dem Nomen Sanierung verwandt ist und laut Lexikon von dem Verb assanieren = "gesund machen, hygienisch verbessern" stammt; Anm. d. Ü.)

Milosevic: Versteht man unter Assanierung ... Minenräumung, Beseitigung giftiger Chemikalien, Versorgung von Verwundeten und Gefallenen, Instandsetzung von Wasserinstallation, Stromversorgung und Infrastruktur sowie überhaupt von allem, was nach dem Ende der Kampfhandlungen ein normales Leben ermöglichen kann? Stimmt das, oder stimmt das nicht?

Markovic: Ja, das versteht man unter Assanierung.

Milosevic: Benutzte irgend jemand in der Sitzung das Wort Assanierung im Sinne der Vertuschung von irgendwelchen Verbrechen? Sprach überhaupt jemand über Verbrechen und über deren Vertuschung?

Markovic: Nein, niemand ...

Milosevic: Wann hast du zum ersten Mal über den angeblichen Transport von Leichen nach Zentralserbien gehört?

Markovic: Das habe ich zum ersten Mal im Gefängnis gehört ...

Übersetzung aus dem Serbokroatischen: Biljana van der Loo

Aanklacht Milosevic: volkerenmoord

(Van onze redactie buitenland)
AMSTERDAM - In het proces tegen Slobodan Milosevic is vandaag de zwaarst mogelijke aanklacht in stelling gebracht. De voormalige president van Joegoslavië wordt beschuldigd van genocide, gepleegd in Bosnië. Hij is, zo zegt hoofdaanklager Carla del Ponte, verantwoordelijk voor de dood van tienduizenden mensen, en ook voor verkrachting, marteling, deportatie, onwettige gevangenneming en plundering.

Het proces tegen Milosevic is vandaag hervat, na een zomerreces van enkele weken. Tot nog toe was alleen zijn rol bij het geweld in Kosovo aan de orde geweest, maar vanaf vandaag gaat het om Bosnië en Kroatië, waar zich de gruwelijkste episodes van de Joegoslavische oorlogen afspeelden: de verwoesting van Vukovar, de belegering van Sarajevo, het bloedbad in Srebrenica, de moorden en verkrachtingen in kampen als Omarska. Dit waren de ernstigste schendingen van de mensen-

rechten sinds de Tweede Wereldoorlog", aldus de aanklager. "En Slobodan Milosevic is daarvoor verantwoordelijk."

Del Ponte haalde in haar korte openingspleidooi fel uit naar Joegoslavië. Dat land ondermijnt nog steeds de pogingen het internationale recht te laten gelden. "Ik heb de hoop opgegeven dat Belgrado getuigen aanmoedigt, ik vraag alleen dat ze toestemming krijgen om te komen," aldus Del Ponte vanochtend.

• Lees verder op pagina 7

Promovendus Sluiter over proces tegen Joegoslavische ex-president 'Slobodan Milošević laat stekken vallen'

Ex-president Milošević zou voor het Joegoslavië-tribunaal op strafvermindering hebben kunnen rekenen als de 'vrienden van het hof' beter hadden opgelet, meent jurist Göran Sluiter.

Door onze redacteur
CEES BANNING

UTRECHT, 25 SEPT. Het was niet volgens de 'internationale spelregels'. Dat vindt de jurist Göran Sluiter van de overdracht van Slobodan Milošević door de Joegoslavische regering aan het VN-tribunaal in Den Haag. Op het moment van die uitlevering, op 28 juni 2001, had het Joegoslavische Constitutionele Hof nog geen uitspraak gedaan over de rechtmatigheid daarvan. De rechters van het Hof waren door de advocaten van de ex-president bijeengeroepen en betoogden dat Milošević uitlevering in strijd was met de Joegoslavische grondwet. Het Hof oordeelde dat alle procedures voor de overdracht van Joegoslavische staatsburgers aan het tribunaal gestopt moesten worden.

"Toch is Milošević uitgeleverd. Hij zou in staat moeten zijn gesteld om alle juridische stappen in zijn eigen land af te werken. Dat is niet gebeurd", constateert Sluiter die vandaag aan de Universiteit van Utrecht promoveert op de sa-

menwerking tussen landen en het Joegoslavië- en Rwanda-tribunaal en het Internationaal Strafhof. (*)

De 31-jarige jurist erkent dat Milošević uiteindelijk toch in de Scheveningen-gevangenis zou zijn beland omdat Joegoslavië als lid van de VN verplicht is om samen te werken met het tribunaal. Maar de incorrecte wijze waarop het volgens hem is gegaan is wel degelijk van belang. "Een goede advocaat zou dit zeker bij de rechters aan de orde hebben gesteld en het zou uiteindelijk tot een strafvermindering hebben kunnen leiden." De rechters hebben drie 'amici curiae' (vrienden van het hof) benoemd toen bleek dat Milošević geen advocaat wilde. De 'amici' moeten erop toezien dat het proces eerlijk verloopt. Hadden zij de rechter hier niet op moeten wijzen? Sluiter: "Ik vind dat de amici een steek hebben laten vallen."

Als Milošević begint aan zijn verdediging, kan hij dit punt nog aanvoeren, maar dan heeft het volgens Sluiter geen enkel effect meer. "Het Angelsaksische common-law stelsel, waarop het VN-tribunaal stoelt, is vrij resoluut. Fouten voordat het proces begint kunnen later niet meer worden hersteld."

Twee belangrijke verdachten van het tribunaal, de Bosnisch-Servische leider Radovan Karadžić opperbevelhebber Ratko Mladić zijn nog niet steeds niet gearresteerd en uitgeleverd. Welke mogelijkheden biedt het internationaal recht.



G.K. Sluiter (Foto Evelyne Jacq)

Sluiter: "De landen waar ze zich waarschijnlijk bevinden - Karadžić in het Servische deel van Bosnië en Mladić in Joegoslavië - zijn verplicht om ze uit te leveren, maar het ontbreekt het tribunaal op dit moment aan middelen om er druk achter te zetten. Bij uitlevering van Milošević funderde een bedrag van 1,3 miljard dollar als pressiemiddel. Dit bedrag zou Joegoslavië mislopen wanneer de verdachte niet zou worden uitgeleverd."

Over de rol van de internationale troepenmacht, SFOR, bij arrestaties van verdachten bestaan verschillende interpretaties. Openbaar aanklager Carla Del Ponte vindt het de plicht van SFOR om verdachten te

arresteren en over te dragen. De SFOR zelf beklemtoont dat het handhaven van de vrede in gevaar kan komen wanneer Karadžić zou worden gearresteerd en uitgeleverd. Welke interpretatie is juist? "Ik neig naar de SFOR-uitleg."

Hebben de aanklagers de eerste zeven maanden van het proces de aanklacht inzake Kosovo bewezen?

"Ja. Ze hebben aannemelijk gemaakt dat Milošević op de hoogte is geweest van de gruweldaden in Kosovo. Als president van het Joegoslavië gaf Milošević leiding aan het leger. Hij heeft niets ondernomen om de oorlogsmisdaden te stoppen en heeft ook degene die ervoor verantwoordelijk waren niet laten berechten. Ik vind dat de aanklagers de zogenoemde commando-verantwoordelijkheid volledig hebben bewezen."

Morgen begint het tweede deel van het proces over de oorlogen in Kroatië (1991-1995) en Bosnië (1992-1995), waarbij Milošević wordt aangeklaagd voor oorlogsmisdaden respectievelijk volkerenmoord.

"Dat wordt een hele opgave. De aanklagers zullen genocide moeten bewijzen in een land, Bosnië, waarover Milošević geen zeggenschap had. Ze moeten ook bewijzen dat de troepen die in Bosnië actief waren door Milošević werden gestuurd. Dat is niet makkelijk."

In uw dissertatie constateert u dat de positie van advocaten bij het Joegoslavië- en Rwanda-tribunaal slecht is geregeld. Wat betekent dat voor de rechtsgang?

"De verdediging is niet gelijkwaardig aan de aanklagers en voor een eerlijk proces is dat geen goede zaak. De aanklagers hebben bijvoorbeeld alle mogelijkheden om bewijsmateriaal te verzamelen en zij genieten optimale bescherming door het tribunaal. Voor de advocaten geldt dat niet, die worden vaak tegengewerkt wanneer ze op locatie bewijsmateriaal verzamelen."

Hebben de VN-rechters daar genoeg begrip voor?

"Ik vind: te weinig. Wanneer Milošević bijvoorbeeld zou zeggen: ik wil de vorige Amerikaanse president, Bill Clinton, oproepen als getuige, dan zouden de rechters zich daar volledig voor moeten inzetten. Maar ik voorzie - als zo'n verzoek er komt - dat ze zullen tegen-sputeren gezien diens status."

Is de positie van advocaten bij het internationaal strafhof sterker?

"Beter, maar nog niet optimaal. Het strafhof kan profiteren van de ervaringen van het Joegoslavië- en Rwanda-tribunaal. Maar het nieuwe strafhof is geen VN-instelling en dat zet het op achterstand. Staten die niet meedoen met het hof hebben geen enkele verplichting tot samenwerking."

* International Criminal Adjudication and the Collection of Evidence: Obligations of States. ISBN 90-5095-227-5.

Vervolg van pagina 1

Hoofdaanklaagster Del Ponte wil de zaak-Milosevic in mei afgerond hebben. Ze is van plan de misdaden in Bosnië voor het voetlicht te brengen door zich speciaal te richten op de dood van naar schatting achtduizend mannen in Srebrenica. Zes andere gevallen van het moorddadig oprollen van moslingemeenschappen moeten de rest van het bewijs leveren.

Milosevic gaf leiding aan de operaties, als hoofd van een 'gemeenschappelijke criminele onderneming', waarvan ook Radovan Karadzic en Ratko Mladic deel uitmaakten, aldus de aanklacht.

Tienduizenden Bosniërs, met name moslims, werden uit hun woonplaats verdreven zodat de door Bosnische Serviërs gedomineerde gebieden zich aan zouden kunnen sluiten bij een 'Groot-Servië'. Om de Bosnische Serviërs te steunen gaf Milosevic volgens de aanklagers financiële, logistieke en politieke steun. Hij controleerde het presidentiële viermanschap van wat er over was van Joegoslavië en had zodoende zeggenschap over het Joegoslavische volksleger.

Eenheden van het reguliere Joegoslavische leger namen actief deel aan gevechtshandelingen aan de zijde van de Bosni-

Milosevic leider van criminele organisatie

sche Serviërs. Daarnaast dienden veel Joegoslavische officieren in het leger van de Republika Srpska. Ook steunde Milosevic de Servische milities die in Bosnië actief waren, aldus de aanklagers van VN-hof.

In een tweede aanklacht, die betrekking heeft op de oorlog in Kroatië (1991-1992), worden Milosevic misdaden tegen de menselijkheid, oorlogsmisdaden en schendingen van de Geneefse conventies ten laste gelegd. De aanklacht bevat 32 pagina's, waarin het vermoorden van honderden Kroaten de hoofdmoot vormt. In twintig afzonderlijke paragrafen worden de executies van soms enkele individuen, soms hele groepen gedetailleerd behandeld.

De aanklacht is voor het overige een opsomming van etnische

zuiveringen, mishandelingen en verwoestingen, aangericht door het reguliere leger en door de milities van figuren als Arkan en Seselj. Volgens de aanklager had Milosevic controle over deze moorddadige bendes. Hij was bovendien als president van Servië politiek verantwoordelijk.

De huidige president van Kroatië, Stipe Mesić, zal een van de belangrijkste getuigen tegen Milosevic zijn. Mesić heeft aangekondigd uit de doeken te zullen doen hoe Milosevic in het begin van de jaren negentig de macht in het collectieve presidentschap van Joegoslavië volledig naar zich toe trok.

Daarmee is hij volgens Mesić de kwade genius achter de elkaar opvolgende oorlogen, die tussen 1991 en 1995 over het land trokken, totdat de Navo er in Kosovo een eind aan maakte.

Mesić heeft gisteren bij zijn eigen regering aangedrongen op samenwerking met het tribunaal. Hij keert zich tegen het besluit om de voormalige legerleider Janko Bobetko niet aan Den Haag uit te leveren.

"Zes jaar geleden aanvaardde Kroatië een wet over samenwerking met het tribunaal. Wij zijn een verplichting aangegaan en de wereld verwacht van ons dat wij ons aan ons woord houden," aldus Mesić in een toespraak die de televisie uitzond.

ICDSM www.icdsm.org

**THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE
to Defend SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC**

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on the

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OF THE NATO CRIMINAL "JUDICIARY"

- **the real face of NATO is least covered under the bombs and at The Hague**
- **after the total failure of the "Kosovo indictment", "Croatia and Bosnia indictments" are senseless**

**BEL AIR HOTEL, THE HAGUE,
THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 15:30**

Participants:

Nico VARKEVISSER, Vice Chairman, Spokesman, ICDSM, Chairman, "Global Reflection", Amsterdam

Bogoljub BJELICA, Acting President, Socialist Party of Serbia, Belgrade

Klaus HARTMANN, Vice Chairman, ICDSM, Chairman, German Section ICDSM, Chairman, World Union of Freethinkers

Professor Kostas ALYSSANDRAKIS, Member of EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, Athens

Misha GAVRILOVICH, British-Serbian Alliance, London

Nico STEIJNEN, Lawyers' Group, ICDSM, legal counsel of President Milosevic in Dutch and European Courts, Amsterdam

Vladimir KRSLJANIN, Member, ICDSM, International Secretary, Socialist Party of Serbia, Belgrade

van holst en steijnen

Van: "CDSM" <cdsm_b@btopenworld.com>
Aan: <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>
Verzonden: vrijdag 27 september 2002 10:15
Onderwerp: Milosevic rejects the tribunal's
 Milosevic rejects the tribunal's legitimacy

Thursday, 26 September, 2002, 04:06 GMT 05:06 UK

As the trial of former Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic enters its second phase in The Hague, the BBC's Alix Kroeger looks at some key points in the prosecution's case.

In November 1994, Dzenana Sokolovic, 31, and her seven-year-old son Nermin Divovic were fired on while walking in Sarajevo.

More than 7,000 Muslims were killed in the Srebrenica massacre

Ms Sokolovic was wounded by a bullet, which passed through her and hit her son in the head, killing him.

Nermin's death is catalogued in the indictment against former Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic for war crimes in Bosnia.

When the Bosnia phase of Mr Milosevic's trial opens on Thursday, the prosecution will be trying to prove the most serious charge on the book: genocide.

And it won't be easy.

Difficult task

As well as genocide, Mr Milosevic is indicted for crimes against humanity and grave breaches of the laws and customs of war - legal phrases which cover some of the bloodiest events of the Bosnian war.

The prosecution is criticised for not presenting a watertight case

These include the siege of Sarajevo, the Srebrenica massacre, and the detention camps at Trnopolje and Omarska. This phase of the trial will also cover incidents in Croatia.

The difficulty for the prosecution will be to link these events directly to Mr Milosevic: that, as the indictment claims, he "planned, instigated, ordered, committed...or otherwise aided or abetted" these war crimes.

In Kosovo, covered by the first phase of the trial, Mr Milosevic, as Yugoslav president, clearly had some authority over the Yugoslav army.

Whether or not he is legally responsible for the army's activities will be up to the judge to decide.

In Bosnia, the issue is a little different.

The Bosnian Serbs had their own leadership - Radovan Karadzic, their president, and his military commander, General Ratko Mladic.

Both are under indictment for war crimes themselves, both remain at large.

Mr Milosevic was indisputably in close contact with the Bosnian Serb leadership, but the lines are much more blurred.

Milosevic's self-defence

For a genocide conviction to be secured, the court has to be satisfied the defendant deliberately set out to remove an entire ethnic group.

Karadzic is still at large

So far, the prosecution has only secured one conviction for genocide - against General Radislav Krstic, one of the commanders on the ground at Srebrenica in 1995, when more than 7,000 Bosnian Muslim men were killed by the Bosnian Serb army.

None of this is likely to trouble Mr Milosevic.

He has refused to recognise the tribunal or the charges against him, and is conducting his own defence, including the cross-examination of witnesses.

Despite his training as a lawyer, the former president seems less concerned with the legal aspects of his trial - such as disproving the evidence against him - and more with playing to the gallery, his audience in Serbia.

Witnesses' credibility

But the prosecution has stumbled, too.

It promised insider witnesses who would pin responsibility for Kosovo directly on Mr Milosevic.

By no means all of them have obliged. The former head of the Serbian secret police, Rade Markovic, told the court his forces had strict orders to protect civilians.

In the case of one insider witness, Ratomir Tanic, there were serious questions about his credibility.

Mr Tanic changed his statement, saying at first he'd heard Mr Milosevic give orders in a face-to-face meeting, then later claiming he'd eavesdropped on one of the president's phone conversations.

The political party to which Mr Tanic said he belonged denied he had ever been a member.

Running behind schedule

However, protected witness K-34 described in court how Serb forces had orders to slaughter villagers in Kosovo to "cleanse" the province of Albanians.

When Mr Milosevic questioned his evidence, the witness, a Yugoslav army private, retorted, "You weren't there - I was."

With indictments spanning three different wars, hundreds of thousands of victims, and thousands of possible witnesses, the Milosevic trial had the potential to run for years.

But the tribunal set a strict timetable. Prosecutors have until 18 May 2003 to make their case.

Between now and then, they intend to call 177 witnesses, 71 for Croatia, and 106 for Bosnia.

But the trial is running behind schedule. Mr Milosevic has fallen ill twice, causing hearings to be suspended until he recovered - in one case, for two weeks.

'Kangaroo court'

However, not all the evidence will be heard in court. This is not a jury trial; the judge alone will decide on Mr Milosevic's guilt or innocence.

The prosecution has collected written witness statements to support evidence presented in open court.

There is a lot riding on this case: not just for Mr Milosevic, or the tribunal, but the countries of the former Yugoslavia too.

In Serbia itself, coverage has been muted.

Mr Milosevic has played on the widespread perception that this is victors' justice, a kangaroo court biased against Serbs.

The prosecution has emphasised that it is putting an individual on trial, not an entire people. Mr Milosevic has sought to create exactly the opposite impression.

Even if the prosecution secures a conviction, it may never convince the people of Serbia that justice has been done.

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/world/europe/2282328.stm>

van holst en steijnen

Van: "CDSM" <cdsm_b@btopenworld.com>
Aan: <Undisclosed-Recipient;>
Verzonden: vrijdag 27 september 2002 10:12
Onderwerp: Facing genocide charge, Milosevic says "I was peacemaker."
 AFP (with additional material by AP). 28 September 2002.
Facing genocide charge, Milosevic says "I was peacemaker."

THE HAGUE – Former Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic insisted Thursday he had worked for peace in the Balkans unlike the Western "imperialist powers" as prosecutors opened their genocide case against him in Europe's biggest war crimes trial since World War II.

In an uninterrupted two-hour monologue, he threw blame back at western powers, singling out Germany and the United States. Their quick recognition of independence for respectively Croatia and Bosnia after the old Yugoslav federation broke up in the early 1990s fanned nationalist sentiment, he said.

In Croatia, he said, this encouraged the extreme nationalism of what he called the inheritors of the World War II nazi puppet regime, and in Bosnia, the "expansion of Islamic fundamentalism" under then Muslim president Alija Izetbegovic.

To back up his assertions, Milosevic showed 45-minute video at the start of his opening statement with a compilation of statements by Western politicians and journalists recalling the break-up of Yugoslavia by the unilateral declarations of independence of Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia.

The tape started with nazi hunter Simon Wiesenthal saying the political program of Croatian leader Franjo Tudjman was a "re-take" of fascist Ustasa regime that persecuted Serbs, Jews and gypsies.

Prosecutors at the UN court in The Hague said the former Yugoslav president was the leading figure behind the bloodshed as his trial moved on after seven months from Kosovo to deal with the wars in Bosnia and Croatia.

The 61-year-old Serb, facing the most serious charge of genocide, again rejected the accusations and painted himself as a man who worked to stop the violence, which left at least 225,000 people dead.

"I personally invested all my powers in achieving peace," said Milosevic, who was dressed as usual in a dark blue suit and red tie in the Yugoslav national colours.

The prosecution maintains that Milosevic was part of a "joint criminal enterprise" in which he had great influence over Serb leaders and their forces in Croatia and Bosnia, but Prosecutor Geoffrey warned against casting him as the "sole architect" of the bloodshed.

"This may be the reality of the accused's personal history – he, being a man committed to the plan, whom others looked to for leadership," Nice said.

But Milosevic, who gave a bolsterous and impressive performance in the first part of the trial as he carried out his own defence, told the court he had "worked for peace (and) not as a protagonist of war" in the Balkans.

Milosevic said Yugoslavia had been used as a pawn by foreign powers "to achieve imperialist goals," and that the prosecution's version of events was "an attempt to falsify history."

He conceded that war crimes had indeed been committed.

"War crimes existed on all three sides but this was not the policy and no such climate was created," he said.

"I am not challenging that Serbs helped the Serbs to survive in Bosnia and Croatia," he told the court.

"I should be recognized for fighting for peace," he said. "The only war was a war against Yugoslavia" by the Western powers.

He also again went on the attack, saying that the Serbian people had suffered a "decade-long demonisation" in which economic sanctions were slapped against Yugoslavia in what can "only be qualified as genocide."

Milosevic faces life in prison if convicted by the UN tribunal, which he again called "illegal" and "part of the war" he claims has been waged against the Serbian people.

International Committee to Defend Slobodan Milosevic
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<http://www.icdsm.org/more/blewitt.htm>

Jared Israel Questions
Hague "Prosecutor" Blewitt
With commentary by Andy Wilcoxson
[27 September 2002]

Jared Israel, Vice chairman of the ICDSM and editor of Emperor's Clothes questioned the Deputy Prosecutor of the so-called Hague "Tribunal" regarding the testimony of the former security chief of Serbia, Radomir Markovic.

Mr. Markovic had testified that he was pressured and tortured by Serbian security officials who work with the "tribunal".

How did Mr. Blewitt respond to these charges? See for yourself.

Blewitt Interview (5.8 MB RealAudio File)
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******* Urgent Message from Sloboda (Freedom) Association and the International Committee to Defend Slobodan Milosevic!**

The Freedom Association in Belgrade and the ICDSM, based outside Yugoslavia, are the two organizations formed at the request of Slobodan Milosevic to aid in his defense.

Up until now our main work has been threefold. We have publicized the truth about The Hague's phony trial. We have organized research to help President Milosevic expose NATO's lies. And we have initiated legal action in the Dutch and European Courts.

Now our job has increased. The defense phase of the "trial" starts in May 2003. No longer will Mr. Milosevic be limited to cross-examining Hague witnesses. The prosecution will be forced further onto the defensive as victims of NATO's aggression and experts from Yugoslavia and the NATO countries tell what really happened and expose media lies. Moreover, Mr. Milosevic will call leaders, from East and West, some friendly and some hostile to the truth.

The controlled mass media will undoubtedly try to suppress this testimony as they have tried to suppress Mr. Milosevic's cross-examinations. Nevertheless this phase of the "trial" will be the biggest international forum ever to expose NATO's use of racism, violence and lies to attack Yugoslavia.

We urgently need the help of all people who care about what is happening in The Hague. Right now, Nico

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

10-10-02

Steijnen, the Dutch lawyer in the ICDSM, is waging legal battles in the Dutch courts and before the European Court, about which more news soon. These efforts urgently require financial support. We now maintain a small staff of Yugoslav lawyers in Holland, assisting and advising Mr. Milosevic full-time. We need to expand our Dutch facilities, perhaps bringing in a non-Yugoslav attorney full-time. Definitely we must guarantee that we have an office and office manager available at all times, to compile and process evidence and for meetings with witnesses and lawyers and as a base for organizing press conferences.

All this costs money. And for this, we rely on those who want Mr. Milosevic to have the best possible support for attacking NATO's lies.

Here's how you can help...

* You can contribute by credit card. By the end of September we will have an ICDSM secure server so you can contribute directly on the Internet.

For now, you can contribute by credit card in two ways: *

You can Contribute by Credit Card over the Telephone by calling:

ICDSM office, USA: 1 617 916-1705

SLOBODA (Freedom) Association office, Belgrade: 381 63 279 819

You can Contribute using PayPal at:

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Rajiceva 16, 11000 Belgrade, FR Yugoslavia

Thank you!

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Van: "CDSM" <cdsm_b@btopenworld.com>
Aan: <Undisclosed-Recipient:>
Verzonden: vrijdag 27 september 2002 09:59
Onderwerp: Jared Israel Interrogates Hague "Tribunal" Prosecutor Blewitt

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Jared Israel Interrogates Hague "Tribunal" Prosecutor Blewitt
With commentary by Andy Wifcoxson
[27 September 2002]
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Mr. Markovic had testified that he was pressured and tortured by Serbian security officials who work with the "tribunal".

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Milošević: NAVO greep in Bosnië in na complot

2002

DEN HAAG, 28 SEPT. De moord op zeventuizend moslims na de val van de Bosnische moslimenclave Srebrenica is het werk geweest van „extremistische huurlingen”. Volgens Slobodan Milošević zou deze „waanzinnige misdaad” zijn gebruikt als rechtvaardiging voor militair ingrijpen van de NAVO in het conflict in Bosnië.

• Pagina 5

van holst en steijnen

Van: "Vladimir Krsljanin" <vlada@sps.org.yu>
Aan: <Undisclosed-Recipient:@smtp.sps.org.yu;>
Verzonden: zaterdag 5 oktober 2002 14:02
Onderwerp: ATTACK ON LIFE OF PRESIDENT MILOSEVIC

SAVE HIS LIFE!



**WHOLE-DAY-LONG 'COURT' PROCEEDINGS
HAVE STARTED AGAIN!**

**IT IS AN INTENTIONAL ATTACK ON LIFE OF
PRESIDENT MILOSEVIC BY NATO TRIBUNAL!**

RESPONSIBLE SHOULD BE PROSECUTED!

After more than three months the "trial" of President Milosevic was going on only in morning sessions, last Thursday the "trial chamber" returned to earlier practice of whole-day-long hearings. This was after the same "trial chamber" weeks ago

publicly admitted existence of serious health and life risks for President Milosevic and declared that tempo of the "trial" will be slowed down and President Milosevic will have more days for rest.

President Milosevic, with malignant hypertension and heart damages, still has no specialists' medical care.

Death of six prisoners (all of them were Serbs) was caused by the "tribunal" - in three cases it was due to lack of medical assistance or due to improper medical care.

We call all supporters of freedom and all National Committees to mobilize medical doctors and lawyers to react to this criminal practice at The Hague.

UN is still giving auspices to the criminal NATO martial court.

Address your government, which is UN member!

Address UN Security Council and Secretary General!

They are being involved in a crime!

Save the life of President Milosevic!

Send copies of your letters of protest and demands to protect humanity to the "tribunal" as well. Here is their address:

ICTY

Churchillplein 1, 2517 JW The Hague

P.O. Box 13888 EW The Hague

The Netherlands

Fax No. +31 70 512 8637

People of Serbia and Yugoslavia require your urgent reaction!

SLOBODA/FREEDOM Association

Why they are threatening the life of President Milosevic?

Because they can not defeat TRUTH he is expressing!

And the truth is powerful. Because of that truth people of Serbia support President Milosevic!

Everything started exactly two years ago. In the US/NATO sponsored coup on October 5, 2000, the Government of People's Unity of President Milosevic was overthrown.

Nation went into DARKNESS!

Let us recall the warning to the nation by President Milosevic:

The URL for this article is <http://emperors-clothes.com/news/milosevi2.html>

www.tenc.net
[Emperor's Clothes]

Miloshevich's Speech to the Nation

Delivered Monday, October 2, 2000

Translated by Emperor's Clothes

"Honored citizens,

In the expectation of a second round of election, I'd like to take the opportunity to explain my views on the political situation in our country, especially in Serbia. As you know, efforts have been

underway for a whole decade to put the whole Balkan Peninsula under the control of certain Western powers. A big part of that job was accomplished by establishing puppet governments in some countries, by transforming them into countries with limited sovereignty or no sovereignty at all.

Because we resisted, we have been subjected to all the pressures that can be applied to people in today's world. The number and intensity of these pressures multiplied as time went by.

All the experience that the big powers gained in the second half of the 20th century in overthrowing governments, causing unrest, instigating civil wars, disparaging or liquidating national freedom fighters, bringing states and nations to the brink of poverty - all this was applied to our country and our people.

The events unfolding around our elections are part of the organized persecution of our country and our people because we constitute a barrier to the full domination of the Balkan Peninsula.

For a long time there has been a grouping among us which, under the guise of being pro-democratic, have in fact represented the interests of the governments attacking Yugoslavia, especially Serbia.

During the elections that group called itself the 'Democratic' Opposition of Serbia.

Its boss is not its presidential candidate.

Its boss is the president of the Democratic Party. For years he has collaborated with the military alliance that attacked our country. He could not even hide his collaboration. In fact, our entire public knows that he appealed to NATO to bomb Serbia for as many weeks as necessary to break its resistance.

So the 'democratic' grouping organized for these elections represents the armies and governments which recently waged war against Yugoslavia.

At the behest of these foreign powers our 'democrats' told the people that they would make Yugoslavia be free of war and violence, that Yugoslavia would prosper, the living standard would improve visibly and fast, that Yugoslavia would rejoin international institutions, and on and on.

Honored citizens,

It is my duty to warn you publicly, while there is time, that these promises are false. The situation is quite different.

It is precisely our policy which allows peace and theirs which guarantees lasting conflict and violence, and I shall tell you why.

With the establishment of an administration supported or installed by NATO, Yugoslavia would quickly be dismembered.

These are not NATO's intentions alone. These are the pre-election promises of the Democratic Opposition of Serbia. We have heard from its representatives that [the section of Serbia known as

the] Sandzak would get the autonomy advocated by one of its coalition members, Sulejman Ugljanin, leader of a separatist Muslim organization. This autonomy, which Sulejman Ugljanin has been advocating for ten years, would in fact mean a definite separation of Sandzak from Serbia.

Their promises also include giving [the Serbian Province of] Vojvodina an autonomy that would not only separate it from Serbia and Yugoslavia but would in fact make it an integral part of neighboring Hungary.

In a similar manner other areas would be separated from Serbia, especially its border areas.

The annexation of these areas by neighboring states has for a long time been a hot issue in those states which have continuously incited their minorities in Yugoslavia to help integrate parts of our country into neighboring states.

Within this policy of dismembering Yugoslavia, Kosovo would be the first victim. Its present status would be proclaimed legal and final. It is the first part of Serbian territory to which Serbia would have to bid farewell, without even a hope that we could reclaim this part of our country.

The territory that would be left to bear the name Serbia would be occupied by international forces, US or some other. They would treat our land as their military training ground, as their private preserve, to be controlled in accord with the interests of the occupying power.

We have been looking at cases of such control and its consequences for decades, and especially in this past decade, in many countries around the world, unfortunately lately even in Europe, for instance in Kosovo, Republic of Srpska and Macedonia, in our immediate neighborhood.

The people of Serbia would know the fate of the Kurds, with a prospect of being exterminated more speedily than the Kurds since they are less numerous, and since their movements would be limited to a much smaller area than the one in which Kurds have been present for decades.

As for Montenegro, its fate would be left in the hands of the Mafia, whose rules of the game should be made well known to the citizens: any breach of discipline and especially any opposition to Mafia interests is punishable by death without any right to appeal.

I have presented you the fate of Yugoslavia in the event that the NATO option were accepted in order to warn you that, in addition to loss of land and the humiliation of the people, all would live under a regime of ceaseless violence.

The new owners of what had been Yugoslavia's state territory and the occupiers of what was left of Serbian territory would, predictably, terrorize the population whose territory they had seized.

The Serbian people would be forced to fight continuously for the re-establishment of a Serb state in which the people could reassemble.

These Imperial powers do not want peace or prosperity in the Balkans. They want this to be a zone of permanent conflicts and wars which would provide them with an alibi for maintaining a lasting presence.

A puppet administration therefore guarantees violence, possibly many years of war, anything but

peace. Only self-administration makes peace possible.

And there is more. All countries finding themselves with limited sovereignty and with governments controlled by foreign powers, speedily become impoverished in a way that destroys all hope or more just and humane social relations.

A great division into a poor majority and a rich minority, this has been the picture in Eastern Europe for some years now that we can all see.

That picture would also include us. Under the control of the new owners of our country we too would quickly have a tremendous majority of the very poor, whose prospects of coming out of their poverty would be very uncertain, very distant.

The rich minority would be made up of the black marketeering elite, which would be allowed to stay rich only on condition that it was fully loyal to the outside, controlling powers.

Public and social property would quickly be transformed into private property, but its owners, as demonstrated by the experience of our neighbors, would be foreigners. Among the few exceptions would be those who would buy their right to own property by their loyalty and submission, which would lead to the elimination of elementary national and human dignity.

The greatest national assets in such circumstances become the property of foreigners, and the people who used to manage them continue to do so, but as employees of foreign companies in their own country.

National humiliation, state fragmentation and social misery would necessarily lead to many forms of social pathology, of which crime would be the first. This is not just a supposition, this is the experience of all countries which have taken the path that we are trying to avoid at any cost.

The capitals of European crime are no longer in the west, they were moved to Eastern Europe a decade ago.

Our people find it hard to bear even the present crime incidence, because for a long time, from World War II to the nineties we lived in a society which knew hardly any crime. This tremendous increase in crime, such as cannot be avoided in a society such as we would become with the loss of our sovereignty and a large part of our territory, such wider crime would be as dangerous for our people, few in numbers and unused to crime, just as war is dangerous for society and its citizens.

One of the essential tasks of a puppet government in any country, including ours, were we to have such a government, is loss of identity.

Countries under foreign command quickly forget their history, their past, their tradition, their national symbols, their way of living, often their own literary language.

Our national identity would be scrutinized, invisibly at first, but very efficiently and mercilessly, and certain aspects of national identity would be selected, reducing it to a few local dishes, a few songs and folk dances, with the names of national heroes used as brand names for food products or cosmetics.

One of the really obvious consequences of the takeover of countries by the big powers in the 20th century is the annihilation of the people's national identity.

The experience of other countries shows that people can hardly come to terms with the speed with which they must start using a foreign language as their own, identifying with foreign historic figures while forgetting their own, becoming better acquainted with the literature of their occupiers than with their own, glorifying the history of others while mocking their own, so that they come resemble others instead of themselves.

The loss of national identity is the greatest defeat a nation can know, and it is inevitable under the contemporary form of colonization.

Besides, by its very nature, this new form of colonization rules out any possibility of free speech or free will, and especially rules out creativity of any kind.

Countries that are not free deny to the people who live in them the right to free speech; free speech would cause problems in the absence of freedom.

This is why torture over wrong thoughts is the most consistent and essential form of torture in a country that has lost its freedom. As for exercising free will, it is, naturally, out of the question. Free will is allowed only as a farce. It is allowed only to the lackeys of foreign masters, whose simulated free will is used by the occupiers as a justification for establishing a 'democracy' in whose name they take and hold another people's country.

I would like to stress particularly to young people, intellectuals, scientists, that countries deprived of sovereignty are as a rule deprived of the right to creative work, and especially creative work in the field of science.

Large centers and large powers finance scientific work, control its attainments and decide about the application of its results. Even if dependent states do have scientific laboratories and scientific institutes, these are not independent ones; rather they operate as branches controlled by one center. Their attainments must remain within definite limits so as not to introduce in occupied countries and occupied peoples the seed of rebellion and emancipation.

Now we are in the period before the run-off elections. The 'Democratic' Opposition of Serbia doubts it can achieve the result it needs. Therefore leaders of this Opposition are trying to stop production, all work, all activity. Using money that's being shipped into the country, they are bribing some, blackmailing or harassing others, organizing strikes, unrest and violence.

The idea is to stop life in Serbia while offering the bait that life can start again and prosper if only it is organized by those who represent, within Serbia - what do they represent? The plans and interests of the would-be occupiers.

Our country is a sovereign state. It has its laws. It's own Constitution and institutions. Serbia deserves and is duty bound to defend itself from this invasion which has begun with these staged disruptions and false promises of quick improvement.

And citizens should know, that if some do participate in this subversion whose objective is foreign domination over and occupation of their country then they will shoulder the historical

responsibility not only of denying to their country the right to exist but also of losing control over their own lives.

By giving up their country to others, to a foreign will, they will also surrender to a foreign will their own lives and the lives of their children and many other people.

I considered it my duty to warn the citizens of our country about the consequences of the activities financed and supported by the NATO governments.

Citizens, you must make up your own minds whether to believe me or not. My only wish is that they do not realize I am telling the truth when it is too late, that they do not realize after it has become so much more difficult to correct mistakes that some people have made, naively, superficially or erroneously. Some of those mistakes would be difficult to rectify and some would never be rectified.

My motive in expressing my opinion in this way is not personal; not at all. I was twice elected president of Serbia and once president of Yugoslavia. It should be clear to all, after the past ten years, that NATO isn't attacking Serbia because of Milosheвич; it is attacking Milosheвич because of Serbia.

My conscience in that respect is clear. But my conscience would not be clear if I did not tell my people, after all these years as their leader, what I think will happen if they let their fate be imposed by a hostile, outside force, even if it appears that they have chosen that fate for themselves.

The misjudgment they would make by 'choosing' what has been chosen for them, is the most dangerous misjudgment possible. That is why I am publicly addressing the citizens of Yugoslavia today.

Thank you."

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YOUR DONATIONS ARE OF THE UTMOST IMPORTANCE FOR OUR STRUGGLE

Here's how you can help...

* You can contribute by credit card. Soon we will have an ICDSM secure server so you can contribute directly on the Internet.

For now, you can contribute by credit card in two ways: *

You can Contribute by Credit Card over the Telephone by calling:

ICDSM office, USA: +1 617 916-1705

SLOBODA (Freedom) Association office, Belgrade: +381 63 8 591 569

You can Contribute using PayPal at:

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

PayPal accepts VISA and MasterCard

You can Contribute by mail to:

ICDSM

831 Beacon St., #295

Newton Centre, MA 02459 (USA)

- OR -

You can Contribute by wire transfer to Sloboda Association

Intermediary:

UBS AG

Zurich, Switzerland

Swift Code: UBSWCHZH

Account with:

/ 756 - CHF

/ 840 - USD

/ 978 - EUR

Komercijalna Banka AD

Sv. Save 14, 11000 Belgrade, FR Yugoslavia

Swift Code: KOBYYUBG

Beneficiary:

Account No. 5428-1246-16154-6

SLOBODA

Rajiceva 16, 11000 Belgrade, FR Yugoslavia

- OR -

You can also send money to Belgrade using Western Union to our address:

SLOBODA

Rajiceva 16, 11000 Belgrade, Yugoslavia

In this case, don't forget to inform us about the amount of money you've sent by telephone +381 63 8 591 569 or by fax +381 11 639 152 or send us e-mail to vlada@sps.org.yu

Thank you!

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.lcdsm.org/> (the international committee to defend Slobodan Milosevic)

van holst en steijnen

From: CDSM <cdsm_b@btopenworld.com>
To: <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>
Sent: zaterdag 31 augustus 2002 02:39
Subject: Jared Israel Interviewed On BBC

<http://emperors-clothes.com/audio/bbc823.htm>

EMPEROR'S CLOTHES, Thursday, August 29, 2002

Jared Israel Interviewed On BBC

Page set up by John Flaherty
 [Posted 29 August 2002]

The BBC's Bill Hayton interviewed Jared Israel on August 23rd. Excerpts from the interview were used in a BBC feature story which can be read at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/world/europe/2220997.stm>

The feature story is balanced for the most part. But it leaves out much of the interview. To hear the whole original interview on RealPlayer audio, go to <http://emperor.vwh.net/Audio/bbc823.rm>

Below is Full Transcript of BBC Interview

BBC - 23 August 2002

BILL HAYTON: Can I credit you as from the International Committee?

JARED ISRAEL: I'm the vice-chairman of the international committee. One of the vice-chairmen.

BILL HAYTON: Right

JARED ISRAEL: And I edit the website - www.icdsm.org

BILL HAYTON: Who do you think's winning in the courtroom?

JARED ISRAEL: Well, I think everybody thinks Milosevic is winning. The question is whether it's a rigged battle. That is, if the fix is in, in a prizefight, it doesn't really, then, mean that because one person is winning that he will necessarily win, right? Because the judges have already decided.

And the judge in this case is manifestly on the prosecution side. That was very clear on the 26th, on the last day's testimony when Mr. Markovic was asked by Mr. Milosevic, "Is it true that you were tortured?" And he said, "Yes." And judge May said this doesn't have any relevance to the evidence, which this witness has given here, none at all. Whether he was tortured.

Now that's a trial-stopping issue. In other words, it's our position that, since their main prosecution witness - because he's not in the KLA and he's not Paddy Ashdown, that is an operative of the British special forces and the special representative of the British government 10 times going to Yugoslavia, and he's not one of the leaders of the Kosovo verification mission, and he's not in the CIA and he's not therefore William Walker, but he was actually the leader of the Serbian security police - was brought in to testify and said he was tortured to give false evidence...that's what he said....

BILL HAYTON:right

JARED ISRAEL: Now, how can you continue the trial then? And they continued. So the trial is now a dead thing walking. That is our position.

BILL HAYTON: I mean...you accept that war crimes were committed in Kosovo...

JARED ISRAEL: Yeah, by NATO and the KLA on a grand scale

BILL HAYTON: But you're confident there were no war crimes committed at all by any Yugoslav security forces in Kosovo?

JARED ISRAEL: I'm not, nobody in the world could ever make a statement like that about any security force in any war.

And as a matter of fact one of the points that Milosevic and Rade Markovic, who was the leader of that force and who is the prosecution witness, made is that several hundred people in the army and I assume in the security forces were prosecuted by the Yugoslav government for committing atrocities.

Now. Does the fact that they prosecuted members of the security forces and the army for committing atrocities mean that there were no atrocities? No, it means there were. But, since that happens in every war, the crucial question is whether an army prosecutes those people who do such things. And I would hold that against the record of Britain in the Falklands [Islands]; I would hold it against the record of Britain and the US in Afghanistan.

Who's being prosecuted for atrocities in Afghanistan? What pilots in the US, Britain or Germany were prosecuted for bombing civilians during the attack on Yugoslavia? Why haven't Blair and Clinton been prosecuted for launching an aggressive war? But Yugoslav soldiers and members of the security forces, according to Rade Markovic, were prosecuted.

So, yes, of course, atrocities occur, but that is the opposite of an official policy of having them, isn't it? When you prosecute the people who do it, you discourage it.

BILL HAYTON: The prosecution is now trying to prove that the orders to commit those atrocities, such as they were, came from the top

JARED ISRAEL: But that would be remarkable, wouldn't it? To order people to commit atrocities and then prosecute several hundred people who did? As far as I know, one person was prosecuted in the Vietnam War for committing atrocities. Two and a half million people were killed, atrociously.

BILL HAYTON: Ok, but...

JARED ISRAEL: Now in the case of Kosovo, when the US attacked the country, the only people who have been prosecuted for committing atrocities, were prosecuted by Yugoslavia. Where has the US prosecuted anyone?

BILL HAYTON: Ok. So, do you think the prosecution has or has so far - looking at the trial - proved a link between Milosevic and the action of the troops on the ground ...

JARED ISRAEL: First of all, the actions of the troops on the ground, from everything that has come out in the testimony, have been remarkable and a model of how you combat terrorism without flattening the country as the US has been doing in Afghanistan - and mark you "not" it's own country - whereas this Kosovo "is" part of Serbia - that's point one. So, secondly, of course he's connected with the [action of the troops on the ground] - he was the head of the country - that doesn't mean that he oversaw every action. But [in] setting general policy, the president of the country is the commander and chief; in Yugoslavia, [he] is the commander and chief of the armed forces.

Milosevic has not denied in fact he's affirmed that he had a large role in setting policy, he and the people who are also in the government with him.

And one of the policies he set was to prosecute people who committed atrocities.

Now, we have a book on the website I edit which is emperor's clothes at www.tenc.net; we have a book written by two Yugoslav army generals, including Yugoslav army orders which are very strict in calling for the immediate arrest of any soldier who violates the strict - the "treasuring" - and they use the word, "sacred" - of prisoners and the treasuring of civilians. That's the opposite of an official policy of persecuting and atrocities. So, in answer to your question, yes there is a connection between Milosevic and the policies of his government, which includes the army.

---NOTE: The book, "The Other Side of the Story," can be read at <http://emperors-clothes.com/book/book1.htm>

As for the specific command structure, no, he was not involved in day-to-day specific decisions about specific people; that's absurd.

So, I'm saying, number 1, what they're saying happened, didn't happen. There was not an official policy of atrocities. There was an official policy of opposing them. He was responsible, in part, for that policy. Therefore he's a hero. That's what they've shown so far. Their witness, their prosecution witness, whom they tortured to get him to say Milosevic was guilty, came in and said this. And said he was tortured.

And Judge May said that's irrelevant.

You know what Gandhi said about Western Civilization? He said it would be a good idea.

BILL HAYTON: Ok. Thank you very much.

JARED ISRAEL: Thank you.

van holst en steijnen

From: Vladimir Krsljanin <vlada@sps.org.yu>
To: <Undisclosed-Recipient:@smtp.sps.org.yu;>
Sent: vrijdag 6 september 2002 20:53
Subject: FUND RAISING FOR FREEDOM

FREEDOM ASSOCIATION

YUGOSLAV COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC

FUND RAISING APPEAL

TO ALL PEOPLE WHO CARE ABOUT SOVEREIGNTY AND JUSTICE

Dear friends,

- **The first phase of the heroic struggle of President Milosevic against the ruthless NATO machinery at The Hague is about to finish. The so-called "prosecution case on Kosovo" is being finished without any evidence. Our common demand is - stop that dangerous farce and admit the truth visible to everybody - even according to the Rules of the so-called "tribunal", there is no ground to continue!**
- **Knowing the enemy - we can not count on justice. If the clear and well-founded demand to free Slobodan Milosevic is not accepted, the big question is how to proceed?**
- **All our achievements in preparing the facts necessary to support President Milosevic's struggle until now has been based on voluntary work and the submissions of Yugoslav patriots. Our small funds have been barely enough to cover the stay at The Hague of one legal assistant to President Milosevic. The financial situation of the kidnapped President Milosevic and his support team (The Freedom Association - The Yugoslav Committee) is much worse than the situation of any other Hague prisoners, because their lawyers recognize the "tribunal" and receive substantial financial backing from it. Our resources will be completely**

insufficient to continue!

- The next phase requires parallel work on the "prosecution case on Croatia and Bosnia", an analysis of the whole completed part of the "process", the preparation of Yugoslav and foreign witnesses for the "defense case" (planned to start at mid-May 2003) - which means interviews sometimes linked with travel abroad, collection of documents, and finally covering of the expenses of witnesses at The Hague. For all this to be accomplished we would need at least 100.000 EUR every month.
- The Belgrade regime, in contrast to the behavior of any normal government and despite the Constitutional obligation to help it's citizens in legal need abroad, and in contrast even to Croatia and both entities of Bosnia, is not only leaving us without any financial support nor access to state archives, but is producing obstacles to the defense of President Milosevic at every step.
- That's why we need organized fund raising actions and serious donations from abroad. Please contact us if any further clarification is needed.

- Our contacts:

FREEDOM ASSOCIATION

Rajiceva 16, 11000 Belgrade, Yugoslavia

telephone: +381 63 279 819

fax: +381 11 639 152

e-mail: vlada@sps.org.yu

- Our Bank account:

INTERMEDIARY: UBS AG

ZURICH, SWITZERLAND

SWIFT CODE: UBSWCHZH

ACCOUNT WITH: / 756 - CHF

/ 840 - USD

/ 978 - EUR

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SV. SAVE 14, 11000 BELGRADE, FR YUGOSLAVIA

SWIFT CODE: KOBBYUBG

BENEFICIARY:

ACCOUNT No. 5428-1246-16154-6

SLOBODA

RAJICEVA 16, 11000 BELGRADE, FR YUGOSLAVIA

- . HELP THE VICTORY OF TRUTH AND JUSTICE OVER NATO!**

- . FOR THE SAKE OF THE PEACE, EQUALITY AND PROGRESS OF MANKIND,**
DO NOT ALLOW A NATION TO BE KILLED!

- . SO HELP THE STRUGGLE OF SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC!**

**On behalf of FREEDOM Association,
International Coordinator**

Vladimir Krsljanin

To join or help this struggle, visit:
<http://www.sps.org.yu/> (official SPS website)
<http://www.belgrade-forum.org/> (forum for the world of equals)

<http://www.icdsm.org/> (the international committee to defend Slobodan Milosevic)
<http://www.jutarnje.co.yu/> ('morning news' the only Serbian newspaper advocating liberation)



In Stritici, een dorp bij de Bosnische stad Banja Luka, hielden Bosnisch-Servische nationalistinnen in juli een manifestatie, waarbij afbeeldingen van hun Servische helden, onder wie Ratko Mladić, Radovan Karadžić en Slobodan Milošević (onderste rij vlnr) te koop werden aangeboden. Foto AP

Twee jaar duurt het proces tegen de vroegere Joegoslavische president Milošević. Op verzoek van deze krant wonen schrijvers een zittingsdag van het tribunaal bij. 'Nu wordt hun afgedankte Milošević ergens ver weg berecht door de vijand, de overwinnaar. Hoeveel betekent dat in Servië?', vraagt Dirk van Weelden zich af.

Dirk van Weelden

Frank 2002

Recht en rede op ijle hoogte

De rechtszaak tegen Slobodan Milošević is goed beschermd. Door hoge hekken, kogelwerend glas en gewapende VN-soldaten in gesteven hemden. Ze zien toe op de paspoortcontrole, de röntgeninspectie van de bagage en het fouilleren van bezoekers. Als zo'n soldaat je recht aankijkt en vraagt of je een mobiele telefoon hebt, gezeind die in de kluisjes in het poortgebouw moeten achterblijven, komt het niet in je op daar moeilijk over te doen. Ook al is je onduidelijk waarom.

Al die beveiliging is tenslotte alleen maar bedoeld om iedereen tegen te houden die geweld in de zin heeft. En de spelregels verbieden geweld. Binnen tellen alleen het overtuigende bewijs, de woorden van een geloofwaardige getuige, het sterkste argument en de tekst van de wet.

Wat zich tegenover de publieke tribune aan gene zijde van de wand van kogelvrij glas afspeelt is saaiër dan de saaiere rechtbankfilm. En dat is de betrokkenen aan te zien ook. Omringd door ordners met onvoorstelbare hoeveelheden dichtgedrukt papier, kijken de rechters moe en bezorgd naar de verrichtingen van aanklager, getuigen en beklagde, die zichzelf verdedigt. Als de president van het hof het woord richt tot de beklagde of de aanklager, doet hij dat traag en zo goed als zuchtend, alsof het hem ieder moment te veel kan worden.

De aanklager spaart zijn krachten, zijn juridische formules rollen geroutineerd en in een rustig tempo tevoorschijn.

De beklagde draagt een saai, net pak met das en bladert in de stukken. Met een groene stift heeft hij de passages gekleurd waarop hij zijn kruisverhoor zal baseren. Je ziet hem in overhemd met open boord in zijn cel zitten lezen, kopje thee, de markerstift in de hand, tegenover een hoge stapel papieren.

De onderste helft van zijn gezicht staat stuurs, bozig, je kunt aan zijn mond zien dat hij de hele onderneming een aanfluiting vindt, maar dat hij noodgedwongen meedoet. In de bovenste helft van zijn gezicht is weinig woede te bespeuren. Droefheid, vertwijfeling, stille paniek, dat zijn eerder de woorden die opkomen als Slobodan Milošević en ik twee seconden lang elkaar in de ogen kijken. Als hij aan het woord is, hoor je een geharnaste vergaderstem, mat en zelfingenomen.

Maar net als met de ongemakken van de beveiliging mag je niet klagen over de saaiheid en schijnbare uitzichtloze gedetailleerdheid van al die getuigenverklaringen en het commentaar erop. De beveiligde saaiheid is het antwoord op de gevaarlijke opwindings van de oorlog. Als reactie op de roes van moord, verkrachting, bier en slivovitsj is er deze glazen kooi met camera's, papier en microfoons, voor jaren in de greep van

broodnuchtere ernst en nauwgezetheid. Tegenover al die gevangenen die als vee werden afgeknald, staat deze ene gevangene. Het ontbreekt hem aan niets behalve zijn vrijheid, en voor zijn leven hoeft hij niet te vrezen. Recht en rede versus wreedheid en haat.

Het lijkt nobel en heldhaftig om Milošević te berechten, hij was toch de leider van een natie die willens en wetens een oorlog tegen burgers begon en misdaden tegen de menselijkheid beging. Met woorden de barbarij bestraffen. En vooral: aantonen dat internationale samenwerking en internationaal recht geen politieke abstracties bevatten, maar het instrument kunnen zijn om objectief bewijs te leveren voor de misdadigheid van mensen als Milošević en door hem te veroordelen en te straffen een vorm van gerechtigheid mogelijk te maken voor de slachtoffers.

Als ik Den Haag bezoek, gaat het weer over de koelwagen met de lijken van Albanezen Kosovaren die uit de Donau is gevestigd. Over die kwestie heb ik al tientallen pagina's gelezen op de website van het Hof, waar de transcripties van de zittingen te lezen zijn. En weer levert het een schandalig gehannes op waarin fragmenten onheilspekkend bewijs door Milošević van tafel worden geveegd met cynisme, bijvoorbeeld met de opmerking dat ook de identiteitspapieren die in massagraven worden gevonden ver-



valst kunnen zijn. En waren dit geen Koerden die in dat gebied vaak naar Bulgarije worden gesmokkeld?

De eerste indruk is niet die van zevergierend recht. En een gevoel van genoegdoening om Milošević daar in de beklagdenbank te zien zitten is onmogelijk op te doen. Of het moest zijn dat hij hier jarenlang zit te bakkeleien over duizend-en-een gruwelijke details, terwijl hij nu al weet dat het tevergeefs is en hij door deze afloop onmogelijk een martelaar kan worden. Goed, dit vonkje leedvermaak gloeit misschien nog op, maar verheffend is het allemaal niet. Een Engelse generaal legt uit dat hij de Joegoslavische wetten heeft bestudeerd waaraan het Joegoslavische leger zich dient te houden en tot de conclusie

is gekomen dat het leger op systematische en grove wijze haar eigen doctrine voor operaties tegen terroristen en al haar eigen humanitaire richtlijnen met voeten heeft getreden tijdens de Kosovo-oorlog. Zo.

Ik bedenkt ondertussen dat Milošević hier alleen maar zit, omdat de meerderheid van de Serviërs Milošević en zijn klik van fanatici en gangsters zat was. Ze waren oorlogsmoe, de economie was ontworcht, ze hadden alleen armoe, bommen en dictatuur gekregen in plaats van een glorieus herrijzend Groot Servië. Het nieuwe bewind verkocht hem aan het Westen voor, ik dacht, 8 miljard dollar. Dit alles nadat de Geallieerden de Serviërs uit Kosovo gejaagd hadden en vervolgens Servië zelf in puin begonnen te gooien. Hij is gewoon verdraden, nadat zijn landje kennismakte met de overmacht van de NAVO.

Ik kijk naar de man met het bolle voorhoofd en het witte haar. Hij is een oorlogsmisdadiger en die berecht je volgens internationaal recht. Maar waarom gebeurt dat hier, in de internationale zone van de Verenigde Naties? Wat schieten wij, de wereld, maar ook de Serviërs, Kroaten, Bosniërs en Kosovaren ermee op, dat er af en toe een kort nieuws-item meldt dat Milošević nog steeds berecht wordt en dat ze inmiddels bij die-en-die moordpartij zijn aangeland? Hij wordt niet berecht in een land, maar in een in-

ternationaal instituut, in een luchtbel. Dit is een rechtszaak zonder maatschappij eromheen. En dat maakt rechtszaken onwezenlijk. Al helemaal als het om iemand gaat die niet met eigen hand de moorden beging, maar als hoofdverantwoordelijke te beschouwen is. Het gaat toch niet om de persoonlijke schuld van Slobodan Milošević en zijn trawanten op gang hadden gebracht, en zich schathemeljtijerijk plunderden. Ik denk aan de mannen die tien jaar geleden stuurloze jongens waren en dachten dat ze vanuit een schuilplaats op mensen moesten schieten die eten gingen kopen. Ga maar door, van kolonels tot garagehouders, van studenten tot boeren, waren ze betrokken bij de gruwelijke waarheid van de etnische zuiveringen en alle moorden en wredeheden die ermee gepaard gingen. Die mensen hebben met Milošević hun zondebok naar Scheveningen gestuurd en het land heeft er nog van geprofiteerd ook. Milošević is een persoon, maar ook de naam voor een ziekte waaraan Servië leed.

Er zullen wel duizend-en-een praktische bezwaren zijn, maar naar mijn idee zou het veel beter zijn als dit proces, net als alle processen over de oorlog in voormalig Joegoslavië, plaatsvindt in Belgrado. Het zou hetzelfde in-

ternationale hof kunnen zijn, en dan hopelijk met meer mensen uit voormalig Joegoslavië. Om te beginnen zou het betekenen dat de huidige Servische regering alle internationale verdragen en handvesten erkent, en zichzelf laat aanspreken als volwaardig lid van de internationale gemeenschap. Nu wordt hun afgedankte Milošević ergens ver weg berecht door de vijand, de overwinnaar. Hoeveel betekent dat in Servië?

In een proces dat zulke grootschalige gruweldaden betreft biedt het berechten van een leidersfiguur als Milošević de kans op nationale schaal en in een objectiverende trant in de spiegel te kijken ten aanzien van het recente verleden. Dat zou misschien pijnlijker zijn dan een proces in Den Haag, maar zelfs als het tot geweld, regeringscrises, de val van leiders en openbare figuren zou leiden, dan nog zou het betekenen dat het proces tegen Milošević zin had gehad. Nu ziet het er naar uit dat alleen de internationale politieke kaste straks een vaak te noemen historisch feit erbij heeft. Een pluim op eigen hoed geplant.

Neem de Engelse generaal. Stel nu dat het Hof niet in Den Haag maar in Belgrado zitting had gehouden, en dat niet een gepensioneerde Engelse Sir Peter maar een generaal uit het Joegoslavische leger kwam verklaren dat hij moest erkennen dat het leger alle nationale wetten en eigen richtlijnen met voeten trad en zich als roversbende gedroeg. Dan had dezelfde, op zichzelf ware uitspraak, onduidelijk veel meer betekenis gehad en vragen opgeroepen. Hoe kon dat dan gebeuren? Wie liet dat gebeuren? Was het een opdracht? Wat had Milošević met zulke zaken te maken? En wat was er in godsnaam met het land aan de hand, dat zoveel mensen daarin meegingen? Nu is dezelfde uitspraak die van een deskundige, die zijn voorspelbare mening geeft. Ook via een verhaal van een journalist voor de Servische pers zal de getuigenis van Sir Peter in Belgrado weinig beroering wekken. Hetzelfde geldt voor de getuigenis van de mensen die de koelwagen uit de Donau visten en de lijken onderzochten. Zou zo iets in Belgrado gebeuren, dan waren de getuigenissen emotioneler, de verslaggeving uitgebreider en controversieler. De betekenis van de vastgestelde feiten groter.

Iemand berechten van de statuur van Milošević doe je niet alleen om een internationaal juridisch principe, of om internationale politieke redenen. Dat wil zeggen, als het goed is. Een proces van dit soort kan zin hebben door een bijdrage te zijn aan de wederopbouw van de Servische maatschappij na de ramp die het uiteenvallen van de verlichte communistische samenhang opleverde. Hoe groot het heil van de Waarheids- en Verzoeningscommissie in Zuid-Afrika is, lijkt me moeilijk in te schatten. Maar dat het oneindig veel beter is dat zij bestaat dan dat ze niet zou bestaan, lijkt me duidelijk. En volgens mij worden de internationale, universele wetten en regels geloofwaardiger als ze niet in een institutionele luchtbel worden toegepast, maar als ze naar de plek des onheils worden gebracht en samen met de betrokkenen worden toegepast. Want recht en rede vindt iedereen mooi, totdat het moeilijk, pijnlijk of nadelig wordt. Dat men in de meeste landen, met alle imperfecties op de koop toe, toch vasthoudt aan de regels van recht en rede, dat geeft die rechtspraktijk zijn maatschappelijke waarde. Het proces tegen Milošević ontmoet geen emotionele, maatschappelijke, onredelijke weerstand, het speelt op internationaal ijle hoogte. Hier in Den Haag is Milošević een versleten mediapersoonlijkheid, een levend symbool voor het verleden. Hem hier op deze manier berechten betekent alleen iets abstracts. Het proces is geen maatschappelijke gebeurtenis, maar uitsluitend een media-politieke. En dan zijn recht en rede nog even waar en goed, maar de manier waarop ze tot gelding komen knaagt aan de waarde en betekenis van al dat waars en goeds.

van holst en steijnen

From: Paul Davidson <p.davidson@btinternet.com>
To: <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>
Sent: zaterdag 7 september 2002 04:20
Attach: How Slobodan Milosevic Was Framed.doc
Subject: How Slobodan Milosevic was framed

In this long article, the introduction to which is below, Francisco J. Gil-White explains in detail how the story of refrigerator trucks loaded with bodies was fabricated to gain support for the abduction of the former Yugoslav President Milosevic from Belgrade to Den Hague. I have included the whole article as an attachment or you can visit the webpages as detailed below

Very recommended!

PD

Anatomy of propaganda: How Slobodan Milosevic was framed

by Francisco J. Gil-White

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<<http://www.psych.upenn.edu/~fjgil/>> <http://www.psych.upenn.edu/~fjgil/>

Introduction

In April 2001, a story broke making the following allegations: (1) the Yugoslav army had massacred Albanian civilians; (2) their bodies were driven away in a refrigerator truck which was then supposedly dumped into the Danube, deep inside Serbia. In short notice this story became an enormous international "scandal," and the allegations evolved and multiplied until we were talking about whole convoys of trucks, all of them supposedly full of massacred Albanian victims, and supposedly spirited out of Kosovo and hidden in Serbia, out of the view of The Hague tribunal investigators.

The hysteria in the Western (and some of the Serbian) media surrounding these allegations was responsible for building support among the public for the illegal abduction of Slobodan Milosevic and his subsequent shipping to The Hague. Given the important role it played, it is remarkable that there is absolutely no substance to the story.

In this piece I promise to do the following:

- 1) Give you a synopsis of what the story became, and an analysis of its surface plausibility, just on its own terms.
- 2) Give you a blow-by-blow chronology of how the story evolved in the media, and how it grew and grew in spite of the fact that no evidence was ever added to the original "evidence," which turns out to be no evidence at all, as I will show.
- 3) Demonstrate that, not only is there no substance to the accusations against Slobodan Milosevic, but that these accusations have been part of an organized plot to frame Milosevic for war crimes in order to send him to The Hague in time to get a billion dollars from the United States and also to neutralize the pro-Milosevic opposition that has been a nuisance to the new government in Belgrade, which government the United States helped install with considerable effort and expenditure.

I will be happy to hear from anybody who does not find my refutations sufficiently convincing.

CONTINUE: <http://www.psych.upenn.edu/~fjgil/Trucks.htm>

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(1) The Story

Before we begin the chronology of how the story was constructed with zero evidence, let us briefly look at what this story ended up becoming. Here is my synopsis, followed by a brief analysis of its plausibility, taken in its own terms.

Story Synopsis. According to what the story became in the media, Kosovar Albanian civilians were being slaughtered by the security services of the Milosevic regime, with the help of the Yugoslav army. After many a massacre, Albanian villagers would be buried in individual graves, in local cemeteries, supposedly in order to hide the fact that a crime of war had been committed. That is a very strange

explanation, of course, because on other occasions there was no concern for hiding the crime and surviving Albanians were supposedly left to bury the victims themselves. Some anxiety apparently later developed over whether this was a good enough cover-up! So at an alleged meeting which was said to include then Interior Minister Vljako Stojiljkovic, Milosevic supposedly gave the order that evidence of the massacres against civilians should be covered up. The story claims that the bodies were then dug up, put into Mercedes Benz freezer trucks belonging to Kosovar company, and taken hundreds of miles to the farthest corners of Serbia. These trucks were then supposedly dumped, with their grisly contents, in rivers and lakes. But this too turned out not to be a good enough solution (some bodies floated, some trucks were visible)! So the trucks were fished out and destroyed, and the bodies were transported in other trucks to different locations where they were finally buried out of sight.

Forget for a moment about the evidence (of which, as I will show, there is none)—the story is simply fantastic, and accepting it as something that could, in principle, have occurred requires already that you swallow whole a number of rather extraordinary claims.

The British daily The Independent wrote: [1]

[START INDEPENDENT QUOTE:]

Hundreds, maybe thousands, of bodies disappeared from Kosovo during the Nato air strikes in 1999. In many cases, Albanians saw their loved ones buried, or even dug the graves themselves. But when they returned to show the graves to investigators from The Hague, they were empty.

... As the Nato bombs rained down, body-snatchers roamed Kosovo. Mete Krasniqi saw them in action, after Serb forces machine-gunned the inhabitants of his village, including his son. The villagers buried them. A month later, hiding in the woods, they saw men in orange overalls dig up the bodies and load them into two trucks.

[END INDEPENDENT QUOTE:]

So you are asked to believe that an astonishing number of bodies were moved out of Kosovo even as NATO unleashed an overwhelming shower of bombs. That is an extraordinary claim. It should require extraordinary evidence. But what is the evidence that “hundreds, maybe thousands” of bodies were moved out of Kosovo? Only that, when the Albanians “returned to show the graves to investigators from The Hague, they were empty!”

But the graves could be empty because they never contained any bodies in the first place—say, for example, because no Albanian civilians were ever massacred by the Yugoslav army!

Why doesn't the Independent at least consider this possibility? After all, by the time the Independent wrote the above article, it was already publicly known that the excuse for starting the NATO bombing (the so-called Racak ‘massacre’) had been a KLA hoax,[2] so it is perfectly natural to suppose that the KLA could lie again—say, for example, when they give a preposterous story about thousands of massacred civilians being spirited away in refrigerator trucks during a massive aerial bombardment.

“What KLA is lying again?” you say, “The Independent interviewed a villager by the name Mete Krasniqi.” Uh-huh. But what the Independent does not say is that the KLA is a Krasniqi operation. They probably just forgot to explain that, as reported elsewhere, “the Krasniqi family helped found [my emphasis] the Kosovo Liberation Army in 1995,” and that “Although some Krasniqis have taken jobs outside the village [of Vranoc], in nearby factories or overseas, they remain intensely loyal to their families and land.”[3] The Independent is not getting the views of an ‘innocent villager’ but of a member of the tightly-knit clan which forms the KLA core. Since it simply repeats Mete Krasniqi’s statements with no context or explanation, the Independent’s position must be that terrorists who have lied before could not possibly lie again, and that knowing the details I have provided here would be of no interest to readers trying to determine the story’s plausibility. I was able to find another alleged witness to

'substantiate' the 'missing bodies' story. You'll never guess who: Sheremet Krasniqi, as reported in the Chicago Sun-Times.[4]

Thus, we see that accepting this story even on its own terms requires that we take zero notice of the following:

1. The so-called 'witnesses' who explain the 'missing bodies' are members of the clan that forms the KLA core.
2. The KLA obviously has an interest in pushing this kind of story.
3. The KLA had previously pushed precisely this kind of story and it turned out to be a complete fabrication, now known as the Racak 'massacre' hoax.
4. The KLA is not the kind of organization that you turn to for trustworthy witnesses. For starters, it was well known from the beginning that it was a terrorist, something that even the US (later to become the KLA's air force) admitted publicly.[5] Moreover, it is well-known that they were getting funded by, and had fighters from, Osama bin Laden's Al Qaeda,[6] and it got funds also from its prominent role in international heroin trafficking.[7]

The Independent and the Chicago Sun-Times deprived its readers of the foregoing analysis and simply reported the testimony of the Krasniqi 'witnesses' with no comment.

These papers also failed to point out that this sort of story has another obvious beneficiary: the new government in Belgrade, which the US had helped install. By uncanny coincidence the story exploded precisely at the moment when NATO was threatening the new government in Belgrade that if Milosevic was not turned over to the Hague Tribunal they would not get 1 billion dollars for reconstruction (in addition to other vague threats). The story was exquisitely timed to help build momentum for Milosevic's illegal abduction and subsequent shipping to The Hague.

A truly free press would have shared with its readers such details, as they are obviously immensely relevant. Instead, the mainstream Western media gave us the claim—completely stripped of any context or documentation—that, according to alleged 'witnesses,' "hundreds and maybe thousands" (!) of murdered victims were driven out of Kosovo.

And how?

Well, as the New York Times explained:[8]

"At least 10, but maybe dozens, of truckloads of bodies were shipped from Kosovo to Serbia proper and dumped underwater or in mass graves. 'This whole operation was a crazy thing to do, a crime and for us incomprehensible,' Captain Karleusa said. 'The goal was to hide something.' "

Yes, it sounds crazy, doesn't it? It is incomprehensible—I agree. What could possibly be the reason to attempt such a preposterous operation? Karleusa explains it: "The goal was to hide something."

Well...this is, certainly, the only plausible explanation. The only conceivable reason to move the bodies of massacred Albanian civilians out of Kosovo would be to avoid discovery by NATO troops, on the assumption that NATO was likely to occupy Kosovo but not Serbia. But this goal of avoiding discovery is precisely what makes the story "a crazy thing to do...and for us incomprehensible..."

For starters, consider that with this many bodies, we are talking about a very large scale operation. Those planning to carry it out must naturally ask themselves: how easy will it be? How likely are the trucks to get hit?

At the time that these freezer trucks are supposed to have been leaving Kosovo for Serbia, NATO was unleashing a storm of bombs over Kosovo and the rest of Serbia. Among other civilian targets, NATO was bombing roads, bridges, and vehicles. And when it comes to vehicles, NATO was hitting everything. Consider for example that, bombing from 15,000 feet, NATO was either unable or unwilling to distinguish between an open tractor full of refugees and a truck, let alone between a civilian truck and a military vehicle (see APPENDIX). A freezer truck would have looked like a target.

Try to imagine yourself as one of the drivers. You are navigating the mountainous Kosovo territory, with a very heavy load, so you are...sluggish. As you chug painfully along you become a ripe ambush target for the KLA—which has men crawling all over the hills—and for the NATO bombs that are falling all around you. Even if the KLA or the NATO bombs don't get you, you are bound to find parts of roads bombed out and more than one bridge destroyed. What are the chances that you can go cross-country through forests, deep canyons, and rivers in a freezer truck? These are large trailers, already heavy when empty, and one of them is alleged to have contained 86 bodies! And they are not exactly maneuverable (even when empty). How can you make it out of Kosovo? And if you are hit, which is really very likely, then at best the 'masterminds' of this operation will have a new mess to clean up, and at worst they will have handed a priceless propaganda victory to the enemy. Now consider that you are just one of several dozen, or many dozen, drivers, all of whom must succeed in accomplishing this impossible feat in order for the massacres to escape discovery.

Are you laughing? To attempt this feat would have been to guarantee discovery of the alleged massacres—but avoiding discovery is supposed to be the point of attempting this ridiculous operation! Crazy and incomprehensible. Yes.

But it gets better...

Contrary to NATO's original propaganda immediately prior to the bombing, the Yugoslav army was not attacking civilians. Former Canadian ambassador to Yugoslavia, James Bissett, an ardent critic of NATO's attack on Yugoslavia, has said:[9]

"...a number of credible OSCE observers have publicly stated that in the weeks leading up to the bombing they witnessed no murders, no deportations and nothing that could be described as systematic persecution."

We don't have to accept Bissett's claims that his chosen observers were really 'credible.' This is the sort of thing a propagandist would do, and we have no way of checking his cheaply made claim that his sources are trustworthy. However, it is now public knowledge that the American OSCE mission was composed mostly of CIA operatives who colluded with the KLA in setting up the hoax that the Yugoslav army had massacred Albanian civilians at Racak.[10] If a hoax was necessary to accuse the Yugoslav army of war crimes in order to justify the bombing of Yugoslavia, then James Bissett must be telling the truth.

And, as noted earlier, the freezer truck stories in the press are in fact consistent with this, accusing that the massacres were going on during the NATO bombing. Thus, we are asked to believe that the considerable resources needed to massacre thousands of civilians and take them out of Kosovo in freezer trucks were not expended when it was relatively comfortable to do so. No. These genocidal masterminds waited until they were also fighting the KLA and NATO simultaneously because this way they could do everything at the same time. And they must also have decided that they would give the enemy the propaganda gift of turning their false accusations into a prophecy!

But it gets better...

Remember that, according to the Independent (see above) these geniuses first buried the bodies in, of all things, individual graves (and in cemeteries), and only then unearthed them and put them in trucks. They were making this as expensive as possible! And while they were unearthing the victims—which they had

At the time that these freezer trucks are supposed to have been leaving Kosovo for Serbia, NATO was unleashing a storm of bombs over Kosovo and the rest of Serbia. Among other civilian targets, NATO was bombing roads, bridges, and vehicles. And when it comes to vehicles, NATO was hitting everything. Consider for example that, bombing from 15,000 feet, NATO was either unable or unwilling to distinguish between an open tractor full of refugees and a truck, let alone between a civilian truck and a military vehicle (see APPENDIX). A freezer truck would have looked like a target.

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And, as noted earlier, the freezer trucks were in the mountains of Kosovo at the same time that with this, accusing that the massacres were going on during the NATO bombing. How could we believe that the considerable resources needed to mass-produce thousands of bodies in freezer trucks were not expended when it was known that the Yugoslav army was attacking civilians? The suicidal masterminds waited until they were also fighting the Yugoslav army in a way they could do everything at the same time. And they turned their backs on the enemy the propaganda gift of turning their fallacious claims into a reality.

But it gets better...

Remember that the bodies were buried in, of all things, the mountains of Kosovo and put them in trucks. They were... the victims—which they had

earlier buried (or else left for surviving villagers to dig even though these murderers were supposedly very worried about discovery)—they were wearing, get this, orange overalls. Why? Because... because... orange overalls are good camouflage?

...and better...

Once they succeeded in getting all of these trucks out—and managed to strand not one in Kosovo—they proceeded to...dump them in rivers and lakes! This makes perfect sense because they were trying to prevent discovery. Right?

After all, how do you prevent discovery of a widespread massacre? If I am one of those drivers, my first thought is that I will put the bodies in a truck and then dump it all in a river or a lake. Of course, dead bodies do float. But since I made it out of Kosovo unscathed even though I was sluggishly and improbably driving a large and heavy freezer truck cross-country over bombed-out and mountainous terrain, and yet managed to escape both the KLA and the NATO bombs, it is obvious that I have just the silliest luck. I can count on it.

So...naturally, I will dump the truck in a river and just hope to luck that the bodies won't float. But for good measure, just to challenge my crazy good fortune (let's see how far it goes!), I will dump the truck in The Danube—a navigable river and a very important trade artery—and trust that nothing will ever hit it (the Danube is where the alleged first truck was supposedly found). And to add to the suspense, I will neither puncture the tires nor make holes in the truck, and see if the whole thing can escape detection as it floats hither and yon.[11]

What fun!

And don't forget that these were Mercedes Benz trucks. They were dumping Mercedes. And the trucks belonged to some Kosovar company... In other words, the agents of the genocidal state could not commandeer some trucks of their own that they could trust for this crucial cover-up operation?

All of this would be bad enough by itself without the details of the story emanating from what is supposedly a "free press."

The entire western media establishment found itself incapable or unwilling to examine the ludicrousness of the story. Instead, they treated it as a plausible story from the beginning. They expanded and grew the story lyrically even though they were never presented with a shred of evidence for it.

And this lack of supporting evidence is not something they ever bothered to reflect on either.

Here now is the chronology of how this non-story became an elaborate fictional narrative in the media. Following that, I show how this cheap novel emerged out of a plot by the new government in Belgrade in order to frame Milosevic and send him to The Hague in time to get a billion dollars.

(2) Origin and evolution of a vast media fabrication

I. THE STORY BREAKS

The first report in the Western media concerning the 'refrigerator truck' incident was given by the Associated Press. We will be paying close attention to the wording, to what is said, what is omitted, etc., and to what is claimed as fact and what is reported as an allegation.

My goal is to demonstrate that the mainstream Western media establishment is controlled—that it is emphatically not a "free press." Unfortunately, demonstrating this requires that we follow the development of this media fabrication step by step, and that we look at the claims made by a variety of

media outlets. This is the only way to do it—there is no shortcut—because for each individual case one can always argue sloppiness. Only the pattern can establish beyond reasonable doubt that we are dealing with propaganda. My purpose here is therefore to follow the growth of the story in the media, step by chronological step. I will demonstrate that the story grew and grew even though no evidence was added to the original allegations, which turn out to be entirely false (and this was actually shown early on, as we will see, but the press chose to ignore that completely).

The argument is not that every single journalist in the Western world is in the pay of the intelligence services of NATO powers. The argument is that many are, and that the top echelons of the media hierarchies certainly are. Thus, even when honest journalists write hard-hitting pieces which contain embarrassing information on issues of critical importance to Western governments, the headlines will be changed to contradict the body of the text, and the text itself will be rearranged so as to place the embarrassing information at the end (for a pithy demonstration of all this, [click here](#)). This is effective because most people remember only the headline, and few of them ever read an article all the way to the end.

We begin with the Associated Press wire dated April 30th that first broke the story considered here. That wire ran the headline: "Rights Activist Says Yugoslav Army, Police Destroyed Evidence Of Kosovo Atrocities."

The headline blares that this "right's activist"—one Natasa Kandic, who works for an outfit calling itself the Humanitarian Law Center, based in Yugoslavia—is the source for the allegations. But the article below this headline in fact contradicts it.[12]

[START AP QUOTE]

...Kandic... cited a report in a local magazine in the eastern Serbian Negotin region, describing how on the night of April 6, 1999, a refrigerated trailer truck was lifted out of the Danube near Kladovo, at the border with Romania.

The vehicle bore license plates from Pec, a western Kosovo city, and allegedly contained 50 bodies. According to Kandic's center, the bodies were subsequently transferred to a truck with Belgrade plates and driven away. Kandic claimed local authorities knew about this.

[END AP QUOTE]

Did you notice? The text contradicts the headline. The "right's activist" Natasa Kandic is not, in fact, the source for the allegation. All that she did is send a fax to the Associated Press in which she relays the claims of a local magazine. That magazine—not Kandic—is who makes the allegation.

So why is the AP putting Kandic on the headline as the source? This is like writing "The President's Translator Tells The Russian Foreign Minister That There Will Be No Deal." The president's translator could never do such a thing as he is just the messenger, and so is Kandic.

The headline maneuver is repeated in the body of the wire, when the AP says, "According to Kandic's center..." Wrong. According to the magazine, which Kandic read.

How to explain the AP's headline? The suspicion that they are dishonest NATO propagandists could make us say the following: since most people read and remember only the headline, and since most people think human rights activists are the good guys, the AP's intended and memorable effect on the reader is that a trustworthy source claimed there had been an atrocity.

Less cynically, we might think this is nothing more than editorial sloppiness. But keep your eye on the ball: either way that headline is wrong and it raises suspicion. It demands that we pay attention so that we can decide which hypothesis is more plausible.

Another detail worth remarking on is the placement of the word "alleged." The whole thing is an allegation, but the only thing presented as an allegation is that the truck contained 50 bodies. This implies that things not presented as allegations are fact—namely, that the truck existed, that it was fished from the Danube, etc., and that it contained bodies (but perhaps not 50). The word "alleged" thus appears to have been deployed to season this wire lightly with the aroma of journalistic impartiality (which is evoked by the use of equivocal words that demonstrate lack of commitment on the part of the writer, such as "alleged"). However, the strategic placement of this word in fact implies that everything except for the exact number of bodies is an established fact. Again, this could conceivably be sloppiness, but that hypothesis will become increasingly strained if we find such things to be part of a pattern that cumulatively builds increasingly complex disinformation—the building of which requires, to boot, ignoring contrary evidence—at the Associated Press.

Later wires from the AP support the propaganda, not the sloppiness, hypothesis. For example, three weeks later, on May 23, 2001, the AP wrote a wire with the headline, "Human Rights Group Urges Investigation About Suspected Mass Killing.":[13]

[START AP QUOTE:]

A respected [my emphasis] human rights group said Wednesday it has discovered [my emphasis] a truckload of bodies dumped in a lake in western Serbia during the 1999 Kosovo war when NATO bombed Yugoslavia. Local authorities denied the claim.

The Belgrade-based Humanitarian Law Center, whose investigating teams have made previous revelations [my emphasis] about atrocities committed during recent wars in the region. [sic] It urged Serbian and Yugoslav authorities to open an official investigation into what it said was "a truck with corpses brought to and dumped into a lake near the town of Kokin Brod," some 160 kilometers (100 miles) southeast of capital Belgrade.

The case appeared related to similar allegations made last month about a refrigerated trailer truck dumped into the Danube river in 1999 with bodies of people from the southern Kosovo province, possibly ethnic Albanian victims of the Kosovo war.

[END AP QUOTE:]

Another story about a truck full of bodies being dumped in a body of water. This is called "establishing a pattern." If the first story checks out, and so does the second, we have the basis for a vigorous investigation. Unfortunately, the pattern that is really established here is one that demonstrates Associated Press propaganda, not wrong-doing by the Yugoslav government.

First of all, how can you or I know whether the Belgrade-based Humanitarian Law Center is really respected (and respected by whom)? We can't: it's in Belgrade, and we've never heard of it. It is easy, and cheap, to say that someone is credible, and no serious journalist should ever do this. In telling us that the source is "respected," the Associated Press instructs us to believe, lest we exercise any critical thought or even prudently hold our judgment.

Leaving nothing to chance, the AP adds careful wording, telling us that this "respected" rights group "discovered a truckload of bodies." There is no way to read that sentence except as telling us that the Humanitarian Law Center found the actual truck containing the bodies. But just to be triple sure that we get it, we are told that the center has "made previous revelations about atrocities." Since allegations cannot be revealed (only facts can), and since there have been "previous revelations," this truck is

supposedly just the latest in a string of fact-finding successes for the center. For good measure, we are also told that the center employs "investigating teams," which obviously means fact-finding researchers.

Translation: Natasa Kandic's Humanitarian Law Center's fact-finding researchers fished a truck full of bodies from a lake.

However, if we read all the way to the end of the wire, we find that this is perfectly false:

[BACK TO THE AP:]

"...But local authorities near Kokin Brod reacted Wednesday to the latest allegations, saying there was no truck dumped in their lake. The independent Beta news agency quoted a local police official, Petar Micunovic, as saying that the lake was recently drained through a dam during repair works on a nearby power plant and that no truck was seen there."

[END AP QUOTE:]

The authorities at Kokin Brod said the dam had recently been drained and that no truck was seen there. What does this mean?

Well, first, that even if there really are fact-finding researchers at the Humanitarian Law Center, they never fished any truck from any lake.

Not only that: nobody else did either.

So what was the "respected" Humanitarian Law Center doing? It was reporting a rumor, which, for all we know, emanates from the same Center.

Why then does the first sentence of the AP wire claim that this center discovered the truck? And why is this statement reinforced with practically every turn of phrase?

The AP also says that "The case appeared related to similar allegations made last month about a refrigerated trailer truck dumped into the Danube river..."

Yes, the two cases are related because (1) in both cases the AP is treating allegations that are entirely evidence-free as newsworthy; (2) in both cases the AP uses language to suggest that the allegations are established fact; (3) in both cases the allegations come courtesy of one Natasa Kandic; and (4) in both cases the AP tries hard to make Kandic, and her center, to appear as credible sources.

There is, however, one difference. The truck with Kandic's center alleged was dumped in the lake was never mentioned again (perhaps because the authorities at Kokin Brod had no problem demonstrating that the allegations were false), whereas the story about the truck in the Danube grew and grew.

Now, one may here try to salvage a non-cynical belief in the good intentions of the Western press by interjecting that, compelling as the case may be against the Associated Press, the other news services may not be so bad.

Alas...!

A few days after the initial AP wire, The Independent, a British daily, elaborated on the original Danube-truck story:[14]

[START INDEPENDENT QUOTE]

A Kosovo-Registered truck containing the bodies of 50 people allegedly murdered by Serb security forces during the Nato air campaign two years ago was fished out of the river Danube, Serbian press reported for the first time yesterday.

[END INDEPENDENT QUOTE]

Notice again the use of the word “allegedly” to give a whiff of journalistic impartiality. But notice again the strategic placement: what is presented as an allegation? That a truck full of bodies was fished from the Danube? No. Only that the bodies in the truck were murdered by Serb security forces. The existence of the truck itself is taken for granted.

Why? Who knows...

Moreover, the above sentence should, of course, begin: “The Serbian press reported...” That is how normal people speak and write. By placing the attribution at the end, we get a prominent initial impression that everything is established fact, which impression may linger. And using the verb “reported” rather than “reported allegations” reinforces the sense that we are talking about established facts.

The Independent then goes on to underline that impression with careful wording:

[BACK TO INDEPENDENT:]

The refrigerator truck could contribute to missing evidence of how the bodies of thousands of Kosovo Albanians, allegedly murdered by Serbian security forces and paramilitaries in 1999, disappeared. The truck, with registration plates from the town of Pec in western Kosovo, was pulled out of the Danube 250km east of Belgrade on 6 April 1999. The 50 bodies included children, women and elderly people, according to Zivadin Djordjevic, a diver who told his story to Timocka Krimi Revija, a little-known Serbian crime magazine. Mr Djordjevic took part in the operation to salvage the truck in 1999. He said: “Bodies started to fall out ... Some women were dressed in traditional Muslim clothes ... Some children and elderly people were naked. It was a horrifying scene.”

[END INDEPENDENT QUOTE:]

We are told that “The refrigerator truck could contribute to missing evidence...” That implies that the truck exists, because a non-existent truck can never be evidence of any sort.

The same implicit message is communicated by the sentence: “The truck, with registration plates from the town of Pec in western Kosovo, was pulled out of the Danube 250km east of Belgrade on 6 April 1999.” Anybody reading that sentence will understand that, in fact, a truck, with registration plates from the town of Pec in western Kosovo, was pulled out of the Danube on 6 April 1999.

The only thing that is properly reported as an allegation is the specific identity of the bodies: “The 50 bodies included children, women and elderly people, according [my emphasis] to Zivadin Djordjevic.” But stating loudly that the specific identity of the bodies is a claim—while omitting this observation for the other statements (that there was a truck, that there were bodies, that the whole thing was fished from the Danube, etc.)—distracts the mind and unconsciously telegraphs the implication: a truck with bodies in it was definitely fished from the Danube.

Sadly, the two media companies considered so far are entirely typical of the mainstream Western press, which routinely treats allegations as fact if they are made against NATO’s enemies. Notice: the story had just broken, and nobody had yet produced a shred of evidence for it. But no matter, the press had already decided it was all true.

If it looks like propaganda, talks like propaganda, walks like propaganda...

For good measure, here is another example from The Times of London, writing three days later:[15]

[START TIMES QUOTE]

The alleged atrocity was revealed when one of a team of police divers who helped to remove the lorry was quoted in the Timocka review of criminology, remarks that were reported yesterday in the leading Belgrade daily, Vecernje Novosti. The lorry was said to have been recovered from the Danube near the town of Tekija, close to the Serbian border with Romania, on April 6, 1999.

[END TIMES QUOTE]

Here is that word again: revealed. How can an “alleged atrocity” be “revealed”? Only facts can be “revealed.” And here again we see the strategic placement of the word “alleged.” Once again it is tactically deployed to supply the veneer of journalistic impartiality, but the trust it buys is then immediately used to deceive by employing a phrasing—“revealed”—which is appropriate only for established facts, never for allegations.

Moreover, the fact that a big Belgrade newspaper reported what the tiny Timocka magazine said (this is the magazine where all of the allegations come from) is presented as newsworthy—as if the repetition of an allegation by a big newspaper makes it less of an allegation. This is a hoary propaganda tactic: repeat the lie until it seems true by sheer dint of repetition.

The same article said the following:

[BACK TO THE TIMES:]

During the crackdown on ethnic Albanians by Serb forces in Kosovo between 1998 and 1999 and the subsequent Western bombing campaign, there were repeated rumours of mysterious refrigerated trucks with Belgrade registration plates being used by authorities to dispose of people who had been murdered. At one point, international investigators checked reports that such bodies might have been dumped in mineshafts in the mine complex of Trepca, but no traces were found.

[END TIMES QUOTE]

We are told that there had been “repeated rumours of mysterious refrigerated trucks with Belgrade registration plates being used by authorities to dispose of people who had been murdered,” and that these rumors started as early as 1998.

These two writers evidently didn't stop to think long enough to reflect on the fact that any such massive activity happening prior to March 24th, 1999—when the bombing of Yugoslavia began—would have been going on under the noses of a swarm of OSCE observers. But these observers reported that “they witnessed no murders, no deportations and nothing that could be described as systematic persecution.”[16] Except, of course, for the American ‘observers,’ but these turned out to be CIA operatives, and the one ‘massacre’ accusation they launched against the Yugoslav government turned out to be a KLA hoax.

It seems we have found a creative mistake.

Omissions can be plausible evidence of sloppiness, but creative mistakes signal dishonesty. This is why police officers interrogate suspects over and over again: to see if any important details change.

And there is another creative mistake in the quoted passage above: the rumors that the London Times alleges were circulating supposedly talked about trucks with Belgrade license plates.

Why is this a creative mistake? Well, consider first that a rumor about the biggest crime possible—a crime against humanity—will include a reference to where the truck's license plates were registered only if this terribly specific and minor detail were highly informative as to the identity of the perpetrators.

The Times appears to be saying the following: the rumors emanated from Albanians in Kosovo, and so if these rumors said that the license plates were from Belgrade, then this is a detail pointing to the identity of the perpetrators: from Belgrade = Serbs. The reader is practically instructed to reach this conclusion.

The first problem with this is logical. Any rumors about massacred Albanians being shipped in refrigerator trucks from Kosovo to mass graves in Serbia will automatically allege that the Serbs are the perpetrators. What is the alternative rumor? That immigrant Thais did it? The license plate registration adds absolutely no information.

The second problem is an inconsistency with the original AP wire, which in fact claimed that the trucks "bore license plates from Pec, a western Kosovo city [my emphasis]" (see above).

The story can be kept consistent only if they claim the last truck—the one that supposedly took the bodies to their final destination after fishing them out of the first truck, which had supposedly been dumped in the Danube—was the one with the Belgrade license plates. This truck begins and ends its journey in Serbia proper, rather than in the Serbian province of Kosovo.

Alas! This will not work either, for this would mean that the rumors then originate with Serbs, as this is not a truck that any Albanian rumor-mongers would have seen. Why would Serbs in the proximity of Belgrade notice that a truck had Belgrade license plates? That is entirely unremarkable.

For a novelist, the purpose of detail is to tickle our brains into producing mental images, helping us suspend disbelief. The Times writers appear to strive for verisimilitude here by relying on this novelistic strategy, in order to convince us that the Serbs are guilty. However, they have clumsily added details that no real rumor about massacred Albanians would have included. Such obviously purposeful creative mistakes are evidence of dishonesty.

One final point about the Times is that it includes a reference to another rumor: that bodies were dumped in the Trepca mine. But notice that the Times tells us that these rumors turned out to be utterly false. Why then doesn't the Times do a skeptical investigation into these new rumors instead of reporting them as though they support the allegations about the truck in the Danube?

So far we have a story that is based on a number of allegations. It has been just one week since the original AP wire, but already we see considerable growth in the story, and considerable confidence that it is all true and deserving of much attention in the media even though not a shred of evidence has been presented. To compensate for this absolute lack of evidence, we hear about rumors that don't even look like they could be real rumors (let alone rumors about plausible things), and also about rumors that turned out to be utterly false.

This must be the only way for the propaganda press to go, because the only source for the freezer truck story, Zivadin Djordjevic (the diver who supposedly found the truck in the Danube) very soon disputed the attributions made to him in the 'Timocka' magazine that is the source for all these allegations.

Let me state this again: only a few days after the story broke, the man on which the Timocka magazine had based all of its allegations, disputed the story.

II. THE ONLY SOURCE FOR THE STORY...DISPUTES IT!

The next day, May 8th, Deutsche Presse-Agentur reported the following:[17]

[START DPA QUOTE]

Serbia's Interior Ministry said Tuesday it had begun investigating reports about a truck and a trailer with some 50 bodies of Kosovo Albanian women, children and elderly, recovered from the Danube in Serbia in April 1999.

"A special task force has been set up to determine all relevant facts regarding the unidentified corpses in the refrigerated trailer," the ministry said in a statement.

It pledged that the "public will be informed" about the results. Belgrade newspapers last week quoted a diver, Zivadin Djordjevic, as saying he took part in the recovery of the truck and that the former authorities declared the find a state secret. Djordjevic, who has meanwhile denied some parts of the interview [my emphasis], said many of the bodies were in traditional Albanian clothes.

[END DPA QUOTE]

Wait! Djordjevic—the only source for this story—said he was misquoted? Which statements were misquoted? What does he disclaim?

STOP THE PRESSES!

Stop the presses? Why? Just because we have a story based, not on an allegation, but on the allegation of an allegation—and one disputed by the only source? Only if we were doing journalism would it be necessary to stop and reexamine on such grounds. The mainstream Western press is in a different game entirely.

I have been unable to find one—repeat, not one—report of any journalist going to talk to Djordjevic to find out why he said he was misquoted. Not in any wire, not in any newspaper article, not in any magazine article. And I was not able to find one—repeat, not one—article where Djordjevic's dissatisfaction was even repeated. Not in any wire, not in any newspaper article, not in any magazine article.

We are talking about the most serious accusation that could possibly be made: war crimes—crimes against humanity. There is only one source for the accusation. And that source denies the story!

And nobody looks into it?

The case against the Western press is gathering steam...

(In the section ahead where I explain how this was all a plot to frame Milosevic it becomes clear precisely what Djordjevic was complaining about)

III. NON-EVIDENCE IS ADDED TO SUPPORT THE NON-STORY

The next day, Agence France Presse wrote the following wire:[18]

[START AFP QUOTE]

Two Serbian police chiefs were sacked for their alleged role in the cover-up of a Kosovo truck full of corpses fished from the river Danube during NATO's 1999 air war on Belgrade, the daily Politika said Wednesday.

General Vlastimir Djordjevic, head of public security at the time, was pensioned off while the former commander of the special police, General Obrad Stevanovic, was demoted after their forces reportedly failed to look into the discovery [my emphasis] of 50 bodies in a sunken refrigerator truck.

[END AFP QUOTE]

Once again, the tried and true tactic: the truck is presented as definitely having been fished from the Danube, and the subsequent cover-up, as definitely having taken place. The word "alleged" is employed, but placed in such a way that the only thing presented as an allegation is the role of the two police chiefs, and the word "discovery" is likewise attached to a truck that nobody has discovered.

So let's see...: The day after DPA reported that diver Zivadin Djordjevic—the only source for any of this—denied parts of the story, two Serbian police chiefs were sacked.

Come again?

And why were they sacked? Because an interview which the interviewee partly contests, published in a tiny magazine that nobody has heard of, said that there had been a truck in the Danube with bodies, which bodies have never been seen, and neither has the truck!? They were sacked because the same questionable "interview" reported that this thing had been hushed up and declared a "secret"!?

Who decided that this flimsy account was solid enough to justify the removal of two police chiefs? On what grounds? Shouldn't somebody at least try to find out which parts of the story are disputed by its only source before firing two police chiefs?

This...beggars...belief...

By this standard, police chiefs should be fired for failing to look into stories of alien abductions, which the tabloids publish every day.

The same day, a wire from United Press International[19] elaborated on the issue of how the whole thing was supposedly hushed up:

[START UPI QUOTE:]

The district public prosecutor Miroslav Srzentic in Negotin with jurisdiction over the Kladovo area told the media Tuesday he had notified the Serbian prosecutor's office of the case and was waiting for instructions.

Srzentic, who was deputy prosecutor in 1999, told the crime magazine he had been prevented from investigating the case at the time by his immediate superior Krsta Majstorovic who declared it a state secret and said there would be no autopsy and no investigation, most likely on orders from higher authorities.

Majstorovic, now retired, at his home in Negotin refused to say anything about the case except that "I have no truck with it any longer and all relevant documents, including an indictment, are in the local prosecutor's office." He declined to disclose who the indictment had been raised against.

[END UPI QUOTE]

The wire begins by telling us how Srzentic supposedly "told the media [on] Tuesday," which makes it sound as though this is new information. But immediately thereafter we learn that "the media" is none other than the crime magazine which is still the only source for any of this. Everything is still coming from the Timocka magazine, which looks less than credible, since its star informer disputes the content of statements attributed to him.

Krsta Majstorovic (or is it Majtorovic?), who is presented as Srzentic's immediate superior, however, does appear to have been reached for comment in the flesh "at his home in Negotin," and apparently after the story broke in the mainstream press. But a little further research reveals that we cannot believe a word of this, because Majstorovic does not exist.

We have found another creative mistake.

Here is the evidence: a few days earlier, on May 4th, the same wire service—United Press International—had reported the following:[20]

[START UPI QUOTE:]

The current district prosecutor in Negotin, Miroslav Srzentic, told Belgrade radio B92 he was aware of the incident at the time and was initiating an investigation but was told the next day by his predecessor Nestorovic, now retired, "there will be no autopsy, no such case has taken place and it is a secret."

[END UPI QUOTE]

Did you notice? In this wire, the person who told Srzentic not to investigate and declared the whole case a secret was not his supervisor but his predecessor, and his name was not Majstorovic but Nestorovic.

Hmmm...

And on May 14th the Inter-Press Service reported the following:[21]

[START IPS QUOTE]

A deputy prosecutor in the nearby town of Negotin, Miroslav Srzentic, was informed of what had been found in the truck. He started for Kladovo on the morning on April 7, but was stopped by his superior.

"The prosecutor, Mr. Krsta Manojlovic, told me that there was not going to be an investigation," Srzentic recalls. Manojlovic, who is now retired, would not talk to the press.

[END IPS QUOTE]

Now we are back to the whole thing being hushed up by Srzentic's superior. But his name this time is not Krsta Majstorovic (or Majtorovic) but Krsta Manojlovic.

Uh-huh.

Which is it? Who stopped Srzentic from investigating? His superior or his predecessor? Who told Srzentic that a case which had not taken place (!) was a secret? And what was his name? Majstorovic (Majtorovic?), Manojlovic, or Nestorovic? Some kind of "ovic," to be sure. Does it make a difference? I would think so!

Did Srzentic really say anything? Does he exist?

Apparently not, and this would explain why all future mention of Srzentic was dropped. But then all mention of the 'evidence' supposedly coming from Srzentic should have been dropped as well.

What? Never. Till the very end we are still hearing how this whole thing was supposedly “hushed up” and made a “state secret,” even though the source for this is one alleged Srzentic who allegedly spoke in the interview published in the tiny magazine Timocka Krimi Revija, or else to Radio B92 (which is controlled by NATO), and who does not seem to exist.

Other tidbits—on the same level of substance as the phantom Srzentic and his even more phantasmagoric and multinomial supervisor/predecessor—were also added. Agence France Presse supplied these details on May 11th:[22]

[START AFP QUOTE]

Workers from a funeral home in Serbia have told how they unloaded the corpses of men, women and children from a Kosovo-registered truck pulled from the river Danube during NATO's 1999 air war on Belgrade, the daily Blic reported Friday.

The workers from Kladovo in eastern Serbia, who all demanded they not be named, said they had reloaded the bodies into another truck on the orders of local cemetery manager Sreten Savovic, the daily said.

[END AFP QUOTE]

So now we add to the list of ‘witnesses’ a few alleged grave-diggers who will not identify themselves. Uh-huh. Still nothing.

You or I could have written this story ourselves in the privacy of our homes. It is a novel. The new details are presented as if they were the result of fresh reporting, but nothing prevents us from suspecting that it all still comes from the Timocka article (or else is made up). I searched everywhere for a follow-up with the alleged human by the name Savovic, but he was apparently never again reached for comment.

Why?

We can hazard a guess: Savovic, like Majstorivic/Majtorovic/Manojlovic/Nestorovic, and Srzentic, does not exist. Surely, if anybody wanted to find the bodies, they would interview Savovic...

And notice how the story is designed to prevent the production of any evidence that one might examine. This is from Agence France Press, dated May 9th: [18]

[START AFP QUOTE]

...A magazine last week reported that a diver had found the Kosovo-registered refrigerator truck in the river some 250 kilometres (150 miles) east of Belgrade.

...The magazine said the truck was later dynamited in a nearby training centre for special police.

An investigation has been opened into the incident following the revelations [my emphasis], police said Tuesday.

[END AFP QUOTE]

And this is from an Inter-Press Service wire dated May 14th:[23]

[START IPS QUOTE:]

In Kladovo, on the evening of April 6, the bodies were placed into another truck that went to an unknown destination. Four undertakers were summoned to dig the graves. During the night, the police blew the green Mercedes truck into pieces with 30 kilograms of explosives.

[END IPS QUOTE:]

The four anonymous undertakers again. A truck which no longer exists because it was exploded. Bodies that cannot be found because they were taken to an "unknown destination."

All we really have is an article in Timocka Krimi Revija, which claims to get its information from an interview with the diver Zivadin Djordjevic.

But Djordjevic "has meanwhile denied some parts of the interview."

Amazing.

IV. STOP THE SHODDY REPORTING, GIVE US SOME REAL PROPAGANDA!

On 25 May, almost a month after it broke the story with its original wire, the Associated Press outdid itself in the following report. It bears a close analysis because it could not be dripping with more Orwellian propaganda if Carla del Ponte (the chief prosecutor at The Hague) had drafted it herself in order to generate the right atmosphere in the public's opinion—both Serbian and international—for the illegal abduction of Milosevic to The Hague. They wrote:[24]

[START AP QUOTE]

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia (AP) - Police linked former President Slobodan Milosevic on Friday to a cover-up of atrocities in Kosovo, including the dumping of bodies in the Danube River - a revelation that could help the U.N. war crimes tribunal.

The accusations, the first time Yugoslav authorities have tied Milosevic to war crimes, could pave the way for sending him to the U.N. tribunal in The Hague. Milosevic has been jailed since April 1 on charges of corruption and abuse of power.

[END AP QUOTE]

Notice the Associated Press's choice of words: "Police linked [my emphasis] former President Slobodan Milosevic on Friday to a cover-up of atrocities..." This, they tell us, is of course "a revelation." And then: "The accusations [constitute] the first time Yugoslav authorities have tied [my emphasis] Milosevic to war crimes..."

But for the police "to link" or "to tie" Milosevic to a cover-up is a colloquialism that refers to their success in proffering evidence:

- 1) that there was a crime in the first place;
- 2) that it was covered up; and
- 3) given the first two points, that Milosevic had something to do with it.

Anything short of that—if it is to be reported at all—should be called what it is: an allegation. But here we have that Milosevic was "linked" and "tied" to a cover-up of an alleged and unproven crime with... what? Allegations of allegations that the crime took place, and unsupported "accusations" that

Milosevic had something to do with the alleged cover-up of the unproven crime. It should be obvious that he is not “linked” or “tied” to the allegation of an alleged crime that may not have happened with accusations that he had something to do with this vaporous non-event! No accusation, by itself, establishes any kind of link.

Sadly, equating police accusations to the establishment of “a link” or “a tie” between Milosevic and the allegation of the alleged crimes for which there is no evidence—and which the only source disputes—has been commonplace in the media. Here is an example from the St. Petersburg Times:[25]

[START SPT QUOTE:]

In a move that could help the U.N. war crimes tribunal, police Friday linked former President Slobodan Milosevic to a coverup of atrocities in Kosovo, including the dumping of bodies into the Danube River.

The accusations, the first time Yugoslav authorities have tied Milosevic to war crimes, could pave the way for sending him to the U.N. tribunal in The Hague.

[END AP QUOTE:]

The same AP report of 25 May whose language the St. Petersburg Times parrots almost verbatim went on to say:

[BACK TO THE AP:]

The government is now drafting a law on the extradition of war crimes suspects to the Netherlands-based tribunal that would permit handing over suspects like Milosevic only if local courts found a basis for war crimes accusations. The new allegations came after police investigated reports that a truck containing 50 bodies, reportedly those of ethnic Albanians, was found in the Danube River outside Kosovo near the Romanian border in 1999.

[END AP QUOTE:]

Notice what we are being told: the new allegations (which were piled on previous allegations of allegations, and still no proof...) happen to coincide with activity by the new Yugoslav government to draft a law for the extradition of war crimes suspects to The Hague.

Interesting coincidence.

The US was pressuring the new Yugoslav government in Belgrade—which they spent millions helping to install—with the threat that, unless Milosevic was sent to The Hague, they would withhold economic aid for the rebuilding of the civilian infrastructure that NATO had illegally bombed (and which bombing constitutes a crime of war). [This sounds like the kind of talk one might hear from a mafia boss: “Please, don’t make me hurt you. I don’t want to hurt you again... You think I enjoy your screams? I am going to ask, politely, once again... (sigh!). Vinnie, give his tourniquet another twist...”]

It seems that we have found a powerful incentive for the new government in Belgrade “to link” Milosevic to something. Faced with repeated failures to make the KLA hoaxes of civilian massacres in Kosovo stick (because international forensic experts were not cooperating with the fabrication of evidence), there seems to have been a very natural desperation “to tie” Milosevic to an alleged crime with no physical evidence of the sort that nit-picking international forensic scientists might take issue with. In this way, a rationale—admittedly, an Orwellian rationale—for sending Milosevic to The Hague was generated in order to get the American money.

At least that would be the interpretation of the opposite camp, as reported in the same AP report:

[BACK TO THE AP:]

Milosevic's Socialist Party said in a statement that the police were distributing "hideous misinformation launched deliberately before the expected parliamentary debate about the law on cooperation with the Hague tribunal."

The party said the accusations were aimed at "trying to justify the totally unacceptable act of opening the way for possible extraditions."

[END AP QUOTE:]

One could be forgiven for thinking that the other side would never be reached for comment. But here, finally, after nearly a month of allegations of allegations with no proof, we hear Milosevic's party accuse "hideous misinformation" for political purposes. How are they exaggerating?

And what exactly were the new allegations? The same AP report says:

[BACK TO THE AP:]

Police Capt. Dragan Karleusa said that in a March 1999 meeting, Milosevic ordered top police commanders "to remove all evidence" of civilian casualties in the crackdown in Kosovo and to remove corpses that could be subject to "possible investigation by The Hague tribunal." Those present at the meeting included former Interior Minister Vljako Stojiljkovic, who is also wanted by the U.N. tribunal.

[END AP QUOTE:]

"Police Capt. Dragan Karleusa said..." Apparently, in order to "link" or "tie" Milosevic to a crime that nobody seems even remotely able to show happened you need nothing more than an unsupported accusation by Police Capt. Dragan Karleusa that Milosevic said something at a meeting.

An Orwellian tactic is employed here to great advantage. We are told that, "Those present at the meeting included former Interior Minister Vljako Stojiljkovic, who is also wanted by the U.N. tribunal." A meeting that did not take place cannot have been attended by Vljako Stojiljkovic. Thus, Stojiljkovic plays a double role in this narrative:

- 1) By saying that he was at the meeting the police imply that they were flies on the wall and know everything that happened at this meeting—which must mean, therefore, that the meeting happened.
- 2) And by saying that Stojiljkovic is wanted by The Hague they also imply that Stojiljkovic must be a bad guy, and thus his presence at the meeting suggests that Milosevic must have given sinister orders.

Finally, notice that "The new allegations came after police investigated [my emphasis] reports that a truck containing 50 bodies, etc. etc." In other words, the new allegations did not come after the police succeeded in providing any evidence for the original statements attributed to Djordjevic (and partially disputed by him) concerning Albanians found in a truck in the Danube—merely after these reports were "investigated."

Does it matter if the "investigations" come out empty-handed? Apparently not.

[BACK TO THE AP:]

Police made it clear Friday that they considered the evidence about the bodies in the Danube one link in Milosevic's alleged large-scale attempt to remove traces of thousands of civilians killed by his troops in Kosovo.

[END AP QUOTE:]

What evidence? The statements of one individual, Djordjevic, who disagrees that he was properly quoted? It is truly spectacular how quickly the allegation of an allegation has become "evidence." Apparently all it takes is a little bit of repetition. And the allegation has become "evidence" not only for itself—notice—but for a whole multitude of similar non-events, all of them "linked" to Milosevic.

And notice again the strategic placement of the word "alleged." The only thing reported as an allegation here is whether Milosevic engaged in a large-scale attempt to cover-up evidence. That the killings took place, the AP's language implies, is established fact! (As if one attempt after another to prove such crimes had not been shown to be a hoax by international forensic experts; [click here for an example](#)).

[BACK TO THE AP:]

"When we finish the investigation, we will file criminal charges," said Serbian Interior Minister Dusan Mihajlovic. "For now it's clear that this was a case of removing evidence of criminal acts."

[END AP QUOTE:]

The Interior Minister says that "When we finish the investigation, we will file criminal charges." In other words, regardless of whether they find any actual evidence? And he feels that "it's clear that this was a case of removing evidence of criminal acts." Why is it clear? Isn't he still investigating? Nobody so far has provided one iota of material evidence that any bodies or truck even existed. There is one alleged 'witness,' but this man disputes parts of the interview attributed to him. Again, why is the Interior Minister so sure...?

If the body and trucks existed in the first place, this could certainly be evidence of a criminal cover-up, but we need to establish that they exist in the first place. If and when we do, we need to establish something else: that this was not a Mafia killing, or illegal immigrants being smuggled from Romania to Europe thru Yugoslavia, or something else (crimes of war are not the only possible crimes that may need to be covered up). If and when we decide it was a crime of war, there is still the question of establishing the link to Milosevic.

But investigation involves much tiresome work. Better to find a Police Captain to make an unsupported accusation about orders supposedly given by Milosevic for a general cover-up. Then you can declare that this unsupported accusation "ties" Milosevic to the specific bodies that nobody has seen.

Mission accomplished.

[BACK TO THE AP:]

Police said that the bodies found in the dumped truck were reloaded in April 1999 and taken to another, still undisclosed location. The whole operation had been officially declared secret by Milosevic's authorities, and those who had witnessed the operation were ordered to remain quiet.

The police quoted witnesses who spoke of an "unpleasant smell," when the truck was pulled out of the Danube.

Zivadin Djordjevic, a diver employed in the operation to raise the truck, recently spoke of "a terrible mixture of congealed blood, stench, and decomposing twisted bodies" when the truck was lifted. He said the bodies included women and children.

[END AP QUOTE:]

There is nothing new here, but this old wine comes in new bottles:

- 1) We are told that the “police said.” But everything in that first paragraph just repeats what was said in the tiny crime magazine that did not quote the lonely “witness” Djordjevic to his own satisfaction. By putting these words in the police’s mouth the AP makes it seem as though the police uncovered this information in their investigations.
- 2) The same alleged Djordjevic “interview”—not any evidence turned up by a police investigation—is also the source for the claim that the authorities had hushed this up. But as you may recall there is a very big problem with this claim because it comes from one Srzentic who does not seem to exist, but who in any case appears completely unable to keep straight even the name of the person who told him that, or whether this person was his immediate superior or immediate predecessor.
- 3) The “witnesses” who spoke of the unpleasant smell are too many—for no name has been attached to any of this except for Djordjevic, in the same interview, some parts of which he denies.
- 4) Finally, the one statement attributed to Djordjevic in this report (concerning the “congealed blood, stench, and decomposing twisted bodies”) is made to seem as though he has spoken out elsewhere and recently (which would then appear somewhat in contradiction to his dissatisfaction with how he was quoted, which Deutsch Press Agentur reported). But although the report says he “recently spoke” it does not say where or to whom. And since the AP does not say, then ‘recently’ probably means that this, too, comes from the original magazine ‘interview,’ since that had been brought to light less than a month before this wire was written (‘recently’ is more appropriate for a month’s time than it is for the last few days).

I was unable to find any indication of where or to whom Djordjevic had made these supposedly additional and recent statements. I looked for it, but the only wire service that ever attributed this statement to Djordjevic is the AP, and the few newspapers that repeated this quotation either directly attributed it to the AP, or listed no source. Certainly the first mention of there having been women and children in the truck came from the alleged magazine interview with Djordjevic in Timocka Krimi Revija (see above), and this is paired here with the statements about the congealed blood. So it seems quite likely that the AP’s claim that Djordjevic “recently spoke” is nothing more than a repetition of something Djordjevic said in the magazine interview. If so, the AP liberally chooses not to say that it is lifting such statements from the magazine (unless it made them up entirely).

[BACK TO THE AP:]

At The Hague, Jean Jacques Joris, a top adviser to chief war crimes court prosecutor Carla Del Ponte, said the police accusations make "clear that Milosevic was directly involved in the crimes committed in Kosovo."

Deputy Prosecutor Graham Blewitt told AP that "if this is new evidence this would be very valuable to us, because this is somebody standing up, saying, 'Milosevic ordered to cover up evidence.'"

[END AP QUOTE]

Here we see that if a tiny magazine claims that one Djordjevic said a number of things in an interview—even though Djordjevic denies some parts of the interview!—then this makes it “clear” to “a top adviser to chief war crimes court prosecutor Carla Del Ponte” that “Milosevic was directly involved in the crimes committed in Kosovo.” Which crimes? Who knows...

This says quite a lot about the nature of the Hague Tribunal: its purpose is to convict, not to try Milosevic (click here). That crimes were committed in Kosovo is, to this “chief advisor” to the prosecutor, a foregone conclusion, despite the repeated embarrassments his own court has suffered as it fails again and

again to find any evidence of such crimes. And the flimsiest non-evidence imaginable clearly 'establishes' to his satisfaction that Milosevic is responsible for these non-crimes.

Moreover, the "Deputy Prosecutor" considers it "very valuable" that "this is somebody standing up, saying, 'Milosevic ordered to cover up evidence.'" That "somebody" of course is the same police captain charged with the investigation, who so far has not told us why or how he knows this. Well, in that case it will be equally valuable that "somebody" stands up to say that Milosevic didn't, and Milosevic's lawyer has already said that. This opposing "somebody" therefore neutralizes the first "somebody" and we can drop the whole thing. No?

Alas!, no. This is the LA Times writing the next day:[26]

[START LA TIMES QUOTE:]

Yugoslav authorities Friday for the first time accused former President Slobodan Milosevic of covering up war crimes committed in Kosovo.

"Milosevic ordered former Interior Minister Vljako Stojiljkovic to take measures to eliminate all the traces which could lead to any evidence of crimes committed" in Kosovo, Dragan Karleusa, a Serbian official in charge of efforts against organized crime, told a televised news conference in Belgrade, the Yugoslav and Serbian capital.

The announcement, linked to the discovery in 1999 of a corpse-filled truck in the Danube River, marked the first time that the new democratic authorities in Belgrade have accused Milosevic of involvement in war crimes. The statement could pave the way for his trial in Yugoslavia or in The Hague. Police suspect that the truck incident was part of an effort, code-named "Depth 2," to dispose of slain Kosovo civilians, Karleusa said.

... The truck was pulled from the Danube in 1999 with more than 50 bodies inside, but Milosevic associates declared the incident a state secret and ordered a halt to any investigation, Karleusa said. The bodies were taken to a still-unknown location, he said.

[END LA TIMES QUOTE]

The LA Times is careful to say that these are accusations, and they do not say that this establishes "a link" to Milosevic in any cover-up. However, they commit a different sin: they say the announcement of these accusations is "linked to the discovery in 1999 of a corpse-filled truck in the Danube River." But of course, there hasn't been any such "discovery." How could there be? The truck was supposedly destroyed! And even that story has no more than one possible source: Zivadin Djordjevic, but he disputes the magazine article that made attributions to him.

An allegation is an allegation. A discovery is a discovery. And the allegation of an allegation of a discovery is not a "discovery"—it is an allegation (of an allegation).

Notice that by this date the allegation that Milosevic had given orders for these supposed cover-ups of these supposed crimes has now been given a catchy name: "Depth 2." We are still not told how Karleusa knows that Milosevic gave such orders, or how he knows that the operation was named "Depth 2". But adding these novelistic details creates the impression that they know what they are talking about. It also creates the implication that there was a "Depth 1," which may come in handy later if other non-crimes need to be pinned on Milosevic.

Finally, for Karleusa to say that the location of the bodies is "still unknown" implies that we know the bodies themselves exist—a nice and very convenient rhetorical tactic, because in fact the police have so far produced no evidence that the bodies ever existed. And the statement about the "unknown location" to

which the bodies were supposedly taken is lifted, again (yes), from the alleged Djordjevic interview, parts of which he denies!

V. DON'T JUST GIVE US PROPGANDA, SPOON-FEED IT!

On the same day that the LA Times piece above was published, The Independent, not to be outdone, came out with the following front page headline: "SERB POLICE REVEAL PROOF OF MILOSEVIC WAR CRIME LINKS IN KOSOVO." [27]

As we saw earlier, it took just a little less than a month to turn an allegation (of an allegation!) into "evidence." But practice makes perfect because the transition from "evidence" to "proof" has been even faster—one day.

Ship him to The Hague!

There is no point in quoting this front page piece as it contains nothing new. All we get is a repetition of Karleusa's allegation that Milosevic gave orders, which is, as always, unaccompanied by an explanation of how Karleusa knows this. Proof of the allegation that Djordjevic alleged anything (let alone that the alleged allegations have any substance) is, of course, not provided either.

More interesting, however, is a second article on page 13 of the same issue of The Independent, which goes into greater detail and is entitled "HOW MILOSEVIC HID THE EVIDENCE OF HIS ATROCITIES." [28]

Sounds like a triple conclusion, doesn't it?

- 1) Atrocities were committed;
- 2) Milosevic is responsible; and
- 3) they were covered up.

And they are going to tell you how.

Not bad for a short headline. I reproduce and analyze the full text:

[START INDEPENDENT QUOTE]

IN MARCH 1999, as the Nato bombs rained on Serbia, a meeting was held in secret at Slobodan Milosevic's office in Belgrade. The former Yugoslav leader had summoned Vlatko Stojiljkovic, a close friend who was then Serbian Interior Minister and who, like his master, has been indicted for war crimes in Kosovo.

At that meeting, it seems Mr Milosevic had already acknowledged he might one day face charges of war crimes committed in Kosovo. He had learnt his lesson from the unearthed mass graves from the earlier wars in Croatia and Bosnia. He ordered Mr Stojiljkovic to get rid of the evidence, the bodies of his victims. As many as 10,000 Albanians are thought to have been murdered by Mr Milosevic's security forces in Kosovo during the 1999 Nato air campaign. But more than half of their bodies have never been found. Only 4,000 corpses have been discovered - nobody has ever found traces of the others.

[END INDEPENDENT QUOTE]

Notice the novelistic style: “as the Nato bombs rained on Serbia, a meeting was held in secret at Slobodan Milosevic's office in Belgrade...” Suspend disbelief, suspend disbelief...

No mention that the existence of this meeting is so far only an unsupported allegation by Karleusa. We are being told that this definitely happened.

We are also told that Milosevic had good reason to worry, as “He had learnt his lesson from the unearthed mass graves from the earlier wars in Croatia and Bosnia.” This is not the place to refute the accusations that the Bosnian Serb leadership was guilty of atrocities against civilians in Bosnia. Such accusations are false. (click here, and here). But that does not even matter here. The Bosnian Serb leadership was independent of Milosevic. The accusation that Milosevic was responsible for alleged massacres that have been blamed on the Bosnian Serbs, whom he did not even control, has no feet to stand on—not even in principle. But remember: in the demonology of the Western propaganda, if anything bad happens anywhere, it is always Milosevic's fault, even—or perhaps especially—if the bad thing did not happen in the first place.

The Independent tells us that “as many as 10,000 Albanians are thought to have been murdered by Mr. Milosevic's security forces in Kosovo during the 1999 Nato air campaign.” That sounds like a lot, but it is much less than 100,000, which is the figure given at one point, in 1999, by United States Secretary of Defense William Cohen in order to justify the NATO aggression to the American public and to the world.[29] With little shame, The Hague has recently offered an interesting prevarication for that figure on Cohen's behalf. I quote from The Boston Globe: [30]

[START BOSTON GLOBE QUOTE:]

[Graham T.] Blewitt [the deputy chief prosecutor for the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia], said that the 100,000 figure of missing Kosovars was accurate when given, but that the vast majority of that number had fled Kosovo when Serb forces began a systematic campaign of ethnic cleansing after the NATO bombing began. He said tens of thousands of Kosovars had crossed over into Macedonia to stay with relatives or friends, but that there was no reliable system to account for refugees.

[END BOSTON GLOBE QUOTE]

Two sleights of hand here. First “Kosovo Albanians” have become “Kosovars.” Did you notice? Sounds like an endorsement of the view that Kosovo Albanians were in their own country—which is something other than Serbia—but not the Kosovo Serbs, (who must have been foreigners!).

Second, he says “the 100,000 figure of missing [my emphasis] Kosovars was accurate when given...” The problem with this explanation is that, even if it was the accurate number of missing Albanians (and I doubt it), it was not given as a figure of unaccounted-for Albanians, but as a figure of murdered Albanians. That is hardly the same thing, and it makes the figure inaccurate when given.

But of course, coming back to The Independent, we are never told why anybody believes that “as many as 10,000 Albanians” were murdered by security forces. Should we take it on faith? Should we believe it with the same ferocity that we were expected to believe the 100,000 figure? This is important because only if we do is the failure to find 10,000 bodies a problem. If 10,000 people were not, in fact, murdered, then finding only 4000 bodies presents absolutely no mystery. But The Independent, even here, appears to be grossly overstating things. In 1999, by one account, UN sources were already saying privately that less than 2000 bodies would be found, in all.[31] And this is a figure not of Kosovar Albanians “murdered by the security forces,” but of all the dead, which includes both Kosovar Serb and Albanians. And it is not the figure for Kosovo residents who died during the NATO bombing but for the entire period when the Yugoslav forces were fighting the KLA—which extended from February 1998 until June 1999. Of course, this figure includes those who died from NATO's bombs.

The amazing, shrinking body count...

We started with 100,000 genocidally murdered Albanians and we ended up with perhaps less than 3000 dead[32]—both Serbs and Albanians. And quite a few of these had to die from NATO's bombs, most of which were falling on civilian targets! (see APPENDIX).

The recently murdered Daniel Pearl and his co-author Robert Block wrote an article for The Wall Street Journal that somehow got published, and which, as early as 1999, was already piercing through the NATO propaganda about the body count:[33]

[START WALL STREET JOURNAL QUOTE:]

British and American officials still maintain that 10,000 or more ethnic-Albanian civilians died at Serb hands during the fighting in Kosovo. The U.N.'s International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia has accused Serbs of covering up war crimes by moving bodies. It has begun its own military analysis of the Serb offensive. But the number of bodies discovered so far is much lower - 2,108 as of November, and not all of them necessarily war-crimes victims.

While more than 300 reported grave sites remain to be investigated, the tribunal has checked the largest reported sites first, and found most to contain no more than five bodies, suggesting intimate acts of barbarity rather than mass murder.[34] The KLA helped form the West's wartime image of Kosovo. International human-rights groups say officials of the guerrilla force served on the Kosovo-based Council for the Defence of Human Rights and Freedoms, whose activists were often the first to interview refugees arriving in Macedonia. Journalists later cited the council's missing-persons list to support theories about how many people died in Kosovo, and the State Department this month echoed the council's recent estimate of 10,000 missing. But the number has to be taken on faith: Western investigators say the council won't share its list of missing persons.

[END WALL STREET JOURNAL QUOTE]

The key point above is this: "The KLA...served on the Kosovo-based Council for the Defence of Human Rights and Freedoms...[and]...the council's missing-persons list [was used] to support theories about how many people died in Kosovo..."

So now we know where the 10,000 missing-person figure comes from: the KLA. Ah...! But perhaps this makes sense, after all, since it was KLA agents who were interviewing the refugees fleeing Kosovo, as explained above. If we can trust the KLA—an organization acknowledged by the US State Department to be terrorist[35]—to interview the refugees and report their statements accurately (from which reports the entire world got its impression of what was happening in Kosovo), then surely we can trust them to estimate the number of dead! And trust we must, because the list of missing persons is not something they have released. As Pearl and Block say, "the number has to be taken on faith." This applies to many other things. There is a whole system dedicated to keeping so-called journalists from doing any actual investigations,[36] and therefore we are asked to take most of the things they say on faith.

The Independent is strong in the faith, because in 2001 it was still reporting the "10,000 dead" figure. Let us continue with The Independent's 'exposé' on how Milosevic supposedly hid his supposed war crimes:

[BACK TO THE INDEPENDENT]

The bodies are the evidence the international war crimes tribunal in The Hague needs to prove its charge of crimes against humanity against Mr Milosevic. Yesterday, for the first time, the story of how they disappeared began to be officially revealed.

Dragan Karleusa, a Serbian Interior Ministry official, said yesterday: "Slobodan Milosevic ordered Vlastimir Djordjevic to take measures to remove all the traces that could lead to the evidence on crimes that have been committed."

Mr Stojiljkovic then issued orders to two police generals, Vlastimir Djordjevic and Dragan Ilic, to begin the operation of "removing civilian victims, who could become the subject of the eventual investigation by The Hague tribunal", Mr Karleusa said.

[END INDEPENDENT QUOTE]

Notice that again we hear Karleusa's accusation, and again we are not told what it is based on. It is true that now the accusation adds more details. But if the addition of detail were the same thing as corroborating an accusation every novel would be a history.

And we have seen this propaganda maneuver before: the statement "the story of how they disappeared began to be officially revealed" employs phrasing which suggests that the bodies definitely existed, for they cannot have disappeared unless they existed, and only if they first existed and then disappeared can "the story of how they disappeared...be officially revealed [my emphasis]." But there is no reason for believing the supposedly missing bodies ever existed except for the following arithmetic: 10,000 killed - 4000 (allegedly) found bodies = missing bodies.

This arithmetic the Hague prosecutors have explained as follows, as reported in the Boston Globe: [37]

[START BOSTON GLOBE QUOTE:]

"We will issue a report in November with exact numbers, but I anticipate that we will have identified between 4,000 and 5,000 bodies," Blewitt said. "The discrepancy between the final figure and the 10,000 figure that was initially used can be accounted for by bodies being destroyed or transported into Serbia, and by the fact that some people feared dead had managed to flee Kosovo."

[END BOSTON GLOBE QUOTE]

Notice that two different hypotheses for "the discrepancy between the [estimated] final figure and the 10,000 figure" are presented as one. Some of the missing bodies were "destroyed or transported into Serbia," and others were mistakenly presumed dead. But it is of course admissible that all of the missing bodies were mistakenly presumed dead and that none were "destroyed or transported into Serbia." It is also possible that the 10,000 figure was made up by the KLA—in fact, likely, as they have quite a record as blatant liars. But the Hague tribunal would have you believe that, even though their previous figure—100,000 dead Albanians—was completely and utterly off the mark, there is no basis for expecting them to make enormous mistakes when estimating numbers of dead, especially when the KLA helps elaborate the estimates based on a list of names that nobody has been allowed to see.

It doesn't matter what the facts are, apparently. Serbs will be guilty. Some interpretation to this effect will be found. And Milosevic, invariably, will turn out to be the mastermind. Of everything—and especially for events that did not take place.

We return to The Independent's "exposé" of the "cover-up":

[BACK TO THE INDEPENDENT:]

The Independent first reported the crucial evidence which led Serbian police to discover Mr Milosevic's cover-up three weeks ago, on 4 May. Then, it emerged for the first time that a refrigerator truck full of bodies had been dredged from the river Danube. It is believed the 50 bodies inside, many of them women and children, were of people murdered by Mr Milosevic's security forces in Kosovo.

[END INDEPENDENT QUOTE]

The Independent proudly reminds its readers that they had reported the “crucial evidence” on May 4th. You can go back and examine it above. It is nothing more than the interview with Djordjevic—parts of which Djordjevic denies (which parts? who knows?)—in a tiny and obscure crime magazine. That is the crucial evidence. This is still, at this late date, all that we have!

Still just the allegation of an allegation! But the story grows and grows and grows...

And this “crucial evidence” supposedly “led Serbian police to discover Mr Milosevic’s cover up.” Discover? What did they discover? They have yet to produce one shred of evidence.

[BACK TO THE INDEPENDENT:]

Back in March 1999 as Mr Milosevic and Mr Stojiljkovic plotted to get rid of the bodies, witnesses saw 130 people being killed by Serbian security forces in the village of Izbice in Kosovo. Their bodies were seen being buried in the local cemetery. Yet at the end of the Kosovo war, no bodies were found.

Natasa Kandic, Serbia's foremost human rights investigator, knows why. She travelled to Kosovo during the air strikes and interviewed witnesses who saw Serbian police return to the Izbice cemetery a few days after the murders took place, dig the bodies back up and take them away.

[END INDEPENDENT QUOTE]

This is now a full-blown novel. “Back in March 1999 as Mr Milosevic and Mr Stojiljkovic plotted to get rid of the bodies...” It is as if The Independent were reporting on, say, the French Revolution as understood by modern historians. The fact that these are all unsupported allegations added to the allegations of allegations that the crimes themselves took place is nowhere mentioned.

Natasa Kandic is no longer merely in the employ of “a respected human rights group,” as the Associated Press earlier said (see above), and neither is she working for “one of the most respected rights groups in Serbia” as the IPS informed us on May 14th,[38] she has now, herself, on May 26th, become “Serbia's foremost human rights investigator.” But the dizzying speed with which her career rockets to the heavens should surprise nobody. Her rise to these exalted heights must occur on a time-scale proportional to the rapidity with which the dubious allegations of allegations that she feeds to the press become “evidence” and then “proof.” After all, she was the one who pointed out the less-than-credible Djordjevic interview by faxing a press release to the Associated Press, and also the one who told the press about a truck that had supposedly been dumped in lake—even though the lake had been drained and nobody saw it!

Given Kandic’s track record as a rigorous investigator, nobody should bat an eye when she finds unnamed ‘witnesses’ to say that 130 people were killed by security forces somewhere in Kosovo and then buried in the local cemetery, but the bodies are nowhere to be found. This is fine because Kandic “knows” what happened. To wit: she can explain the absence of the alleged corpses by interviewing some other unnamed ‘witnesses’ who say they saw Serbian police return to the cemetery in order to dig up the corpses and spirit them away. No need to consider the hypothesis that the alleged witnesses, or Kandic, or both, are lying, because clearly Kandic is someone we can trust (and, given that, no need for material evidence!).

A short digression is pertinent here to get a sense of just how much Kandic may be trusted by taking a closer look at her publicly stated standards of evidence. When Kandic originally directed the press to the Djordjevic story (reported for the first time in the AP on April 30th after they got a fax straight from Ms Kandic), she also alleged other things, and displayed an interesting reasoning style: allegations of atrocities are fact if she thinks they are. Consider this:[39]

[START AP QUOTE:]

In a statement issued Monday, Kadic's group demanded that the new, pro-democracy Yugoslav government urgently reveal the truth about what could be one of the best-kept secrets of the former president's rule": the destruction of evidence pertaining to crimes committed against Kosovo Albanians during NATO's air war. According to data assembled by Kadic's Center, Serbian security forces and the Yugoslav army allegedly took part in removing and destroying evidence of these atrocities.

"Certainly, the removal of evidence on such a large scale cannot take place without the knowledge of authorities," Kadic maintained. "We have many witness accounts, many terrible stories ... but the orders for these actions could only have come from high up, such as from Serbian police."

[END AP QUOTE]

The wire tells us that Kadic's Center has "evidence." This is an altogether gratuitous characterization, for Kadic herself explains what the "evidence" consists of: "many witness accounts; many terrible stories." By this standard, Ms. Kadic should also be demanding that the Yugoslav government do more to solve the problem of alien abductions.

Notice also that Ms. Kadic considers that her "terrible stories" have already established the fact. The trouble and toil required by the tiresome investigations that would determine whether there is any truth to an allegation of a war crime can thus be dispensed with. This has many benefits over and above the obvious one of saving much time and energy. Most importantly, she can move directly to consider the question of just how highly placed were those who gave the orders. But in fact Ms. Kadic does not really offer a hypothesis here. She is quite sure: "... the orders for these actions could only [my emphasis] have come from high up, such as from the Serbian police." Thus, anybody discomfited by the idea that there might have been a tiresome investigation to determine who was culpable for atrocities that may not have happened can sit back down on his couch. These could certainly have turned out to be endless investigations (especially if the atrocities did not take place). But Kadic informs us that it is in the nature of unproven atrocities which may not have occurred that the orders for them "can only [my emphasis] have come from high up, such as the Serbian police." Unlike real atrocities, unproven atrocities apparently require special planning at the highest level.

Finally, notice that Kadic can say that evidence has been removed only because she takes the allegations of massacres as fact. We have already seen this tactic: if you assert that 10,000 died and you find only 4000, then you get to say that the evidence for the other 6000 has been removed. By this standard the inability of a prosecutor to produce any evidence that murders were committed on Milosevic's orders is evidence not of his innocence, but of how well he covered it all up. The less investigators and prosecutors come up with, the more astute and conniving Milosevic must have been. And all the more guilty for that!

The principle that alleged and unproven atrocities must be ordered from high up is very useful given that nobody is "higher up" than Milosevic, and there are quite a lot of unproven allegations of atrocities flying around.

Case closed.

And especially useful given that in order to get a billion dollars, the government in Belgrade had to send Milosevic to The Hague.

But let us now return to The Independent's "exposé," which still has some juicy details for us on how Milosevic supposedly hid the evidence of his supposed war crimes.

[BACK TO THE INDEPENDENT:]

Natasa Kandic, Serbia's foremost human rights investigator, knows why. She travelled to Kosovo during the air strikes and interviewed witnesses who saw Serbian police return to the Izbice cemetery a few days after the murders took place, dig the bodies back up and take them away.

The same thing happened two months later, in May 1999, in the Djakovica neighbourhood of Cabrat. Then, 87 men were murdered. Again, witnesses told Ms Kandic that they saw police return to the scene, dig up the bodies and disappear with them.

Although this is the first time that the Serbian police have directly linked Slobodan Milosevic with hiding the evidence of atrocities, it is clear that Kosovo was not the testing ground for such operations. They were organised during the Bosnian war too, specially after the 1995 Srebrenica massacre.

One of those believed to be involved in that operation was Dragan Obrenovic of the Bosnian Serb Army, who was arrested in the eastern Bosnian town of Zvornik on 15 April, 2001. He is in The Hague now.

[END INDEPENDENT QUOTE]

Another propaganda tactic: the statement that "The same thing happened two months later" implies that the first thing definitely happened, for it is hardly possible for the same thing to happen again if the first never did. Can it matter that all the evidence we have is allegations of allegations? Certainly not. And who can doubt that this one is also true when it is the trustworthy and rigorous Ms. Kandic who again brings us the new story?

The nice thing about having unproven allegations taken as fact is that the precedent then allows Kandic to expand lyrically by making multitudes of new unproven allegations of the same kind. Since we can confidently say—with no evidence—that the "hiding of atrocities" supposedly committed against Kosovar Albanians was going on, it is equally valid to say—again without any evidence—that such things were probably going on in Bosnia!

[BACK TO THE INDEPENDENT:]

Lt-Col Obrenovic was responsible for the removal or "relocation" of bodies of Muslim men killed in Srebrenica. The green Mercedes refrigerator truck was discovered on 5 April, 1999 - yet until this month it remained an astonishingly well-kept secret. It was only when Zivadin Djordjevic, a Serbian diver who helped recover the truck, told a little-known Serbian magazine about the discovery that the truth emerged.

[END INDEPENDENT QUOTE]

This makes perfect sense. The non-existent evidence for one non-event can be used to substantiate another non-event. It is economical. So now we have that the same truck which was full of Albanians, and whose alleged discovery on 5th April 1999 nobody can prove, was apparently also full of bodies from men killed in Srebrenica!

This is the freezer truck that could—it was doing double duty (on the other hand, it was, after all, a quality Mercedes).

[BACK TO THE INDEPENDENT:]

"There were bodies of women, children and elderly people," Mr Djordjevic said. "Some children and elderly people were naked." The police report made public yesterday says that investigation at the time was prevented from "the top". Vlastimir Djordjevic, one of the police generals entrusted by Mr Stojiljkovic with disposing of the bodies, ordered the discovery to be kept secret.

[END INDEPENDENT QUOTE]

What happened here requires a bit of explanation. Keep your eye on the names Vlastimir Djordjevic and Vljako Stojiljkovic, and notice that Stojiljkovic is the guy at the top supposedly giving orders to cover things up.

How did we get here? Well, recall the infamous Srzentic...

The original alleged interview with diver Zivadin Djordjevic (no relation to Vlastimir), published in Timocka Krimi Revija, had said that it was Srzentic's superior (or was it his predecessor?), a man with a veritable multitude of names, who had prevented the investigation and declared it was a "state secret." Srzentic seems to be somebody's fabrication, given that, depending who you read, the hapless Srzentic gives three or four different names for his immediate superior (who is sometimes his immediate predecessor). But even if Srzentic is not a fabrication his boss definitely is. In one of his incarnations, Srzentic gave the name Majstorovic (or Majtorovic) for his "immediate superior" who stopped him from investigating. In that same wire (from UPI) it was reported that:[40]

[START UPI QUOTE:]

Gen. Vlastimir Djordjevic, most recently head of police, was put on pension and Gen. Obrad Stevanovic, former head of the interior ministry's police department, was transferred to the staff of the police academy, the Politika reported. The newspaper said, "The two of them are the first to pay the price for covering up the crime the traces of which were found at the bottom of the Danube on April 6, 1999," two weeks after NATO launched its air attacks on Yugoslavia to stop police repression against Kosovo Albanians.

[END UPI QUOTE]

There he is again: Gen. Vlastimir Djordjevic. You may recall this. He is one of the two police chiefs who were sacked for not investigating the freezer truck incident. What UPI tells us is that Vlastimir Djordjevic was sacked because he was supposedly responsible in the chain of command for getting Srzentic's immediate superior to tell Srzentic, the local prosecutor, that there would be no investigation into the truck and that the whole thing was a "state secret."

So let us analyze...

Obviously, Srzentic's boss (or predecessor) cannot be sacked if he does not exist. And he doesn't. But somebody has to take the fall—and in any case Karleusa and company need somebody higher up because they have to get the chain of command all the way up to Milosevic. So it must be that Vlastimir Djordjevic and Obrad Stevanovic had to be the ones who told a non-existent ghost by the name Majstorovic, Majtorovic, Manojlovic, or Nestorovic (who cares?), who was either Srzentic's immediate superior or his immediate predecessor (who cares?), that he should stop Srzentic from investigating. This, then, is how we link Vlastimir Djorjevic to the "cover-up": we just assert that Djordjevic ordered people who don't exist to cover-up a crime for which there is zero evidence.

Done deal.

Now we can go back to the penultimate quotation. Vlastimir Djordjevic, we are told there, was under orders from somebody even higher up: Vljako Stojiljkovic. Not even a non-existent ghost is produced to accuse Stojiljkovic. If you are high enough, apparently, that is unnecessary. We have already seen this principle at work. It was explained by Natasa Kandic: alleged cover-ups of alleged atrocities for which there is zero evidence can only be ordered from high up. Stojiljkovic is pretty high up, so we can dispense with the evidence and move directly to the accusation.

Finally, it is a good thing that they can pin this on Stojiljkovic because Karleusa has already made the unsupported accusation that Stojiljkovic was supposedly present at a meeting that he alleges—without

any evidence—took place, and at which Milosevic supposedly gave the orders for the supposed clean ups. So in this way they 'establish' a series of 'links' in a 'chain of command' all the way up to Milosevic!

To summarize, it goes like this. Srzentic, who does not appear to exist, got told by his boss/predecessor—who definitely does not exist—not to investigate. This ghost was working for general Vlastimir Djordjevic (because, in Serbia, even people who don't exist must need a boss), so this means we've got a chain of command all the way to Vlastimir Djordjevic. Karleusa has made an accusation supported by zero evidence that Stojiljkovic was at a meeting when Milosevic gave an order for a cover-up, and so this must mean that Stojiljkovic (another guy that The Hague wants to get, and this is just wonderfully convenient!) is deeply involved in this and must have been the one to order Vlastimir Djordjevic to tell his ghost to tell the other ghost Srzentic to back off. And now we have a chain that goes from Srzentic all the way up to Milosevic.

Amazing.

Let's continue with the Independent's "exposé"...

[BACK TO THE INDEPENDENT:]

Nikola Dajic, a grave-digger who helped reload the bodies into two new trucks, said: "When we arrived at the bank of the Danube, we saw a horrifying scene... The bodies were piled up. Some were in pieces, some were intact."

[END INDEPENDENT QUOTE]

At last, something new! This is the first we hear of Nikola Dajic, grave-digger. It is a little surprising that, given the fervor "to link" Milosevic to this vaporous stuff it has taken this long to find another person who will give his name to this. But should I say "another"? After all, Djordjevic denied parts of the interview, and we still don't know which parts... And it is not clear that Nikola Dajic's statements, whoever he is or isn't, are not lifted from that same magazine article.

[BACK TO THE INDEPENDENT:]

One of the two trucks can be tracked as far as the main road north of Belgrade, where people who identified themselves as "official persons" took control of it. There the trail disappears. Nothing is known of where the second truck went.

The Serbian Interior Ministry said yesterday it had evidence of similar cases. The skeletons are beginning to come out of the closet.

[END INDEPENDENT QUOTE]

One of the trucks can be tracked as far as Belgrade...(tracked how?). Then the trail disappears. The other truck is simply gone forever. No material evidence. Even though no bodies are coming out of any refrigerator trucks, The Independent tells us that the skeletons are coming out of the closet.

Make way for the skeletons! Don't get crushed!

On the same day, The Financial Times reported:[41]

[START FINANCIAL TIMES QUOTE:]

Captain Dragan Karleusa, the deputy head of the police's organised crime section, told a Belgrade news conference that Mr Milosevic ordered his senior officials to "clean up", and to remove all traces that could be linked to war crimes. Mr Karleusa said Mr Milosevic told top officials in a meeting to clear up

"civilian victims, who could become the topic of possible investigation by The Hague tribunal". Those present included his interior minister Vljako Stojiljkovic, who is also wanted by The Hague.

Police say they believe this meeting was only part of a large-scale operation to remove traces of thousands of civilian deaths.

Dusan Mihajlovic, Serbia's interior minister, told the same news conference the meeting had "most probably" been after March 24, 1999, when Nato began a bombing campaign against Yugoslavia to end its repression of Kosovo Albanians.

[END FINANCIAL TIMES QUOTE]

This is becoming comical. They know that Vljako Stojiljkovic was present at the meeting where the cover-up was ordered by Milosevic, but they don't even know whether this meeting was held before or after the bombing? How exactly do they know this meeting took place? They still haven't told us... It must be sheer clairvoyance, as with the alleged truck containing the alleged bodies, neither of which anybody has ever seen, and for which they appear to have only one source (which denies the story!).

This is the sort of thing that the Financial Times can say only if it omits that all allegations of atrocities against Albanian civilians have turned out to be hoaxes. The OSCE observers reported no such atrocities when they were on the ground in Kosovo, prior to the bombing (click here). The lone exception was the American OSCE mission, which was crawling with CIA operatives, and whose claims turned out to be a hoax that they were perpetrating themselves (click here). The fact that a hoax was necessary to make the case when the KLA controlled about 40% of Kosovo territory speaks volumes that the Yugoslav army was guilty of nothing. Had there been any real massacre to showcase, the KLA could have done just that: showcase it. But they needed a hoax...

The Financial Times does not tell you any of this, so it must want you to believe that there really is evidence that massacres against Albanian civilians were going on. With that in the background, it tells you that, according to Interior Minister Mihajlovic, "the meeting had 'most probably' been after [my emphasis] March 24, 1999, when Nato began a bombing campaign against Yugoslavia to end its repression of Kosovo Albanians." Do you see the problem? If up to March 24, 1999, when the bombing started, there had been no atrocities against Albanian civilians, then what atrocities can Milosevic be ordering his subordinates to 'clean up'? Because, recall, the Interior Ministry earlier told us that this supposed meeting was held in March, 1999 (click here). Putting the statements of Mihajlovic and Karleusa together means that there was barely a week for the Milosevic regime to murder thousands of Albanian civilians (which they had up to then not done), and then have a meeting in which they decide that the whole mess must be cleaned up -- and all of this after the bombs started falling on Yugoslavia.

Now, is this even remotely plausible?

[BACK TO THE FINANCIAL TIMES:]

Capt Karleusa said police had reached their conclusions while investigating the discovery of a truck containing 50 corpses dumped in the River Danube during the air war. A diver who helped salvage the truck said the bodies - believed to be those of Kosovo Albanian civilians - included women, children and elderly men.

[END FINANCIAL TIMES QUOTE]

Again, more of the same. Except that now we are told the police "reached their conclusions while investigating." Apparently reading a little known crime magazine, whose interview with a certain Djordjevic is disputed by the same Djordjevic, is tantamount to "an investigation." These 'investigators' are entirely worthy of Kandic.

[BACK TO THE FINANCIAL TIMES]

Capt Karleusa said investigators had established that the freezer truck was pulled from the river on April 6 1999, and that police declared the case a state secret. The story broke in local media only this month.

[END FINANCIAL TIMES QUOTE]

“Established” how? By fiat? Who are these 'journalists'? They cannot ask obvious questions?

We are still being told that they have no bodies and no truck. And all of these details come from the Timocka magazine anyway. Some investigation!

[BACK TO THE FINANCIAL TIMES:]

Mr Milosevic is awaiting trial in Belgrade for corruption and theft, and the Yugoslav government has indicated he should first face trial in Serbia, rather than be extradited to The Hague tribunal. But the US has said that future financial aid to Belgrade should be linked to co-operation with tribunal.

Belgrade is seeking US support at a World Bank-sponsored donors' conference, scheduled in Brussels for June 29, where it hopes to raise Dollars 1bn (Pounds 700m).

The Belgrade government is also preparing a law which could clear the way for Mr Milosevic to be handed over eventually to The Hague tribunal.

[END FINANCIAL TIMES QUOTE]

Well, with so much money to be made, one can see how standards of evidence might suffer. It is clear that “cooperation with The Hague” does not imply the conduct of a proper investigation, but rather the fabrication of stories that might help justify the extradition of Milosevic.

What is the liberty and life of one man, after all, when on the other hand 1 billion dollars dangle?

VI. THE NEW YORK TIMES JOINS THE FRAY

On June 1st the New York Times decided it was finally their turn. And this is a happy occasion all around, because even though the New York Times does not employ any fact-finding journalists, it certainly has some reasonably gifted and imaginative fiction writers whose skills are entirely appropriate for the “children’s story” genre. We can thus now have some workmanlike prose—at least at the level of “Creative Writing 101”—with our propaganda. I analyze the text in full:[42]

[First, set the scene]

It was April 6, 1999, and Yugoslavia was at war with NATO, which was bombing the country to stop Mr. Milosevic, who was then president of Yugoslavia, and his security forces from killing, torturing and expelling the Albanians of Kosovo.

[END QUOTE]

Never mind that there is no “evidence” of “killing, torturing, and expelling” of Albanian civilians in Kosovo that does not come directly or indirectly from the KLA. And never mind that so far every allegation of a massacre has turned out to be a hoax when international forensic experts investigate (click here for an example). On with the story.

[Introduce the main character]

The police asked Zivadin Djordjevic, 56, a professional diver with the local power station, to check on a truck submerged in the Danube. He thought it was just another traffic accident.

[Enter the big surprise; establish a conflict; generate suspense]

Nothing prepared him for the shock when they hoisted the truck ashore with a winch, and he and a police technician opened the rear doors to find dozens of bodies tumbling out on top of them.

[Climax: Supply emotion, elicit horror]

"We barely opened the doors, maybe a foot or two, so it's hard to describe," he said. "Arms and legs almost fell out, because they were leaning against the door. In that split second, I noticed a half-naked woman, a child of 7 or 8 years old behind, and an old man. It was a mess of mangled bodies, clothing, mud and water."

[Move to resolve: begin explaining]

The police took the bodies away, blew up the truck and told Mr. Djordjevic and others to keep quiet. Though word had already spread around town wartime constraints caused the subject to become taboo rapidly. Anti-NATO propaganda was at a height and a draconian information law was in force so that journalists lived in fear of their livelihoods and even their lives if they reported something deemed even remotely unpatriotic.

[Find the villain]

"I knew about it and the public knew about it, but no one dared to talk," said Mica Aleksic, a journalist and political activist in Kladovo for what was then the opposition to Mr. Milosevic. Residents suspected the bodies were those of civilians killed in Kosovo but a veil of secrecy fell over the case, he said. "We talked about it in private, but no one could say anything publicly because everyone was afraid of the Milosevic regime."

With Mr. Milosevic in jail in Belgrade since April 1, the story finally came out in the Serbian newspapers this month. It has quickly acquired enormous significance here because it has provided both the Serbian people and the authorities with the most convincing evidence to date of war crimes committed in Kosovo, and of Mr. Milosevic's involvement in covering them up.

[END QUOTE]

"Everyone was afraid of the Milosevic regime?" Everyone was afraid of a twice-popularly-elected politician, who lost the third time by a narrow margin, and only because the US spent millions of dollars to ensure his defeat (in addition to lots of ambiguous and not-so-ambiguous threats about what would happen if he won)?

If this is "the most convincing evidence to date of war crimes committed in Kosovo," just imagine the evidence for the other alleged crimes! And what was the "evidence," again, of Milosevic's involvement? I didn't hear you... Excuse me! What was the evidence of the crime?

[Get the villain]

Police officials directing the investigation said last week that they were bringing charges against Mr. Milosevic for ordering officials to "clean up" in Kosovo and remove evidence of civilian casualties that might be of interest to the international war crimes tribunal in The Hague.

This is the first time that the authorities in Serbia, who arrested Mr. Milosevic on charges of embezzlement and abuse of power, have linked him to war crimes. The Hague tribunal indicted the former Yugoslav leader during the Kosovo war, in May 1999, for atrocities in Kosovo; an indictment for crimes allegedly committed during the earlier wars in Croatia and Bosnia has yet to materialize.

[END QUOTE]

Notice that “police officials...were bringing charges against Mr. Milosevic for ordering officials to ‘clean up’ in Kosovo and remove evidence of civilian casualties that might be of interest to the international war crimes tribunal in The Hague.”

First, as you may recall, no evidence was ever reported of the alleged ‘order,’ this is still just an unsupported accusation by Captain Karleusa and interior minister Dusan Mihajlovic. And we have seen above just how plausible this allegation is in principle (disregarding for the moment that not a shred of evidence has been produced to substantiate the allegations that the meeting took place).

Second, the phrasing suggests that Milosevic is being punished for The Hague’s inability to find any evidence of war crimes—after all, the argument that Milosevic covered up evidence of war crimes relies entirely on one fact: that the The Hague has been utterly unable to document any war crimes! The NYT’s choice of words is probably unwitting, but this is—ironically—the closest we have gotten to an accurate reporting of the reasons for taking Milosevic to The Hague.

[Post-mortem: Explain the crime]

Police officials and Serbia’s new interior minister, Dusan Mihajlovic, told a news conference last week that in a meeting in late March 1999 Mr. Milosevic ordered his interior minister, Vlastimir Djordjevic (who was also later indicted by The Hague tribunal) to remove civilian casualties in Kosovo that could be the source for investigations by the tribunal.

Toma Fila, Mr. Milosevic’s lawyer, has called the allegations ridiculous. Mr. Stojiljkovic has denied the incident but the information appears to have come from Vlastimir Djordjevic, the former head of Police Public Security, who was at the meeting. Also present was Rade Markovic, the former head of State Security, who is now in jail under investigation for murder and attempted murder of Mr. Milosevic’s opponents.

[END QUOTE]

Stojiljkovic, supposedly at the meeting, denies the incident. But the information, the NYT says, “appears to have come from Vlastimir Djordjevic, the former head of Police Public Security, who was at the meeting.”

Cannot the NYT expend a few of its vast resources to find out exactly where the information originates? But let us pause, for we have found another creative mistake...

Suppose we are generous and disregard for a minute that there was obviously never any such meeting. Just imagine there was. Could it then be possible for the information about this meeting to come from “Vlastimir Djordjevic, the former head of Police Public Security, who was at the meeting”?

We know this is impossible, because we started at the beginning, and we know that Vlastimir Djordjevic is one of the two police chiefs who were sacked for not looking into the non-event of the alleged truck for which nobody can produce any evidence (see above), a story about which the only witness denies that he has been properly quoted. And why exactly was he sacked? Because Srzentic, who appears not to exist, said that his immediate superior (or predecessor), who definitely does not exist, stopped him from investigating, and apparently Vlastimir Djordjevic was the boss of this ghost! How likely is it that Vlastimir Djordjevic, fired because a ghost said that he had ordered the cover-up of this vaporous truck,

would then contribute to incriminate himself in this frame-up by saying that he was present at the alleged meeting in which Milosevic supposedly gave the orders for this alleged cover-up?

Not very likely, to say the least...

The NYT seems to be fabricating a new (and uncertainly stated) fiction in order to give these accusations substance. We started with an accusation put forth by Karleusa, nearly a month ago, that there had been a meeting at which Milosevic gave an order, and still nobody can find out what the substance of this accusation is? Well, if nobody has that, then the NYT will just take the liberty of speculating that it came from one Vlastimir Djordjevic, former head of Public Police Security. That makes it sound legit, doesn't it? NYT readers probably never heard the name, and one can be sure that they will not spend their precious time rummaging thru the wire reports, as I did. So they will never realize that it is preposterous to suggest that this information ever came from Vlastimir Djordjevic.

[Next, provide a little context]

The information has emerged just as the government is debating a law on cooperation with The Hague tribunal that would establish the procedure for Yugoslavia to transfer war-crimes suspects to the court. The bill is encountering opposition in the federal Parliament from former allies of Mr. Milosevic whose support is crucial to its passage, but the government needs to pass the law before an aid conference on June 29 if it wants to ensure American participation in the conference and raise its goal of \$1 billion.

[END QUOTE]

Yes. This is a very interesting coincidence, now, isn't it?

[Context, cont.]

On Wednesday, Mr. Mihajlovic, the Serbian interior minister, told a session of the Serbian Parliament that the truck had contained 86 bodies and said he would soon make public where the bodies had come from, and what had been done with them. He gave no details, but hinted strongly that more evidence would turn up against Mr. Milosevic and his security chiefs. "I would wish that this is the only such case we are facing now," Mr. Mihajlovic told Parliament, "but there are a lot of indications that there are more similar cases."

[END QUOTE]

Still no evidence. But on the other hand we have a very interesting new 'fact': the truck contained 86 bodies.

How does anybody know this? They don't say. It is an interesting new fact because the original Zivadin Djordjevic alleged 'interview' said 50 bodies, and this is the figure that everybody had been repeating. Since, so far, there has been no source for any of this except the claims allegedly made by Djordjevic, one would like to know where the new figure comes from. But we are not told.

We are told, however, that the Serbian Interior Minister Mihajlovic "would soon make public where the bodies had come from, and what had been done with them." So good stuff is on the way.

Stay tuned.

[Coda]

For the people of Kladovo, there is little doubt that the deaths of people who were clearly civilians were the result of terrible deeds directed or committed by members of the Milosevic regime.

Nikola Dajic, 58, one of four workers ordered by the police to load the bodies on another truck under cover of darkness after their discovery, said there were small children among them.

He said he presumed they were from Kosovo because their injuries appeared to be from grenade explosions. "They were in pieces, destroyed. They were covered in mud and smelled very badly," he said. "They came from a battlefield," he added. When asked why he thought they came from Kosovo, he replied: "Where else do we have a war?"

[END QUOTE]

These alleged "people of Kladovo," for whom "there is little doubt that the deaths of people who were clearly civilians were the result of terrible deeds directed or committed by members of the Milosevic regime" are...who again?

Nikola Dajic, grave digger.

We have seen this Dajic before: he is the only person with an actual name, other than diver Zivadin Djordjevic, who is alleged to have seen this non-truck containing non-bodies. He is prospering: he started out as a person, and now he has apparently become an entire town.

Dajic provides a very useful rationale for deciding that the bodies which nobody can find are victims of crimes that Milosevic was covering up: there is no other explanation. "Where else do we have a war?" he says.

Ah! So simple. And the NYT simply reports this without any comment because...it makes sense! In other words, should dead bodies be found in a truck in a river (although in fact there is zero evidence for this), the only conceivable explanation is that they are Albanians murdered in Kosovo on Milosevic's orders.

Case closed.

This really is sterling journalism!

[Coda (cont.)]

Mr. Djordjevic, the diver, said the truck had no license plates but carried a sticker on the cab doors indicating it belonged to a Kosovo company named Progress, based in the town of Prizren.

[END QUOTE]

Did you catch the creative mistake? The original AP wire, and subsequent news accounts, said repeatedly that the truck "bore license plates from Pec, a western Kosovo city" (see above). And once we heard that rumors said the trucks had Belgrade license plates (see above). But now they tell us that the truck had no license plates, and in fact belonged to a Kosovo company from the town of Prizren.

Tsk. Tsk. Sloppy.

Why this creative mistake? Well, the NYT must be thinking that its readers will assume sinister people doing sinister things naturally remove the license plates from their vehicles. By giving us the novelistic detail, the NYT immerses us in the story (suspend disbelief...) and it also tells us that the trucks looked like trucks that were up to no good (the license plates had been removed!). Uh huh. But the liars at the NYT really should spend a little time reading previous lies in the mainstream media, so that they can keep them consistent.

[Coda (cont.)]

The truck was discovered on April 6, 1999, but Mr. Djordjevic and Mr. Dajic said the bodies were badly decomposed and could have been in the water nearly 20 days. Local journalists have found one person who claims to have seen someone sinking a truck into the Danube farther upstream on the night of March 20.

That would mean that the bodies were dumped before NATO began its bombing campaign against Yugoslavia on March 24, 1999, at a time when Yugoslav forces were escalating their offensive against Albanian villages in Kosovo. Local journalists have also said a police officer at the scene told them that some of the clothing indicated the people were Kosovars.

People in Kladovo said it was good that the case was finally out in the open and being investigated, but some have called Mr. Djordjevic a traitor, and even blamed him for laying Serbia open to accusations of genocide.

A confident, barrel-chested man, he showed some lingering fear, but he said he felt relief that the crime was finally being investigated. "It is not easy to carry something inside for two years," he said.

[END QUOTE]

Who are the "People in Kladovo [who] said it was good that the case was finally out in the open and being investigated"? Probably Nikola Dajic again, since he seems to have become the entire town.

But, to be fair, we do have some new characters here. We have one person whom local journalists have found—and who remains unnamed—who claims to have seen someone sinking a truck into the Danube farther upstream on the night of March 20. What can this mean? That we have another nameless so-called 'witness' making an allegation nobody can corroborate or double-check, since no name is given? Not at all. The NYT explains: "That would mean that the bodies were dumped before NATO began its bombing campaign against Yugoslavia on March 24, 1999." Very nice. Precisely what a NATO propagandist would say, since this would make the NATO bombing appear justified.

Only one problem: it really means something else: that they are telling us the cover-up began before the meeting was held at which the order for the cover-up was given. That is sort of strange, isn't it? For, as you will recall, the meeting at which it was brilliantly decided that the bodies would be thrown in rivers and lakes occurred, according to Interior Minister Mihajlovic, after March 24th, 1999 (click here, and here)! Are you laughing? And notice that the second link shows that the NYT actually makes this mistake within its own article. Since the NYT simultaneously alleges that the meeting was held in late March, and also that somebody without a name alleges that a truck was dumped in the Danube on March 20, then the latest the cover-up could possibly have begun is mid-March, before the meeting took place. Sloppy is as sloppy does... They must not be very worried that anybody will pay attention to what they write.

It seems we have found yet another creative mistake.

Next, the NYT tells us that "local journalists have also said a police officer at the scene told them that some of the clothing indicated the people were Kosovars." A police officer at which scene? In other words, one of the police officers who were supposedly covering up a war crime? This is about as likely as that Vlastimir Djordjevic incriminated himself by saying that he was at the meeting where Milosevic gave the orders for the supposed cover-ups, the non-investigation of which he was sacked for! Once again, the police officer is nameless. But if some police officer—presumably not one at the scene—did make such a statement, we know where he got his information: these supposed observations about the clothes come from the original Djordjevic "interview" (parts of which he denies!).

Coming to Djordjevic, I hope I can be forgiven my skepticism that the NYT really interviewed the "confident, barrel-chested" yet relatively fearful Djordjevic. I have seen enough propaganda. Barrel-chested men evoke stereotypes of simple honesty, and this could be one intended effect of the physical description. Djordjevic is a big, simple guy: he would not lie to us. But, more importantly, the physical

description is a detail, and details are what novelists use to help you suspend disbelief. This particular detail appears designed to convince us that the man exists at all, or at least that the NYT journalists saw him, for you cannot be "a confident, barrel-chested" man if you are not a real man, just as you cannot hide evidence of war crimes unless real war crimes took place. If the NYT had never seen this man, the assertion of his character and physique would be entirely in keeping with the assertions that we have seen everywhere in the media concerning cover-ups of crimes the evidence for which is entirely lacking.

And this confident, barrel-chested man said nothing about the fact that he had been misquoted? Seems aberrant that, finally reached for comment, he would suddenly drop all of his previous objections to how his statements were represented. Some explanation is called for here. But it is entirely possible, of course, that the above Djordjevic statement, too, is quoted from the original alleged "interview" published in Timocka Krimi Revija.

VII. THE BODIES ARE FINALLY PRODUCED!

Recall that, according to the NYT piece above, "Mr. Mihajlovic, the Serbian interior minister, told a session of the Serbian Parliament that the truck had contained 86 bodies and said he would soon make public where the bodies had come from, and what had been done with them."

Bodies were, in fact, eventually produced. Rather than corroborate the allegations, however, every aspect of the production of the bodies screams that it was all a fabrication. The Associated Press, perhaps unwittingly, seems to have given the game away when it reported, on May 31st, that there had been an increase in the truck body count from 50 to 86.[43]

[START AP QUOTE:]

Investigators increased the death count Wednesday in a case they argue proves former President Slobodan Milosevic covered up war crimes, saying a truck found dumped in a river during the Kosovo war contained 86 bodies. The police accusations initially revealed last week could pave the way for Milosevic's extradition to the U.N. tribunal in The Hague, which has indicted him for alleged Kosovo atrocities.

[END AP QUOTE]

It sounds like the AP is saying that increasing the death count is a way to help pave the way for Milosevic's extradition, doesn't it? Nobody explains how the body count for a truck that nobody has seen, and which was supposedly destroyed, could go up. There is no mention of any evidence that could cause them to conclude this.

Were the authorities engaged in urgent measures to raise the gravity of the accusations in time for the June 29 deadline, when the extradition law had to be passed if the Serbian government was to receive the American money? Perhaps 50 bodies were not quite enough...

On June 2nd, United Press International wire said the following:[44]

[START UPI QUOTE:]

A senior Serbian police officer said Saturday that a mass grave has been located, believed to contain the bodies of women, children and old men from a refrigerated truck hoisted from the Danube River in April 1999.

Serbian officials believe that the bodies were hidden as part of a possible cover-up of war crimes in Kosovo. Capt. Dragan Karleusa, deputy head of the criminal police department, did not reveal the

location of the grave. He also did not specify the number of bodies expected to be found in the grave, but police minister Dusan Mihajlovic told the Serbian parliament earlier this week that there were 86 bodies in the truck.

[END UPI QUOTE]

Notice what is being said. A mass grave was found, and they believe it has the bodies from the now famous freezer truck. Why do they believe the bodies come from this truck? Not clear...

We are not told how many bodies they expect to find, but we are reminded that "Dusan Mihajlovic told the Serbian parliament earlier this week that there were 86 bodies in the truck" (how they arrived at the new figure is something that still nobody knows). At that date Mihajlovic had promised "he would soon make public where the bodies had come from, and what had been done with them."

Well, at this point we can take a wild guess. The mass grave will have... exactly 86 bodies!

This is the UPI writing the next day:[45]

[START UPI QUOTE:]

Police near Belgrade have been digging up bodies from a refrigerator truck pulled out of the River Danube during NATO's air campaign against Yugoslavia two years ago, Radio B92 reported Sunday quoting a reliable source close to the Serbian interior ministry.

Police unearthed 83 bodies and three heads without trunks and the digging continues, the source insisting on anonymity told the radio station.

[END UPI QUOTE:]

Notice how they start by asserting that the bodies in the mass grave are from that refrigerator truck. How do they know this?

Simple. $83 + 3 = 86$. Thus, since Mihajlovic had announced a week earlier that there had really been 86 bodies in the alleged truck, finding 86 bodies must mean that these are the bodies from that truck, right?

Right...

[BACK TO UPI :]

"Those are bodies of women, children and old men, and there are several bodies in uniforms of the (ethnic Albanians') Kosovo Liberation Army," the source said, adding that signs of torture were visible on almost all bodies. The KLA was disbanded when the NATO-led peacekeeping force KFOR took control of Kosovo on June 10, 1999 after an 11-week campaign to end alleged repression of ethnic Albanians in the province by Yugoslav security forces. During investigations, police obtained new information indicating that the Yugoslav army's top brass as well as the former top state and police leaderships took part in removing traces of the truck and its load of bodies, the source claimed. Serbian police minister Dusan Mihajlovic told the parliament earlier in the week that there were 86 bodies in the truck when it was hoisted from the Danube on April 6, 1999, less than two weeks after the NATO launched its campaign on March 24.

[END UPI QUOTE:]

This wire goes on to refer us to ongoing investigations in Kosovo itself by the international teams that comprise "The tribunal's forensic experts from some 20 countries." These forensic experts, as we now know, turned up nothing. However, it is true that these international experts did not have the incentive of

getting 1 billion dollars. This may explain the greater success of the Serbian police of this new, Western-installed government in Belgrade.

I have to acknowledge that bodies have indeed been produced. Despite all my success above in demonstrating a propaganda animus among the new Serbian officials and in the Anglo-American press, despite the fact that an entire novel was woven without any physical evidence, and despite the fact that I have shown all manner of blatant, fatal inconsistencies in their efforts to allege "evidence," it is undeniable that we have here, at last, numerous bodies together in the same grave.

You may be tempted at this point to say: "Your analysis was very clever, but it does seem, after all, that there were some attempted cover-ups of massacres by the Milosevic regime."

And to this I say: are you kidding?

Nothing yet compels us to conclude that whatever corpses were found in some mass grave (if it is really that) come from brutalities committed by the Milosevic regime that were subsequently covered up. There are quite a few mass graves in Yugoslavia from WWII. And the number of bodies found does not even match the number of bodies originally alleged for the truck. Finally, nobody has established yet that these are the bodies of Albanians.

And we are, of course, free to entertain the hypothesis that this is all a hoax, intended to give support to the original story—which had already been built up in the media (and on nothing)—in order to send Milosevic to The Hague in time to get a billion dollars.

This second hypothesis deserves a hearing, given the patent dishonesty I have already been able to show, both by the new Serbian officials, and by the Western propaganda machine known as "the free press." Also arguing for an examination of this hypothesis is the presence of a clear and plausible motive—or, to be more exact, one billion motives (plus the innumerable political motives resulting from the benefits of neutralizing the pro-Milosevic opposition).

Finally, this hypothesis receives another boost from a non-trivial fact reported in the Spectator by John Laughland: [46]

[START SPECTATOR QUOTE:]

When asked by Le Monde last year why no charge had been brought for genocide in Kosovo, the chief prosecutor, Carla del Ponte, replied, 'Because there is no evidence for it.' Yet if, as Nato claimed at the time, the Yugoslav authorities had really intended to destroy the ethnic Albanian population of Kosovo, there would be no difficulty at all in proving genocide.

[END SPECTATOR QUOTE]

The chief prosecutor at The Hague has already said that there is no evidence of genocide in Kosovo? Well, if she says it, the Tribunal must have concluded that. But what can this mean? Isn't the systematic slaughter of thousands of Albanians, followed by the attempt to ship them out of Kosovo in freezer trucks, prima facie evidence of genocide? Surely Carla del Ponte cannot mean that evidence for such things would not qualify for the word "genocide," so she must mean something else.

Perhaps she means that this so-called "evidence" never passed muster?

[BACK TO THE SPECTATOR:]

The indictment issued in July 2001 against Milosevic and his colleagues, which was amended following the exhumation over two years of more than 2,000 bodies, now accuses them of complicity in the deaths

of 'hundreds of Kosovo Albanian civilians'. It lists the names of 577 dead people, mostly men of fighting age.

[END SPECTATOR QUOTE]

Those 577 bodies were exhumed in Kosovo, not Serbia. Not one of them comes from the alleged mass graves supposedly found in Serbia. It would seem, then, that nothing came of the freezer truck story and those bodies supposedly being exhumed from mass graves in Serbia. It would seem that, having served its purpose to make Milosevic's illegal abduction and subsequent shipping to The Hague palatable to the public, the whole thing disappeared into the Twilight Zone.

My claim is this: In the next section I will demonstrate that the freezer truck story was indeed that: a story. It was a hoax concocted to frame Milosevic for crimes that not only did he not commit, but that never took place at all, in order to send him to The Hague, collect a billion dollars, and neutralize the pro-Milosevic opposition in Serbia.

Stick with me.

(3) The plot to frame Milosevic and how it was done

We must briefly rehearse our cast of characters.

- 1) Zivadin Djordjevic: Diver. Allegedly, he gave an interview to a magazine about a truck he fished from the Danube and the bodies within.
- 2) Timocka Krimi Revija: This is the magazine that Djordjevic allegedly gave the interview to.
- 3) Dragan Karleusa: Police captain charged with investigating this alleged "incident" and also the source of the unsupported accusation that Milosevic had met with others and ordered that the evidence of massacres against civilians be covered up.
- 4) Dusan Mihajlovic: Serbian Interior minister. He echoed in public everything Karleusa was saying, and he was also the one to increase the truck's body count from 50 to 86.

We shall now introduce a most fascinating new character to our narrative. You may have wondered several times what exactly is this crime magazine Timocka Krimi Revija? Indeed, the news reports never said much about it except give the name, if they mentioned it at all. And you may have wondered, as I did, how can it be possible that, if Djordjevic had denied parts of the interview, neither the police nor the press ever reached him for comment?

We shall begin to shed some light on these questions. What follows is an excerpt from the Ottawa Citizen dated August 25, 2001.[47] This piece, as you will see, repeats the propaganda about the supposed cover-up, but it also furnishes new information that nobody else had reported until now, and which is highly relevant to the credibility of the whole story. I have enhanced the text where it deserves special attention. All enhancements are my own.

[START OTTAWA CITIZEN QUOTE:]

...Yet among ordinary Serbs, Mr. Milosevic's coverup has worked. The silent denial of atrocities committed by Serbian forces in Kosovo continued long after the war finished. It transcended even Mr. Milosevic's fall from power last autumn. Most Serbs chose to believe that their war in Kosovo had been

an heroic struggle against Albanian terrorists and Nato aggressors. In polls, 86 per cent could name atrocities committed against the Serbs. Less than 10 per cent accepted the possibility that Serbs had committed war crimes.

In one respect, the nascent democratic government had little interest in revealing Serbia's dirty hands to a public that was more concerned with the 1,500 Serbs still missing in Kosovo. It was weak and beset by problems, among them financial destitution, powerful gangs and an old guard of influential figures in the police and military who viewed Mr. Milosevic's demise with, at best, ambivalence.

Yet paradoxically, members of the new government realized that if they took the gamble of a slow disclosure of Serb war crimes, they could prepare public opinion for Mr. Milosevic's extradition, an act that would release millions of dollars in foreign investment, and undermine the power of the old guard. So they hatched a revelation plan. And the silent diver, Zivadin Djordjevic, was the fall guy.

He was approached last December by Dragan Vitomirovic, owner and editor of the Timocka Krimi Revija newspaper in Zajecar. Mr. Vitomirovic explained that he was doing a story on the Danube's most experienced divers and wanted to interview him. Mr. Djordjevic agreed.

The interview went normally until Mr. Vitomirovic asked the diver what he had discovered on April 6, 1999. Mr. Djordjevic refused to talk. Then Mr. Vitomirovic produced his identity card for the "DB," Drzavna Bezbednost, Serbia's state security service. Reluctantly, the diver told his tale.

Mr. Vitomirovic, who Belgrade sources claim is a friend of Interior Minister Dusan Mihajlovic, himself a former DB officer, ran the story of the dumped truck on May 1, weeks before Mr. Milosevic's extradition.

At first it caused little impact. Many Serbs either refused to believe the story or thought there was some explanation for the bodies in the truck other than as civilian victims of Serb atrocity. However, next the Interior Minister set up an investigation into the incident, placing Capt. Karleusa at its head.

[END OTTAWA CITIZEN QUOTE:]

This is getting very interesting.

Dragan Vitomirovic is the owner and editor of the tiny and little known magazine Timocka Krimi Revija, to which diver Zivadin Djordjevic supposedly gave the interview that is the basis for all of this. Being owner and editor, of course, means that Vitomirovic can publish absolutely anything he wants. That's the first point.

The second point is that he is not just an innocent publisher/editor. Vitomirovic was a man on a mission. He was in the employ of the security service, and a friend of Interior Minister Mihajlovic, who became friends with Vitomirovic, apparently, when Mihajlovic was still in the security service. Mihajlovic had sent Vitomirovic to write that story in order to set up Milosevic. Although the Ottawa Citizen gives it a different interpretation, what happened is obvious: Vitomirovic's mission was to make Milosevic look like a criminal in order to ship him to The Hague in time to get a billion dollars and neutralize the political opposition.

After Vitomirovic printed our now infamous little story, Mihajlovic appointed Dragan Karleusa to 'investigate.' Small wonder, then, that Karleusa makes entirely unsupported accusations that Milosevic gave orders for cover ups of massacres at a meeting no one will even commit to have taken place on a definite date. After all, he was appointed by the same guy who had Vitomirovic frame Milosevic.

The Ottawa Citizen has uncovered some important information that was reported nowhere else. However, they are apparently too swamped by the preceding onslaught of Anglo-American propaganda to see this for what it manifestly, openly, and obviously is: an attempt to frame Milosevic. So they present this as a

carefully planned release of genuine evidence of real cover-ups of real massacres ordered by Milosevic, which release is designed to get Milosevic to The Hague in time to get a billion dollars.

Not dishonest. Just "strategic."

But for the Ottawa Citizen to present its revelations this way can only result from an absolute faith in the culpability of Milosevic. It is necessary to have a religious conviction that Slobodan Milosevic is a butcher not to see these revelations as anything other than evidence of a plot to frame him.

But I am not done. It gets better. Stick with me.

The Sydney Morning Herald, in a July 7 piece,[48] also reported some new details that are very interesting, even if, just like the Ottawa citizen, they were still pushing the official propaganda story. Their piece begins by recycling the same old story, and then:

[START SYDNEY MORNING HERALD QUOTE:]

...But there was no follow-up police investigation. The truck was spirited away, and the bodies supposedly buried. The incident was declared top secret and Djordjevic was told not to mention it again.

After the fall of the Milosevic regime, however, the diver was approached by the magazine's owner-editor, Dragan Vitomirovic, a former Serb state security official who says he was dismissed by Milosevic in the late 1980s for objecting to policy in Kosovo. He became a journalist in 1987 and consistently crossed swords with the authorities.

It was only after the emergence of Belgrade's new democratic government that the two men felt able to reveal the story's full details. Both, however, have subsequently been attacked by some disbelieving locals.

People are divided about it all," says Vitomirovic. I was recently a guest on a local TV program that covers about 2 million people. There were about 15 questions from the audience and 13 of those were along the lines of did I feel like a traitor and why didn't I go to Kosovo and locate all the graves of Serbs, and so forth. The other two people said Good on you'."

[END SYDNEY MORNING HERALD QUOTE:]

So not only is Vitomirovic a former security service official, friends with the Interior Minister Mihajlovic, and on a mission to send Milosevic to The Hague, but he appears to have reasons for harboring a personal grudge against Milosevic.

And notice that he has been mostly attacked by the local people, which completely contradicts everything the New York Times was saying about the locals (see above). Contrary to the New York Times' assertions about how happy the locals all are about this dark secret of theirs finally coming out, they almost unanimously disbelieve Vitomirovic.

Recall that the New York Times gave the name of only two residents of Kladovo, even though it pretended that these two people spoke for everybody. One of these is Nikola Dajic, grave digger and second alleged witness to the truck and bodies. This man is almost certainly a fiction created by Vitomirovic, but the New York Times interviewed him anyway. The second source the New York Times listed was a man by the name Mica Aleksic, who is supposedly a journalist and political activist who has always been opposed to Milosevic. If he is not a fiction of the New York Times, then his long-standing opposition to Milosevic may explain why he has given his name enthusiastically to this hoax.

The Sydney Morning Herald, on the other hand, has a great source for the local reaction to Vitomirovic's story: Vitomirovic himself. And what does he say? That almost everybody calls him a traitor! And can you blame them?

Finally, consider what was reported in The Sunday Times (London):[49]

[START SUNDAY TIMES QUOTE:]

Yugoslavia's new authorities have evidence that Milosevic, now in detention after being arrested for lesser crimes, and at least five senior ministers held a meeting to discuss ways of covering up all traces of the atrocities.

The story would probably have ended with the removal of the bodies from the river had it not been for the intervention of Dragan Vitomirovic, 64, a retired former officer in the Serbian state security police, who produced a small monthly news sheet detailing crimes in the Kladovo region.

His magazine, Timocka Kriminalna Revija, originally listed the incident in June 1999, describing the victims as Kurds trying to flee to the West. He then discovered the truth about the bodies and three months later wrote a second version.

[END SUNDAY TIMES QUOTE:]

Vitomirovic wrote a second version...!

Now we have an explanation for why Djordjevic was denying the interview! He was denying the second version, the one Vitomirovic decided to rewrite. It is simply amazing that The Sunday Times does not realize that there can be no such thing as a second version of an interview. What was said at the interview is what was said at the interview. If Djordjevic said that those were Kurds in the truck, then that is what he said. If Vitomirovic has some special information, obtained later, which points to those bodies belonging to Albanians, he could write a new article and explain where he got the new information. But how does it make sense for him to rewrite the interview and put new words in Djordjevic's mouth if that is not what he said? Well, this is where it comes in handy that he is owner and editor of the magazine. Who's going to stop him?

That is why Djordjevic denied the interview!

Nobody, as you will recall, investigated why Djordjevic had denied parts of the interview. Who was going to investigate this? Karleusa, the guy in charge of the investigation? But this Karleusa was appointed by the same Mihajlovic, friend of Vitomirovic, who sent the latter to engineer the frame-up of Milosevic. The press? Well, they should have. But if you are still hoping that the press will investigate anything you have been paying scant attention. Everybody throughout either kept referring to Djordjevic as the source of everything, even quoting him, or else they repeated the 'facts' that came from the alleged Djordjevic interview without even attributing them to this interview. What nobody did was investigate why Djordjevic had denied parts of the interview.

And what they were quoting, we now see, was Vitomirovic's rewriting (!) of the first interview.

And notice the interesting contradiction. We are told by the Sydney Morning Herald that "The incident was declared top secret and Djordjevic was told not to mention it again." Furthermore, we are told that it was only "After [my emphasis] the fall of the Milosevic regime...[that]...the diver was approached by the magazine's owner-editor, Dragan Vitomirovic" and that "It was only after [my emphasis] the emergence of Belgrade's new democratic government that the two men felt able to reveal the story's full details." How does this all square with the claim in the Sunday Times that Djordjevic first gave an interview about this in June 1999, and Vitomirovic's second version was published only three months later? Not very well. In June 1999, Milosevic was still in power.

Finally, notice that one has to go out of the United States to find any mention of Vitomirovic. The only English language sources to mention him are Canadian, British (and this is surprising), and Australian.

Why?

Are American newspapers somehow not interested in these positively fascinating facts? Don't these facts have all the markings of a TREMENDOUS SCOOP?

I hope you are angry.

Entire multitudes of bodies were subsequently "discovered." Mass grave followed upon mass grave. Who knows where these bodies really come from? Perhaps from WWII massacres, or perhaps some of them are refugees from other countries fleeing to Europe, as Djordjevic said in his original interview. Perhaps some of both. Indeed, Milosevic's wife has offered precisely this speculation. Maybe even some have been stolen from cemeteries or morgues in order to completely manufacture the mass graves. Perhaps all of them?

Who knows...

We can't really find out because nobody that we can trust is examining the bodies. The same international teams of forensic experts who managed to prove that every claim of massacres in Kosovo was a KLA hoax have not been looking at this so-called 'evidence.' This was made evident in a Deutsche Press Agentur wire:[50]

[START DPA QUOTE:]

... "There are two other possible locations," Mihajlovic said responding to a question at a press conference. He declined further details, except to confirm that the mass grave near Belgrade contained "not only the bodies from the truck".

The investigation was turned over to justice officials last week. "A team of experts, formed by the Belgrade Institute for Judicial Medicine is doing the work now," he said, adding that it would be a "very long investigation".

[END DPA QUOTE]

A month later, DPA reported a little more on this 'investigation': [51]

[START DPA QUOTE:]

The existence of three mass graves with Albanian bodies in them has so far been officially confirmed. Two are in eastern Serbia, near Kladovo, and one is in the Belgrade suburb of Batajnica.

Investigators and forensic experts were examining the remains with U.N. war-crimes tribunal observers in attendance.

A pathologist linked to the investigation has told Deutsche Presse-Agentur dpa in Belgrade that an effort will be made to send the post-mortem data to the Kosovo capital Pristina for identification of bodies to proceed.

"We are making standardized files on each of the victims ... like healed fractures, teeth, size, but also clothes, watches and other distinguishable personal items," he said, speaking on terms of anonymity.

[END DPA QUOTE]

These pathologists are obviously very proud of what they do, and that is why they speak only on condition of anonymity.

And it all makes sense. While the pathologists handpicked by Karleusa and Mihajlovic examine "the bodies the Hague tribunal was so desperate to find,"[52] observers from the same Hague tribunal were there, looking over the shoulders of these "pathologists" to make sure that they found what they so desperately needed. I wonder why there is no mention of representatives from Milosevic's legal team being invited to attend these "forensic examinations"...

EPILOGUE

And the story later continued to evolve.

Lots of juicy new details were added by an elusive alleged 'driver' of one of these alleged trucks, and who allegedly only gave his name as 'Nikola.' He is allegedly outside of the country in hiding. Where? Nobody knows, that's where. But you already guessed that. Nobody appears to have seen him. But that hardly matters because these are details that can only make him more credible to the New York Times, The Independent, the Associated Press, et al.—purveyors of the truth. And so every juicy revelation from this 'Nikola' keeps building up the story into an ever more florid and refined narrative.

When did Nikola first surface? The following is from a UPI wire which contains the first mention of Nikola that I could find.[53]

[START UPI QUOTE:]

A report in the Vreme news magazine Thursday said investigators from the tribunal had confirmed that a Yugoslav army driver secretly transported hundreds of corpses from Kosovo to a Serbian smeltery during the 1999 conflict with NATO.

The driver of the truck, who later deserted the army, told the tribunal through a Western embassy in Zagreb, Croatia, that he had taken the bodies from Kosovo to the Bor copper smeltery, the magazine reported.

The driver, who identified himself as Nikola, told the magazine he made about 10 journeys to Kosovo and back to Bor before becoming suspicious. So, he and two close friends unsealed the refrigerator truck to find it contained 78 bodies, mostly civilians, including a woman. There were also the bodies of three Yugoslav soldiers, one of whom they recognized as a local boy.

Nikola agreed to drive the truck overnight to the smeltery, but he and others left the vehicle on a side road near Bor and fled.

Nikola first crossed into Bosnia-Herzegovina and then to Croatia with forged travel documents and a number of photographs of the truck and its load, which he forwarded to the tribunal, the magazine reported. He has since been granted asylum in a European Union country, the magazine said.

It said his account and the photographs were deemed authentic by the tribunal.

[END UPI QUOTE]

Now this is rich. The tribunal set up and paid for by NATO deems "authentic" an account and photographs from some Nikola with no last name who is...where? Nobody knows. But we do know that he made his accusations from Croatia, best friend of Yugoslavia!

Move to convict! Let's skip the trial!

Why won't Nikola show his face? What is he afraid of? The government in Belgrade is trying to extradite Milosevic, and so is the US government, the British government, the German government, and the entire Western media. Is this a man who needs to hide?

(Probably not. People who don't exist don't have to expend any effort to make themselves hard to find!)

This is from Agence France Presse, writing the same day:[54]

[START AFP QUOTE:]

The witness, identified as "Nikola," said he drove a truck carrying the bodies of ethnic Albanians from Kosovo to Serbia before the 1999 NATO air war erupted.

He said he was drafted by the Yugoslav army in February 1999, and tasked with driving a refrigerator truck back and forth from Serbia to Kosovo.

[END AFP QUOTE]

This man is extraordinary. He made it out of Kosovo with a heavy and sluggish freezer truck, full of dead bodies, cross-country over bombed-out and mountainous terrain, and managed to escape the KLA and NATO bombs not once but several times!

[BACK TO AFP:]

Nikola said he had been ordered to drive the empty truck from the eastern Serbian town of Bor to an army barrack in Kosovo's provincial capital Pristina where "the truck was filled up and sealed and I drove it back to Bor."

He had driven a dozen such tours "always overnight," and his travel orders were stamped confidential.

"I realized soon that I was transporting corpses and it was clear to me where they were coming from, but I did not know where they ended up," Nikola said.

The weekly did not make clear whether its reporters spoke directly with the witness, but his report was confirmed by two sources within the ICTY.

[END AFP QUOTE]

Good. That is all the confirmation we needed: The Hague prosecutor's!

And now we know just how many times "Nikola" pulled off this feat: a dozen times. Remarkable. And by night! So to all the difficulties we mentioned earlier, we can now add the night.

And how about this precious news item, also from Agence France Presse, and also from the same day:[55]

[START AFP QUOTE]

An anonymous Serbian witness has approached the UN war crimes tribunal with new evidence of alleged massacres of ethnic Albanians by Yugoslav forces in Kosovo, the weekly Vreme reported Thursday.

...Serbian Interior Minister Dusan Mihajlovic estimated Wednesday that about 1,000 bodies of suspected ethnic Albanian victims of the 1998-99 war in Kosovo could be found in several mass graves in Serbia.

Last month, police officials accused Milosevic of ordering measures to be taken to "eliminate" all evidence on crimes committed in Kosovo in 1999.

...Milosevic is currently in a Belgrade jail on domestic charges of corruption and abuse of power, but officials have not ruled out adding additional charges, even of war crimes.

[END AFP QUOTE]

The next we hear of "Nikola" is on June 29th, courtesy of The Independent:[56]

[START INDEPENDENT QUOTE]

A Yugoslav army reservist identified only as "Nikola" told the Serbian magazine Vreme that he made a dozen trips between a military camp near Pristina and the remote Serbian mining town of Bor during the air strikes, driving a refrigerator truck full of bodies. With two friends, he opened the truck and took gruesome photographs of the evidence. The journalist who interviewed "Nikola" claims he is already in The Hague, waiting to testify against Mr Milosevic.

Some of the bodies the Hague tribunal was so desperate to find had been hidden just outside the Serbian capital, inside the 13 May military compound at Batojnica. More graves are being excavated around Serbia.

[END INDEPENDENT QUOTE]

First we heard that the writers for the magazine Vreme, which had originally reported the story about Nikola, had not said whether they spoke directly with him or not. Now we hear that the journalist who spoke with Nikola supposedly claims that he is already at The Hague. If they know that surely they know the name of this journalist. It could come in handy if somebody wanted to fact-check!

And then this from the Sydney Morning Herald:[57]

[START SMH QUOTE:]

The picture that is emerging is a well-orchestrated campaign, allegedly code-named "Depth 2", to dispose of the bodies of hundreds of Kosovars throughout Serbia. Witnesses talk about dozens of trucks being used as transports. Some say they shuttled bodies between various locations, including several industrial plants where they were apparently burned.

There were lots of these trucks going around," one driver, referred to by the pseudonym Nikola, has told investigators. They all had the necessary army and police papers to pass easily through checkpoints."

...Nikola's evidence could prove critical in the prosecution of Milosevic and his cronies because he was recruited in February 1999, suggesting that the killing of ethnic Albanians had started well before NATO began its bombing campaign against Belgrade.

Milosevic supporters have consistently argued that the exodus of ethnic Albanian citizens from Kosovo in April 1999 was sparked by the West's bombing, and not by their persecution at the hands of Serb security forces.

[END SMH QUOTE]

So 'Nikola' is not even really his first name? He's perfect. What more can you ask of a witness except that he be completely nameless and unavailable for comment or questioning, and also that he give you exactly what you need in order to retrospectively justify the NATO bombing of Serbia?

"Nikola" is just golden!

But notice again what this retrospective justification of the bombing entails: since Nikola was recruited for the cover-up in February, it was well under way before the meeting to decide that there would be a cover-up was supposedly held in late March, after the bombing started!

Milosevic has been accused of many things. He has been so thoroughly demonized that it would not surprise me to find that those who notice this contradiction, rather than conclude he is the victim of a media conspiracy, will pile the accusation that he is a redundant bureaucrat on top of the other abuses heaped on him.

And there is also this tiny bit of arithmetic to compute. Mihajlovic estimated that he would find about 1000 bodies. How? Who knows? (Who cares, right? This is all about the joy of making stuff up). Nikola said he made a dozen trips. The first truck was said by Mihajlovic to contain 86 bodies. Assuming this was a freezer truck of representative capacity, we have $12 \times 86 = 1032$.

Thus, all we need is Nikola.

Nikola did it all.

Stop the investigations!

Yes, stop them. Because in a world where "evidence" is synonymous with allegations made by a source that nobody has ever seen, whose location nobody can definitely place, who doesn't even have a name, and whose alleged interviewers cannot be found, 'Nikola' has just closed the case.

[BACK TO SMH:]

...Despite the drivers' complicity, police investigator Karleusa says he's not sure whether they ought to be prosecuted. "I am ashamed that something like this could happen in Serbia," he says. [But] what could they do? What is one soldier? Their guilt is incomparable to [that of] the ones who organised this."

[END SMH QUOTE]

Interesting.

The newspaper has not noticed. They talk about the "drivers' complicity," which, by putting the apostrophe after the 's' reveals that they think there must be more than one driver. Karleusa does use the pronoun 'their' when he says "their guilt" but he may just be trying to go along with the interviewer. If so, the slip: "What is one soldier?" [my emphasis] is very revealing, and matches perfectly the little arithmetic we did above.

There is just one guilty soldier.

There is an enormous amount of passion for convicting Milosevic. But not the one driver, Nikola, who carried out the entire cover-up single-handedly? And how about those who committed the massacres? They should also get off the hook?

Wait. Maybe Karleusa means the massacres were all committed by this one Nikola!

Ah... That makes sense. After all, Nikola is superhuman. Notice: he drove a thousand victims out of Kosovo in twelve trips with a heavy, unmaneuverable freezer truck, on bombed-out mountain roads, and cross-country through forests, and across canyons and rivers, and at night, managing at the same time to escape the KLA and NATO's unprecedented onslaught of aerial bombs (which were targeting vehicles indiscriminately), emerging unscathed, and without leaving any bodies in Kosovo.

If he can do that, then of course he must have massacred more than 1000 civilians all by himself and with no help (and directly on orders from Milosevic, of course). He must have been the one guy digging all those graves and then unearthing them in his orange overalls. (Why orange? Because he is superhuman, he was laughing in the teeth of fate.) He was reported as more than one person because with his supernatural powers he obviously moves so fast that onlookers thought they were seeing a multitude.

This Nikola is one of the most accomplished mass murderers in history. But hey: he is just one soldier! He was following orders. Plus: who would want to mess with Nikola?

Best not to prosecute him.

[BACK TO SMH:]

... With more exhumations anticipated, editor Vitomirovic says he intends keeping up the pressure on investigators. But he cautions against damning indictments levelled at the Serb nation as a whole. My sole motive is to expose the guilty," he says. To individualise the guilt and put the offenders on trial, not to put on trial the whole of the Serbian people. We don't need to proclaim the Serbian nation as genocidal. Just individuals."

[END SMH QUOTE]

Yes. Let's individualize the guilt so that we get it down to one: one individual: the guy giving the superhuman mass murderer Nikola his orders: Slobodan Milosevic.

Let's just get Milosevic to The Hague and call it quits. No more investigations.

The only problem with this very sensible plan is that we cannot really trust Nikola. Sigh... (yes, I know you are shocked). For you see, Nikola said this (see above): "I realized soon that I was transporting corpses and it was clear to me where they were coming from, but I did not know where they ended up," Nikola said.

This implies that Nikola would deny that he killed all of these people. Which means somebody else must have participated. It also means other people were involved in the part of the cover-up that had to do with hiding the bodies in Serbia.

Or maybe this means Nikola is lying, because it just makes sense that he did everything. Karleusa implied there was just one soldier, and I would bet my house that Karleusa never told a lie.

But wait. If Nikola is a liar, then which parts of his account should we believe?

My head hurts.

...

There have been no further mentions of "Nikola." I have been unable to find a single story written by someone who spoke to Nikola, or even knows the name of someone who spoke to Nikola.

Sigh...

And there is, embarrassingly (sorry), one more bit of uncomfortable arithmetic to compute. Even should we accept the earlier-given figure of 5000 identified dead bodies of Albanians (which is certainly much too high, but let's be generous), this still leaves us with $10,000 - 5000 = 5000$ unaccounted for, if we accept the KLA's 10,000 figure. Mihajlovic does promise to supply us with 1000, but that means we are still missing 4000. Hmm... seems like a lot, doesn't it?

I think we'll have to fudge over this one. Pity the poor Mihajlovic. Would you like the job of hoaxing mass graves for another 4000 bodies? You'd be there till Kingdom Come. And where is he supposed to find 4000 bodies anyway? He would have to start killing people, and that might be noticed.

We'll let it go. Give Mihajlovic a brake.

Post-Mortem

These, then, were the lies used to justify abducting Milosevic and sending him to The Hague. The world watches, and continues to get its press coverage of the trial from the same sources that helped frame him. So they are not learning that the prosecutors are doing a terrible job of pinning anything on Milosevic, even though Milosevic is defending himself, all by himself, against the greatest collection of power ever assembled in human history, standing behind one of the most biased and compromised courts we have seen in modern times.

Milosevic sits in a tiny cell and is treated as if he were a danger to society. As if he might run amok and actually start killing people with his own hands instead of giving alleged orders for committing alleged crimes for which nobody will ever produce any evidence. And he is not allowed to communicate with the outside, for any purpose, except by using a public phone. And his conversations are always listened to. His visits with his wife have been extremely limited, and lately not allowed, and they have not been private. He has been denied access to the internet (very sensible, because the research for this piece was all done on the internet—just imagine the stuff Milosevic could do for his defense!). He is also not being properly fed or allowed properly to exercise, even though he suffers from a heart condition.

The lies I have documented here are what was used to justify his illegal abduction, because that is what it was. The courts in Serbia had not allowed his extradition. But he was abducted anyway, and shipped to The Hague, to be tried by a tribunal set up and funded by the same Western powers that bombed his country at the behest of an organization that these same Western powers acknowledged was terrorist—the KLA.

Those same Western powers who accused Milosevic of being a genocidal maniac simply because he tried to protect his citizens—both Albanian and Serb—from terrorists, are now rampaging with their troops all over the world and actually killing civilians in other countries because... why?

Because they are fighting terrorism!

APPENDIX

An important part of my objection to the plausibility of the freezer truck story is the premise that NATO was bombing all sorts of bridges and other civilian targets, and that vehicles were targeted indiscriminately.

A recent essay by Lewis H. Lapham reports on events that pithily illustrate the attitude towards the deaths of civilians that has become commonplace among the US foreign policy elite. Writing about the intelligentsia's response to 9-11, he writes,

...the authors of the daily allegory [in the news] appealed to weapons experts and to theorists fluent in the jargon of the Cold War realpolitik. Several such authorities took part in a roundtable discussion published as a special Thanksgiving issue of *The National Interest*, a journal that lists Henry Kissinger as cochairman of its editorial board, and on reading the transcript I remember thinking that the dialogue sounded like the mutterings of Orcs in the last chapters of *The Lord of the Rings*. Somebody said that the time had come to 'flip' Iran (presumably from a low-yield theocracy to a high-yield democracy), and Dimitri Simes, president of The Nixon Center, said no, this wasn't the moment for flipping. It was the moment to consider dropping a nuclear bomb on Afghanistan -- not for any strategic or tactical purpose but for the "very strong demonstration effect" that the explosion was likely to make on the rulers of Iran, Iraq, Syria, Libya, and Lebanon. He thought that altering the terrain of Central Asia might persuade Saddam Hussein to obey the instructions of the United Nations, and when asked by a fellow discussant whether he knew that he was talking about the obliteration of an unknown number of miscellaneous Afghans, Simes observed that the NATO victory in Serbia was not won against the Serbian military "but because we were effective against the Serbian civilian infrastructure."—*Mythography*, Harper's (2002), vol. 304, NO. 1821, byline: Lewis H. Lapham, Editor.

If this is representative of how the American foreign policy elite thinks, then it is obvious that, should they condemn the deaths of 3000 Americans on 9-11, this would not be because they are civilians, but because they are our civilians. And the reference to Serbia—if representative of how the US foreign policy elite thinks of the conduct of the war against Serbia—suggests that the US hardly needs its own civilians attacked before it will make civilians in another country the main target of its bombs (notice that Simes suggests quite directly that the Serbian military was not really the target). Finally, the matter-of-factness of the conversational exchange suggests that—at least in those circles—these are not considered radical positions.

On the question of choosing civilian targets generally, NATO never really denied that it did. Jamie Shea (NATO's spokesman) repeated over and over again that they were not targeting civilians, but out of the other side of his mouth he said, for example, that no facility that they decided was being used to plan, conceive, or direct what they alleged were Yugoslav army attacks on civilians would be a sanctuary.[58] And there are very numerous famous cases of the deliberate choosing of targets that have no conceivable definition other than "civilian," such as the TV station in Belgrade. In fact, military targets are now widely acknowledged to have emerged from the bombing relatively unscathed even though Serbia, and especially Kosovo, were laid waste. (So why were refugees flooding out of Kosovo? Must have been ethnic cleansing, right? The bombs falling on barns couldn't have had anything to do with that...). This is Jim Sillars writing for *The Sun*: [59] 15-6-99 *The Sun*

[START QUOTE FROM SUN:]

You saw the size and good condition of that Serb machine roll out of Kosovo. Of course they suffered damage, but they did not lose the battle because, thanks to American fears, no battle was fought.

It was where and how the air assault was successful that should give us cause to feel anxiety. An American commentator has talked about Nato's air campaign setting new standards in future wars. I hope not. Nato set military precedents that hold out the gravest consequences for civilian populations in future conflicts, like wars between states, and terrorist actions against civil societies.

What compelled Milosevic to allow Nato in was the destruction from the air of bridges, railways, roads, power stations, water supply, factories, television stations and homes, and the growing toll of civilian dead which included a small baby sitting on its potty. Civilian Serbia was being bombed into the ground.

Nato spokesman Jamie Shea and Supreme Commander Wesley Clark justified the attacks on what by any definition were civilian targets, on the grounds that they were of use or could be used by Serb military.

Ponder that definition for a moment and be deeply concerned for the future of humanity. Roads and bridges over which people went to work could, of course, be used by the military.

Logic

There are no different military and civilian roads, so, by Nato logic, civilian roads and bridges become military targets.

In fact, given the logic applied by Nato not a single civilian service would be safe from bombing.

[END QUOTE FROM SUN]

And none was. Consider, for example, the damage reports in this wire from Deutsche Press-Agentur:[60]

[START DPA QUOTE:]

As NATO prepared to launch its 13th night of strikes against Yugoslavia Monday, Air Commodore Sir David Wilby made it clear Alliance planes have already started to hit Serbian field forces amid improving weather conditions in the Balkans.

...Serbian television said the southern city of Vranje had been struck by more than 11 NATO cruise missiles on Monday which struck civilian targets and inflicted many casualties.

The state-run television did not specify in its report the exact number of casualties at Vranje, located some 250 kilometres southeast of Belgrade.

It also said a tobacco factory in Nis, some 200 kilometres southeast of Belgrade, was still on fire in the afternoon after being hit by NATO missiles during the morning. More than 1,000 tons of tobacco had been destroyed in the attack.

[END DPA QUOTE]

But if you have doubts about the Serbian press, NATO's own reports should lay them to rest:[61]

[START PRESS ASSOCIATION QUOTE:]

[Air Commodore Sir David] Wilby also said NATO strikes overnight had caused heavy damage to targets in Belgrade, hitting staging areas, petrol production and storage sites, airfields, ammunition dumps and bridges.

He said a number of Yugoslav MiGs had been damaged on the ground and he showed a video of a missile demolishing a bridge.

[END PRESS ASSOCIATION QUOTE]

NATO's policy specific to vehicles (such as, for example, alleged freezer trucks full of massacred bodies), whether moving or not, can be determined by looking at NATO's publicly defended rules of engagement when there was sufficient evidence of wrong-doing to create a scandal which forced NATO to explain itself. The following is a wire from the Press Association:

[START PRESS ASSOCIATION QUOTE:]

Nato tonight admitted its planes had bombed a column of vehicles in Kosovo which appeared to include refugees on tractors.

[END PRESS ASSOCIATION QUOTE:]

This deserves close attention. NATO bombed a column of vehicles that included refugees on... what? On tractors.

Is this a military target? Does this look even remotely like a military target?

[BACK TO PRESS ASSOCIATION:]

It was a large convoy, which appeared from the air to be a series of military vehicles. "The 20 vehicles were uniform in shape and colour. They were maintaining steady spacing and pace, characteristic of military movement."

[END PRESS ASSOCIATION QUOTE:]

Here then are NATO's rules for deciding that something is a target at 15,000 feet: If the vehicles seem "uniform in shape and colour [and are] maintaining steady spacing and pace."

It should be obvious that at 15,000 feet,[62] distinguishing colors is not easy, let alone deciding whether a vehicle (only the top of which is really visible) has a uniform color all around or is multi-colored (and should this matter so much? Plenty of civilian vehicles are of uniform color; that is hardly a flag that says "military". And couldn't the enemy paint its vehicles to make them multicolored?).

Besides, it is very common for convoys of civilian vehicles to maintain steady spacing and pace, especially in small roads of underdeveloped provinces of underdeveloped countries, and especially when these are mountain roads. Kosovo is almost nothing but mountains. To this you may add the fact that large numbers of refugees were obviously on the move, and therefore long, steadily-moving convoys of civilian vehicles were to be expected. (But, in any case, at 15,000 feet, how easy is it to judge the spacing and the steadiness of the vehicles?)

With these rules of engagement, it seems that almost anything is a target, and questions will be asked later. But matters are actually worse because, as bad as these rules of engagement already are, NATO did not even keep to them.

[BACK TO PRESS ASSOCIATION:]

The pilots conferred with each other and decided the vehicles were a legitimate military target, and unleashed their laser guided bombs. Gen Leaf played a cockpit video showing the first bomb missing the lead vehicle in the convoy, erupting in an immense blast just behind it. A following vehicle veered off the road into a field. And the General admitted that the rest of the convoy appeared to include non-military vehicles. "As we watch this video it appears possible they are tractor-type vehicles," he told the press briefing. Soon other planes launched a series of bombing raids on part of the convoy, which stretched for several kilometres, attacking both moving and stationary vehicles. Commanders then called up so-called "verification aircraft", flying more slowly than the F-16s, allowing their crew to observe the scene with high-intensity binoculars. These pilots were able to see that some vehicles might have been multi-coloured, indicating a civilian element to the convoy, Gen Leaf said.

[END PRESS ASSOCIATION QUOTE:]

Despite all of NATO's blather about color and spacing of vehicles, the pilots were so high up that they could not see the difference between a tractor and a truck. And notice that the wire informs us that, except for the two lead vehicles, the rest of the convoy, which stretched for several kilometers, was all tractors!

In addition, notice that NATO admits above that some of the vehicles targeted were moving and others were not. So it cannot be true that the "steady spacing and pace" of these vehicles marked them off as a target.

What can this mean?

NATO is hitting anything that moves (or doesn't move).

The obvious question, for us, is: If refugees had trouble making it out of Kosovo without getting attacked, how would a large freezer truck do?

[1] The Independent (London), June 29, 2001, Friday, NEWS; Pg. 3, 615 words, MILOSEVIC FACES JUDGEMENT: THE MISSING BODIES OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN THAT CAME BACK TO HAUNT HIM, Justin Huggler In Skopje

[2]The Toronto Sun, April 1, 2001 Sunday, Final Edition, Comment;, Pg. C6;, 1382 words, The Hoax That Started A War; How The U.S., Nato And The Western Media Were Conned In Kosovo, PETER WORTHINGTON, TORONTO SUN. see also Racak, The Impossible Massacre, by Diana Johnstone, at <http://www.tenc.net/analysis/racak.htm>.

[3]The Krasniqi clan has lived in Vranoc for centuries. It has its own mosque, school, livestock and grazing lands. Although some Krasniqis have taken jobs outside the village, in nearby factories or overseas, they remain intensely loyal to their families and land." Excerpted from: FROM BROOKLYN TO KOSOVO, WITH LOVE AND AK 47'S: Cousin Florin raises the money; Uncle Besnik buys the guns; Shefqet does the fighting; the Krasniqi family helped found the Kosovo Liberation Army in 1995, and they aren't about to let a silly peace plan ruin their dreams of independence. Stacy Sullivan. The New York Times Magazine Nov 22, 1998 p50 col 1 (88 col in)

[4]Chicago Sun-Times, June 16, 1999, WEDNESDAY, Late Sports Final Edition, NEWS; Pg. 25, 503 words, Empty Kosovo graves fuel questions, BY PAUL WATSON, IZBICA, Yugoslavia;

[5] In 1998 US special envoy to the Balkans Robert Gelbard "condemned the actions of an ethnic Albanian underground group Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK) which has claimed responsibility for a series of attacks on Serb targets. 'We condemn very strongly terrorist actions in Kosovo. The UCK is, without any questions, a terrorist group [my emphasis],' Gelbard said." From: Agence France Presse, February 23, 1998 22:24 GMT, SECTION: International news, LENGTH: 631 words. HEADLINE: Washington ready to reward Belgrade for "good will": envoy

[6] <http://emperors-clothes.com/news/binl.htm>

[7] The Gazette (Montreal), November 27, 1999, FINAL, 4850 words, The Kosovo connection: The shooting has stopped, but the Kosovo Liberation Army isn't resting. It is still a major player in the international heroin trade, ALEX ROSLIN.

[8] The New York Times, July 31, 2001, Tuesday, Late Edition - Final, Section A; Page 3; Column 1; Foreign Desk, 1347 words, Serbia Finds Where Bodies Are Buried, and Investigates, By CARLOTTA GALL, BELGRADE, Serbia, July 25

[9] The Globe and Mail, January 10th, 2000.

[10] The Toronto Sun, April 1, 2001 Sunday, Final Edition, Comment, Pg. C6, 1382 words, The Hoax That Started A War; How The U.S., Nato And The Western Media Were Conned In Kosovo, PETER WORTHINGTON, TORONTO SUN.; see also Racak, The Impossible Massacre, by Diana Johnstone, at <http://www.tenc.net/analysis/racak.htm>.

see also <http://www.psych.upenn.edu/~fjgil/Norway.htm>

[11] I am not exaggerating. The mainstream Western press reported such preposterous 'facts' without blushing. The New York Times reported that "An account in the Belgrade newspaper Danas by an army reservist who saw a truck being dumped into a lake said the bodies had floated to the surface and then had been pulled out by the police and buried nearby." And Newsweek wrote that "Fortunately for investigators, the Serbs were as sloppy in their cleanup as they were in their killing. It was well into the night before the four Gypsies finished the job at the Kroni Popit rifle range, where they loaded what they estimated to be 60 to 80 corpses into the truck. The Gypsies, by their own accounts, were then ordered to the Prizren town dump, where they loaded the remains of an additional 20 to 30 people--presumably victims from the Suva Reka area--into a second refrigerator truck. The bodies then were supposed to be disposed of, and never seen again. But in early April, a fisherman on the Danube spotted one of the two trucks--with markings from the Progres food-processing firm in Prizren--floating in the river. According to later investigations, the driver had brought the truck to the riverbank, placed a rock to the gas pedal, and sent it sputtering into the water. But nobody had thought to shoot holes in the truck or its tires, and it floated away."; The New York Times, July 31, 2001, Tuesday, Late Edition - Final, Section A, Page 3; Column 1; Foreign Desk, 1347 words, Serbia Finds Where Bodies Are Buried, and Investigates, By CARLOTTA GALL, BELGRADE, Serbia, July 25; Newsweek, July 23, 2001, U.S. Edition, INTERNATIONAL; Pg. 34, 2031 words, Body of Evidence, By Roy Gutman and Rod Nordland; With Christopher Dickey at The Hague and Jeffrey Bartholet in New York.

[12] AP Worldstream, April 30, 2001; Monday, International news, 552 words, Rights activist says Yugoslav army, police destroyed evidence of Kosovo atrocities, KATARINA KRATOVAC, BELGRADE, Yugoslavia

[13] AP Worldstream, May 23, 2001; Wednesday, International news, 347 words, Human rights group urges investigation about suspected mass killing, BELGRADE, Yugoslavia

[14] The Independent (London), May 4, 2001, Friday, FOREIGN NEWS; Pg. 13, 429 words, BALKANS CONFLICT: DIVER TELLS OF FINDING 50 ALBANIANS 'MURDERED' BY SERB FORCES, Vesna Peric Zimanjic In Belgrade

[15] The Times (London), May 7, 2001, Monday, Overseas news, 573 words, 'Bodies were dumped in the Danube', Dragan Petrovic in Belgrade and John Phillips

[16] The Globe and Mail, January 10th, 2000.

[17] Deutsche Presse-Agentur, May 8, 2001, Tuesday, International News, 374 words, Police investigate possible war crimes find in Serbia, Belgrade

[18] Agence France Presse, May 9, 2001, Wednesday, International news, 377 words, Police chiefs sacked over cover-up of truckload of bodies: report, BELGRADE, May 9

[19] United Press International, May 9, 2001, Wednesday, GENERAL NEWS, 936 words, Police officers dismissed for coverup, By STEFAN RACIN, BELGRADE, Yugoslavia, May 9

[20] United Press International, May 4, 2001, Friday, GENERAL NEWS, 739 words, Attempt to conceal war crime defeated, By STEFAN RACIN, BELGRADE, Yugoslavia, May 4

- [21] Inter Press Service, May 14, 2001, Monday, 737 words, RIGHTS-YUGOSLAVIA: SILENCE SHATTERED ON KOSOVO KILLINGS, By Vesna Peric Zimonjic, BELGRADE, May 14
- [22] Agence France Presse, May 11, 2001, Friday, International news, 463 words, Gravediggers' tell of horror over truckload of Kosovo bodies, BELGRADE, May 11
- [23] Inter Press Service, May 14, 2001, Monday, 737 words, RIGHTS-YUGOSLAVIA: SILENCE SHATTERED ON KOSOVO KILLINGS, By Vesna Peric Zimonjic, BELGRADE, May 14
- [24] The Associated Press, May 25, 2001, Friday, BC cycle, International News, 662 words, Police accuse Milosevic of covering up war crimes, By DUSAN STOJANOVIC
- [25] St. Petersburg Times, May 26, 2001, Saturday, 0 South Pinellas Edition, NATIONAL; Pg. 19A, 627 words, Yugoslavia files new Milosevic charges, BELGRADE, Yugoslavia; VAKSINCE, Macedonia; JOHANNESBURG, South Africa; MUKHROVANI, Georgia
- [26] Los Angeles Times, May 26, 2001 Saturday, Home Edition, Page 3, 808 words, The World; ; Milosevic Hid Kosovo War Crimes, Yugoslavs Allege, DAVID HOLLEY, TIMES STAFF WRITER, SKOPJE, Macedonia
- [27] The Independent (London), May 26, 2001, Saturday, TITLE PAGE; Pg. 1, 381 words, SERB POLICE REVEAL PROOF OF MILOSEVIC WAR CRIME LINKS IN KOSOVO, Vesna Peric Zimonjic In Belgrade And Justin Huggler In Skopje
- [28] The Independent (London), May 26, 2001, Saturday, FOREIGN NEWS; Pg. 13, 803 words, HOW MILOSEVIC HID THE EVIDENCE OF HIS ATROCITIES, Vesna Peric Zimonjic In Belgrade And Justin Huggler
- [29] The Times (London), November 2, 1999, Tuesday, Features, 553 words, Kosovo's corpse count; The Guardian, August 18, 2000, 989 words, Serb killings 'exaggerated' by west: Claims of up to 100,000 ethnic Albanians massacred in Kosovo revised to under 3,000 as exhumations near end, JONATHAN STEELE
- [30] The Boston Globe, September 24, 2000, Sunday, ,THIRD EDITION, Pg. A4, 815 words, 4,000 KOSOVO SLAYINGS DOCUMENTED PROSECUTOR SAYS REAL TOLL UNKNOWN, By Kevin Cullen, GLOBE STAFF
- [31] The initial estimate of violent deaths during the Kosovar conflict from 1998 to the present year was 50,000 people, but it has been going down as low as less than 10,000, and sources from the UN are saying privately that it will not be more than 2000.— (El Pais, Oct. 11, 1999; my translation)
- [32] The Guardian, August 18, 2000, 989 words, Serb killings 'exaggerated' by west: Claims of up to 100,000 ethnic Albanians massacred in Kosovo revised to under 3,000 as exhumations near end, JONATHAN STEELE
- [33] The Wall Street Journal, December 31, 1999. WAR IN KOSOVO WAS CRUEL, BITTER, SAVAGE; GENOCIDE IT WASN'T. by Daniel Pearl and Robert Block
- [34] Contrary to what Pearl and Block say, finding 5 bodies in a grave does not, by itself, suggest an act of barbarity at all, whether intimate or not. That depends on the forensic evidence, not on the number of dead found. It is very common for more than one combatant to share a grave when the burying of the dead is happening in conditions of war. "Mass grave" does not equal "massacre."
- [35] Agence France Presse, February 23, 1998 22:24 GMT, SECTION: International news, LENGTH: 631 words. HEADLINE: Washington ready to reward Belgrade for "good will": envoy; Agence France

Presse, February 22, 1998 21:21 GMT, SECTION: International news, LENGTH: 554 words.
HEADLINE: US Balkans envoy appeals for calm in Kosovo.

[36] Rick Grant, who has "been on both sides of the fence" and has advised "aid groups on how to handle the media and... managed information campaigns directed at foreign correspondents" says that journalism "is becoming as managed, influenced, nuanced and manipulated, the worst of government spin-controlled news... Over the past year, I've experienced first hand a remarkable change in how the media works when reporting on humanitarian disasters in such places as Albania, Kosovo, East Timor and, from a distance, in Chechnya. Amid the hellish dangers of such places, there is a formal dance of intricate detail between United Nations officials, aid workers, reporters and news managers. It's a dance that allows a reporter newly parachuted into some vile human emergency to be filing stories to the news desk within hours, direct from the front lines or from the edge of a mass grave. The days of a foreign correspondent needing to spend huge amounts of time just finding out where to go for information in a disaster area -- after spending hours or days just trying to find accommodation and a place from which to file stories -- are gone. Instead, there is an mobile, worldwide army of disaster officials, information officers, spokespersons and spin doctors that can provide itinerant reporters with everything they need, including food, lodging and transportation. Indeed, it is possible for a lazy reporter -- and there are many of those -- to file as though from the circles of hell while sitting in comfort at a five-star hotel. Information flow and control by UN agencies and relief groups is so complete that it is possible for a reporter to make a name reporting a humanitarian disaster without leaving Ottawa, New York or London." From: The Ottawa Citizen, April 20, 2000, Thursday, FINAL, 1030 words, Manufacturing content: Aid organizations and political groups drive the news from the world's hot spots., Rick Grant

[37] The Boston Globe, September 24, 2000, Sunday, ,THIRD EDITION, Pg. A4, 815 words, 4,000 KOSOVO SLAYINGS DOCUMENTED PROSECUTOR SAYS REAL TOLL UNKNOWN, By Kevin Cullen, GLOBE STAFF

[38] Inter Press Service, May 14, 2001, Monday, 737 words, RIGHTS-YUGOSLAVIA: SILENCE SHATTERED ON KOSOVO KILLINGS, By Vesna Peric Zimonjic, BELGRADE, May 14

[39] AP Worldstream, April 30, 2001; Monday, International news, 552 words, Rights activist says Yugoslav army, police destroyed evidence of Kosovo atrocities, KATARINA KRATOVAC, BELGRADE, Yugoslavia

[40] United Press International, May 9, 2001, Wednesday, GENERAL NEWS, 936 words, Police officers dismissed for coverup, By STEFAN RACIN, BELGRADE, Yugoslavia, May 9

[41] Financial Times (London), May 26, 2001, Saturday, EUROPE & MIDDLE EAST:, Pg. 8, 417 words, Serbs link Milosevic to atrocities KOSOVO WAR CRIMES:, By IRENA GUZELOVA, BELGRADE

[42] The New York Times, June 1, 2001, Friday, Late Edition - Final, Section A; Page 10; Column 4; Foreign Desk, 1153 words, A Dark Secret Comes to Light in Serbia, By CARLOTTA GALL, KLADOVO, Serbia, May 29

[43] AP Online, May 31, 2001; Thursday, Domestic, non-Washington, general news item, 789 words, AP Top News at Midnight EDT Wednesday, May 30, 2001, LATRICE DAVIS

[44] United Press International, June 2, 2001, Saturday, GENERAL NEWS, 768 words, Serbian official says mass grave found, BELGRADE, Yugoslavia, June 2

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[49] Sunday Times (London), June 17, 2001, Sunday, Overseas news, 965 words, Mass grave trail leads to Milosevic, Bob Graham in Belgrade

[50] Deutsche Presse-Agentur, June 5, 2001, Tuesday, International News, 333 words, Mihajlovic: Three mass graves of Kosovo victims in Serbia, Belgrade

[51] Deutsche Presse-Agentur, July 4, 2001, Wednesday, International News, 271 words, Another mass grave found in Serbia - report, Belgrade

[52] The Independent (London), June 29, 2001, Friday, NEWS; Pg. 3, 615 words, MILOSEVIC FACES JUDGEMENT: THE MISSING BODIES OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN THAT CAME BACK TO HAUNT HIM, Justin Huggler In Skopje

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[54] Agence France Presse, June 21, 2001, Thursday, International news, 706 words, New evidence of Kosovo crimes, as Belgrade seeks cooperation, Alexandra Niksic, BELGRADE, June 21

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[58] NATO increased the intensity and range of its week-long airstrike campaign against Yugoslavia Wednesday, warning there would be "no sanctuary" for those it accused of trying to erase the identity of the Kosovo Albanians. "No facility, no unit which is currently being used to plan, conceive, direct or carryout the Yugoslav campaign against the Kosovars is going to be a sanctuary," said NATO spokesman Jamie Shea. AP Worldstream, March 31, 1999; Wednesday, International news, 593 words, NATO extends airstrikes, warns "no sanctuary" for Serb war planners, PAUL AMES, BRUSSELS, Belgium

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[62] From an interview: Q: "Senator Sessions today made the point in your testimony that the air campaign didn't stop ethnic cleansing. There was an early criticism of the campaign that they were flying too high, they couldn't stop the violence on the ground." General [Wesley] Clark: "I don't think it is a fair critique... We went through three or four weeks of this continuous discussion of the 15,000 feet. Our aircraft flew at the optimum altitude both to acquire targets and to deliver weapons throughout the campaign." M2 PRESSWIRE, July 2, 1999, 5136 words, US DOD DoD news briefing