

Chronologische ontwikkelingen

Joegoslavië

Map 11 E

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

From: TiM Publisher <mailto:publisher@truthinmedia.org>

To: TiM GW Bulletins <mailto:tim@tyr.marietta.edu>

Sent: Monday, October 16, 2000 7:00 AM

Subject: TiM Readers' Forum - October 2000 (TiM GW Bulletin 2000/10-6, Oct. 16, 2000)

FROM PHOENIX, ARIZONA

Thought you'd be interested in our latest Truth in Media Global Watch Bulletin which is now available at our Web site, just click on the animated (green) **THE NEWS** button to go to our latest report.

Of course, you can also click on the **TiM Bulletins Index** button in the left frame - to go to selections of our Bulletins archived by **geographic** regions and **subjects**, and in **chronological** order. Or click on any other button in the left frame for other topics of interest.

And now, here are the headlines of the latest TiM Bulletin. Just keep in mind that our stories are CONSTANTLY updated, and that the e-mail text enclosed below is often merely the first edition of a story. So we recommend that you keep checking the TiM Web site daily, so that you would not miss out on some important news or commentary updates.

Truth in Media's GLOBAL WATCH Bulletin 2000/10-6 16-Aug-2000

Topic: READERS FORUM OCTOBER 2000

As you can probably surmise, we have been literally flooded with interesting comments from our readers on a wide range of topics we have covered since August - the Olympics, South African affairs, oil prices, capital punishment, Russian affairs... But again, unsurprisingly, the biggest volume of mail dealt with the Yugoslav elections and the subsequent "revolution."

In this TiM Reader Forum, we bring you a representative selection of interesting comments on all these topics. To those we could not publish, we do reply a personal reply. So keep your mail coming - both supportive and critical, as you deem appropriate. Thank you.

To read the later TiM Readers Forum, just click (or double-click, depending on your computer) on the following Web address, and you'll be able to see it in full color, along with accompanying images:

<<http://www.truthinmedia.org/Bulletins2000/tim2000-10-6.html>>

You can also check out Djurdjevic's weekly columns on New World Order at "beograd.com" in English - <http://news.beograd.com/english/articles_and_opinion/djurdjevic/index.html>, or in Serbian - <http://news.beograd.com/srpski/clanci_i_misljenja/djurdjevic/index.html> .

HOW TO MAKE TiM YOUR HOME PAGE? Easy.

If you're using the Netscape browser, go to Edit-Preferences and click on the Home Page button. Then type in: [<http://www.truthinmedia.org/>](http://www.truthinmedia.org/) in the Location space. And that's it!

If you're using the MS Explorer browser, go to Tools-Internet Options, and then type in [<http://www.truthinmedia.org/>](http://www.truthinmedia.org/) in the Address space. And that's it!

NOTE: To cancel the e-mail editions of our reports, just reply REMOVE or UNSUBSCRIBE, followed by your e-mail address.

A Reaction to... TiM's General Coverage of Global Affairs

WASHINGTON (state) - Your Life May Depend on Knowing the TiM Truths

WASHINGTON (state), Sep. 30 - We received a copy of the following message that a TiM reader from the state of Washington, John Prukop, sent to his list - Citizens for a Constitutional Washington (state), enclosing the TiM web address:

"Recipients: For those of you who are tired of the lying, controlled media in this, the Land of the Free and Home of the Brave... soon to become the Land of the FEE and Home of the Slave... you owe it to yourself to click on the following website, and read some hard hitting truth about what's really going on in the world, in places like Serbia and elsewhere.

When you get to this website ([www.truthinmedia.org <http://www.truthinmedia.org/>](http://www.truthinmedia.org/)), be sure and look down the left side menu and click on "New World Order". This will explain to you what was meant by George Bush in 1990, when he said that out of the Persian Gulf conflict there would emerge a "New World Order".

"You NEED to know what it is. Your life may depend on knowing these truths."

/s/ John R. Prukop/CCW

Some reactions to... Russia in Cahoots with New Word Order

SERBIA - I Remain Optimistic Because the Only Other Option Is Suicide

BELGRADE, Oct. 8 - We received the following letter from a TiM reader in Belgrade, who asked to be identified only by his initials - M.L., but whose full identity is known to TiM:

"Dear Sir, I'd like to express my views of the events in Belgrade and Serbia over the past couple of days, as well as my reactions to some of your articles. I spoke last night to some of my friends who participated in the events. They told me that a great many demonstrators, especially those coming from outside Belgrade, were armed! One of the DOS leaders admitted that they wouldn't come back unless they achieve their goal, no matter what the cost (in human lives).

I kept silent throughout the night. It is obvious that anything I say would create a chorus of hysterical disapproval. Any common sense had left their heads long since. I imagine you experienced the same when you warned about Milosevic 10 years ago.

As for your remark that quislings waste no time, get a load of this: I had just heard on TV that Zoran Djindjic said in an interview to a Zagreb(!!!) weekly "Nacional" that there will be no more Yugoslavia, but an alliance of states of Serbia and Montenegro with a common foreign policy. And that there would be no more federal President, Parliament or Government.

Hmm... I wonder what Mr. Kostunica has to say about that?

Talking about TV, since the "liberation" of the media, they have been none short of disastrous. Reactions from Clinton, Blair, Chirac on the "democratic changes", greetings from Zagreb, Sarajevo... O, Sancta Simplicitas!!!

I would like to reply to Mr. Alverson, who I truly believe is a dear friend of my people but has obviously fallen under this hysteria (see (see An American at the Serb "Revolution"): He compared this to 96/97 protests. It is, to say the least, inappropriate. In 96/97, the streets were inhabited by people wanting democracy and freedom. This October, it was a mob out for blood (just go and see the movie "Gladiator," and see if there is any difference between the mob in the Coliseum and that in Belgrade).

You say we will never forget the spring of 1999, Mr. Alverson. Well, I'm afraid some already have. And judging by who has taken over the media, in time a great many will.

In spite of everything I still remain optimistic simply because I have to. The only other option is suicide."

M.L., Belgrade, Serbia

KAZAKHSTAN - There Is No "West," And There Is No "Russia" Today

BAKU, Kazakhstan, Oct. 9 - We received the following letter from Basile Kotschoubey, a Russian TiM reader who is currently in Baku, Kazakhstan:

"Dear Friends, do not forget that "Russia" is already "western", in the sense that she has been overwhelmed by atheistic materialistic idealism and government over the past 80 years. The present leaders, from Lenin, Trotsky to Gorby to Putin ARE of just such a mentality.

So with them on top, or with NATO on top ... what's the difference? At least the NATO guys allow private property, and make Mercedes cars rather than Ladas, and pay wages. In fact, they'd probably run Russia better than would Putin. Those who hang on to Putin's and Milosevic's as so-called "nationalists," or "patriots," are in fact scared of their own culture, or personal lack of it, rather.

Russians should have such a degree of confidence in their culture, in their religion, that even if the entire Kremlin was occupied by Germans, the people would still remain Russian. Not only that, those in the Kremlin would themselves become Russian, and Orthodox after a generation or two. The only thing to fear is persecution of religion, and even that mustn't be feared.

I think you should start becoming much more precise in your choice of vocabulary. There is no "West" and there is no "Russia" today."

Basile Kotschoubey, Kazakhstan

AUSTRALIA - Give Kostunica a Chance

AUSTRALIA, Oct. 9 - We received the following letter from Tony T., a TiM reader in Australia:

"Dear Bob, I enjoy reading your columns, and although I usually tend to agree with you most of the time. But I feel you are being a bit unfair towards the new YU president.

I can understand your anger and frustration at the events in Serbia, however what was the alternative ? A few more years of Milosevic rule and pretend that he is a genuine nationalist? Would that have resulted in an union with Russia and Byelorussia I seriously doubt it.

I don't think such a union is possible at this time, no matter who is president of Yugoslavia.

Why not? Because Russia does not want it. By having a formal union or treaty it obliges them too much. In case of "trouble", they would really have to do something, instead of hiding behind the UN, empty words, empty threats and so on.

And realistically Russia is no shape or mood to start a major war over Serbia even if it could do it. Today's Russia does not have the military muscle of the USSR (most crucially the logistics to fight in the Balkans). I don't think you fully appreciate the military capability needed to undertake such an operation.

I believe that Kostunica is a true patriot and will do his best to protect Serbian interests in unfavorable strategic circumstances. It's way to early to judge him and only time will tell who was right.

Tony T., Australia

SWEDEN - Give TiM's Voice to People of Yugoslavia Who Resist Globalist Invasion

SWEDEN, Oct. 9 - We received the following letter from Lennart Palm, a TiM reader in Sweden:

"Dear Bob! Now media in our countries are triumphing in hypocrisy and onesidedness again. Just as during the bombings.

As a news anchor here said on TV last Thursday (Oct. 5): "And the most fantastic thing about it all, the Serbs made this change all by themselves, without any foreign pressure what so ever!"

For people who believe in a multipolar world with self-governing democratic national states working together in peace, and all kind of imperialism abolished, it is now important not to give in. We should not even be sure Yugoslavia unavoidably will be taken over by the NWO as you seem to do.

Yugoslavia has been a valiant fighter for peace and independence against fascist occupation and Stalinist blackmail and led the non-aligned movement for many years during the cold war.

We must go on revealing the lies about what happened in Yugoslavia from the beginning of the 90-ties. But now also try to unmask the gangster methods that were used by the West to make this outcome of the elections.

There I think TiM has an important role to play: give us true information about what is happening in Yugoslavia, as we certainly will see a news blackout the coming months - the NWO propaganda will try to take over all information from FRY.

With all your contacts you could give us much info to use in the fight against the upcoming NWO propaganda. Give voice to people from Yugoslavia who resist the globalist invasion!"

Lennart Palm, Göteborg, Sweden

U.S. (state unknown) - Wouldn't It Be Great for Serbia to Become a Part of NATO and the EU?

U.S. (state unknown), Oct. 6 - We received the following letter from Bojan Drobnjakovic, a TiM reader in the U.S.:

"I must deeply and regretfully disagree with you. You can say whatever you want, but the will of the people is far more powerful than any other instrument of diplomacy. My relatives back in Serbia have been fighting 10 years for change and finally it has arrived. I cannot support a man (Milosevic) who sent us to war four times, and lost every single time.

And so what if Kostunica received money from the Wes?. The money must come from somewhere. The people of Serbia have a different view than the one you envision. People of Serbia want work and it does not matter who their boss is as long as they are not starving.

I could sort of see what you are getting at about the New World Order, but wouldn't it be great for Serbia one day to become a part of NATO and the EU? I think we need to make friends with the West and not enemies. I do not want to see one million Chinese in the streets of Belgrade, if you know what I mean."

Bojan Drobnjakovic (state unknown)

POLAND - Another World Powers Deal, Like Poland's Partition 200 Years Ago

ZAKOPANE, Poland Oct. 6 - We received the following letter from Marek Glogoczowski, a TiM reader from Poland. He starts his letter with a quote from our subject TiM Bulletin, and goes on to comment about it:

"BELGRADE, Oct. 6... In fact, they lead one to suspect that the entire "revolution" was carefully (and masterfully!) staged by invisible joined hands of both Russia and the West, and with an open or tacit cooperation by the Milosevic regime..."

"I do agree. Everything in last few months (including the "Kursk" accident) is looking this way. The "New Russia" was invited to the "international feast" of partition of Yugoslavia, exactly in the same way as Austria and Prussia were invited to participate in the partition of Poland about 200 yrs ago, during the creation of OWO (Old World Order, at the Congress of Vienna)."

Marek Glogoczowski, Zakopane, Poland

SOUTHEAST ASIA - Jumping to Conclusions

SOUTHEAST ASIA, Oct. 9 - We received the following letter from Karl Eriksson, a TiM reader from Sweden who is presently in Southeast Asia:

"Dear Editor, I honestly believe that you are jumping to conclusions. Kostunica hates US/NATO I have read and he is quoted as saying it last year..."

To which we replied, interjecting the following comment:

"Stop, right there! You've just said the key words: "last year." People change. Kostunica has been a personal friend of mine for many years. He has been saying things like that for years, not just last year. But once he jumped into bed with the bought and paid-for western whores in Serbia, it makes no difference what he says. For, "he who pays the piper calls the tune."

And now, continuing with Mr. Eriksson's letter:

"In Der Spiegel (Kostunica said), "NATO has committed genocide against the Serbian people for which they will one day be held accountable" (not the exact quote, I cant remember, but very close to this and to this effect).

I think the Russians and Serbs are trying to inflame existing disagreements within the group of major imperialist powers. Reading about Kostunica's first comment on his immediate goals, it is to normalize Yugoslavia's relationship with Europe, work on the economy, and something about getting Kosovo back.

From speaking with Serbs, they seemed to believe that if they didn't take the course of action they did, the Serbs were all going to die. It would take Russia too long to be able to save them, and perhaps more passive resistance would be better anyway.

I'm not saying I'm right, and you are wrong at all. I'm just saying that it is very possible you are jumping to conclusions. The general consensus among Serbs I have been in contact with is that this is their victory over US/NATO."

TiM Ed.: "General consensus?" Sounds like another dirty word in Serbia these days - "democracy." Oops... not among the ostriches, of course. They thirst such "democracy."

AUSTRALIA - You Sound Demoralized

AUSTRALIA, Oct. 7 - We received the following letter from a TiM reader in Western Australia who wishes to remain anonymous, but whose identity is known to TiM:

"Dear Bob, you write..."As a result, we have now redrawn our geopolitical map of Europe, originally created in January 1999 (i.e., before the NATO bombing - see "New Iron Curtain over Europe," 1999)..."

In your most recent article about Yugoslavia, and the so-called revolution, you sound a little bit demoralized or even depressed, Bob!"

To which the TiM editor replied:

"F., then you don't know me very well. I am the type of a person who never gives up; whom the enemy has to kill in order to shut him up. And even then; even from my grave, my articles and speeches that are now circling the ether would still haunt the enemy. Until God's truth and liberty are victorious. With or without me.

The paragraph you quoted above is just realism. Everything seems happening according to the script we outlined in our early September "Red October" article (see Toward Another "Red October"). So why would I be demoralized or depressed? Thanks for your concern, though."

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Some reactions to... Serb "Ostrich Revolution" Was Anything But Spontaneous

NEW YORK - Just Tremendous Work, As Always!

NEW YORK, Oct. 13 - We received the following letter from Anne Williamson, a New York-based author and a former Moscow correspondent for the Wall Street Journal and other American press, whose name should be familiar to TiM readers from her insightful reports about the Russian "reforms" (see Russia's 'Privatization:' Financial Crime of the Century" - a book review):

"Hello Bob! I can't tell you how much I'm relying on TiM these hectic days to keep up with all the complex and sickening developments in Belgrade! Burning the ballots, NATO MRE's, suitcases of cash - simply nauseating. But, it's always a relief to spot TiM bulletins in my email, and know I'll soon be "up to snuff". Just tremendous work you're doing - as always!"

Anne Williamson, New York

WASHINGTON - Kostunica Is Nothing But a Front for Djindjic

WASHINGTON, DC, Oct. 14 - We received the following letter from Daniel McAdams, an American who has spent a considerable time in the Balkans as a monitor of the various elections (as member of the British Helsinki Group). McAdams is now based in Washington, DC, where he works as an analyst for an NGO that deals with security policy issues:

"Dear Bob: Your old friend Daniel McAdams here. I am so pleased to see that you have seen through Madeleine's "Demo-farce" in Yugoslavia. Reason should be enough to lead Yugo-watchers to conclude that (Vojislav) Kostunica -- honorable as he no doubt may be -- is nothing more than a front for (Zoran) Djindjic and OUR \$77 million.

As you may know, there is a virtual war among Yugo-watchers who otherwise disagreed with NATO bombing. Half of them are as schoolgirls that the "opposition" replaced Milosevic. The other part -- in which I am most certainly included -- seeing Yugo events for what they are: a victory for Washington and the end of independence for Yugoslavia.

It is clear that Kostunica is a front in the same vein as was Demirchyan in Armenia (fortunately the Armenians said "no thank you " to Madeleine's new world order) and Dzurinda is currently in Slovakia. The list goes on, but I will leave it at that.

This is nothing new, I have seen it throughout Central and Eastern Europe in my travels with the British Helsinki Group: to the communists currently masquerading as "the West", democracy means you put in power who we say, or we kill you.

How different than the glorious days of Suslov and Mikoyan? Ah, wonderful progress...

You have my great respect and have had for some time. Glad to see you on the right side on this crucial issue."

Daniel McAdams, Washington, DC

ILLINOIS - Beliefs of Czar Lazar's Time Are Outdated

ILLINOIS, Oct. 12 - We received the following letter from Veljko Miljus, a TiM reader from Illinois:

“Dear TIM: I believe that Serbia has finally gotten rid of the worst government ever. Consequently, it is only fair to allow the new government to demonstrate who they are. Please, contain your opinions to facts, logic and civilized way of expression, no matter who or what the other guy is.”

To which the TiM editor replied:

“Thanks for your feedback. Wish you would offer such advice to the Djindjic "brown shirts" (not my expression; it is a term being used by many TiM readers in Serbia who have written to us about the travesties they are committing).

All we try to do is report and analyze the whole truth. Just as we did during the NATO bombing, or since then. Get used to it. Sometimes it will be the truth you won't like. But it will always be the unadulterated truth. If that upsets you too much, let us know and we'll be happy to remove you from the list.”

To which Veljko Miljus replied (slightly abridged):

“Dear TIM: I do not think you got it. I am a Serbian patriot who has probably given more time and personal resources to the Serbian humanitarian and political cause since 1990 than any other single Serb in Diaspora. I believe that you are hurting for Serbia and Serbian people as much as I, and that you think your way of expressing the truth is the right way. However, it is not.

To be effective and helpful in the right place, and with the right people, one must do it differently from the doings of Milosevic, Seselj and yours truly, Bob Djurdjevic. The only unadulterated truth is that the Serbian people and what remains of their country are in worst economic, cultural, spiritual and political position ever.

Therefore, as I said, "Serbia has finally gotten rid of the worst government ever. Consequently it is only fair to allow the new government to demonstrate who they are." The new government may not be much better than that of Milosevic, but it is impossible for any new government to be worse or even as bad.

As far as the expressions used by TiM readers in Serbia, you should not hang onto their wisdom because how wise we all Serbs have been in this century has been clearly demonstrated, especially in the last 10 years. I am not saying this because I dislike the Serbs. I am a Serb. How can one dislike himself? I am saying it because I am sick and tired of our own illusions.

It is time for every Serb to wake up and joint the reality because the reality on this earth is the only one we got. It is time for proven atheists to stop misleading us that we are Heavenly People (Nebeski Narod). We are not. We are more corrupt than average. We are less religious than average, etc. The beliefs of Car Lazar's time are outdated. So you get used to it and start being practical for the benefit of the Serbian cause."

Veljko Miljus, Illinois

SERBIA - TiM: An Oasis of Common Sense

BELGRADE, Oct. 12 - We received the following letter from Aleksandar Radulovic, a TiM reader from Serbia, evidently a Belgrade student who has not fallen under the NWO spell:

"Dear Mr. Djurdjevic, First, I would like to express my admiration on your persistency in doing such an honorable and humane work.

This letter is an attempt to communicate with someone who understands the situation we're currently in. Trust me, it's very, very hard to find such a person here. Let me give you an example.

My colleagues-students, who should be open-minded and progressive, keep telling me that I should "enjoy the freedom we've just obtained" and stay calm!

Morbid euphoria has overwhelmed this country. People are drunk on "freedom", and don't understand a single part of what has happened to us. We, with both feet on the ground, are going through the toughest moments of our lives. The feeling of final and complete "freedom" seduced the nation, so no one can see what is happening before their eyes.

The first thing done by new "democratic" authority was that to invaded Federal Customs Department, the National Bank and the other institutions involved in money market in Yugoslavia. Mind you, the new Federal Government hadn't been formed yet, and those things are in their jurisdiction!

Deutsche Mark exchange rate was knocked down by more than half. This is glorified in all media (naturally, totally controlled by the new "democrats", provisionally barring YU info. channel) as a tremendous success. This exchange rate reduction was not followed by a corresponding price reduction.

Frankly, foreign goods are cheaper now, but only when you pay in Dinars. Domestic goods have the same price, or at most cheaper for 10%. Isn't this the first step towards elimination of domestic goods from the market?

This discrepancy with the exchange rate in Montenegro (1 DM = 42 Dinars, officially) is a bit odd. Can this be interpreted as a beginning of introduction of German currency as our national

one?

I'd like to applaud your answer to a TiM reader from Belgrade (the one who asked you why Kostunica is your ex-friend). Unfortunately, the majority here think the same way: "Kostunica talks wise".

Yes, I agree, he talks wisely, but what do Djindjic & Co. do? And as for the critics such as that reader from Igalo, I would suggest to him to watch Montenegrin Milo's TV a bit less, and to look around and to see what is happening in the once used-to-be-heroic Montenegro.

Mr. Bob, is there any hope for us? According to your last comments, I can't see a single ray of light, but... Can something stop this rapid decline? Can we expect a soon breakup of DOS coalition (which doesn't seem possible to me in near future)? What if the West finishes its job here? Is then any chance for us to get out, no matter the price?

Believe me that my heart is tearing apart these moments, and the most tragic thing is that people celebrate "victory". This makes me very restless and disappointed because I considered our people wiser and more cautious. But we appear to be too single-minded and too exclusive.

Is Belarus next? Should we expect similar events there? If it happens, I don't know which European country I could escape to - which wouldn't be under the claws of the Great beast (or should I say: where Uncle Sam couldn't find me).

I'd also like to ask you a question I've been doubtful about for some time: What is a position (I avoid to say "role") of our Orthodox church (or our priesthood) since it supported Kostunica? I cannot understand such attitude considering who is backing Kostunica and that he is supported by the West. And we know what are the Western intentions towards our Orthodox Christianity.

It seems that nothing else I can do, but to hope the future will show that you were wrong, and that I was a paranoid fool that trusted people like you. Until that happens, I will support you and your work and read TiM as an oasis of common sense."

Aleksandar Radulovic, Belgrade

TiM Ed.: As to this reader's question regarding the Serbian Orthodox Church's unusual Serbian Orthodox Church's endorsement of one political candidate, we replied that we were disappointed with it. Not only because it was done before the vote count was known. But because the Church decided to meddle in politics and take sides in the elections.

This is not about Kostunica. This writer would have reacted the same if they had endorsed Karadjordje (the man who led the Serbian 1804 uprising and the subsequent liberation from the Turks). My disappointment was due the principle the Patriarch and the Holy Synod violated - that the Church ought to be the father and mother to all Serbs regardless of their political affiliations.

After all, even the DOS polls acknowledge that over 40% of the Serb electorate voted for

- Milosevic or other non-DOS candidates. These people have now been alienated by the Church. Which is why we are afraid that the Serbian Orthodox Church's reputation and credibility will be seriously eroded as a result of this rash move.

AUSTRALIA - Free, Underground Press?

AUSTRALIA, Oct. 11 - We received the following letter from Ian Campbell, a TiM reader from Australia:

"It is good that we have a free, underground press operating. We now are subject to the media which is the capitalist version of the Soviet Union. So congratulations!"

Ian Campbell, Australia

To which the TiM editor replied:

"Thanks for your support, Ian. Just a point of clarification... We consider ourselves to be VERY visible and HIGHLY ABOVE ground media.

FYI - TiM is read in over 80 countries around the world every month, and in nearly all U.S. states."

U.S. (state unknown) - Love Your Site! We Need You...

U.S. (state unknown), Oct. 11 - We received the following letter from Mrs. Pat Scott, a TiM reader from the U.S.:

"Dear Truth in the Media: Love your site! It is so refreshing to get the TRUTH and not a newsman's biased report. How I wish I had the tools to be employed by your organization. THANKS for you excellent coverage and honesty in the news. We need you!"

(I also wish to) thank you for the stirring and truthful article about what Clinton and his minions have done in Serbia. After reading it I was ready to go to battle for them. Our country has lost all decency with the rotten leadership of Clinton, a wicked and evil man.

One day MAYBE history will finally give us the truth about him. Your article was excellent and I can only be ashamed of our government that constantly chooses the WRONG side. What can

• you expect of supporters of abortion and RU 46 and all the other evils they back? If they kill babies with no conscience then why should they stop at anything?

• We have become an evil empire too, yet we mistakenly call it a democracy. I wonder when the tide will return and if it is going to take God's intervention? God have mercy on us."

Mrs. Pat Scott (state unknown)

SERBIA - You've Gone a Bit Crazy!

SERBIA, Oct. 13 - We received the following comment from Charles Alverson, a former Wall Street Journal reporter, an American married to a Serb woman whose piece about his firsthand experiences during the Oct. 5 "revolution" you've had a chance to read in a recent TiM Bulletin (see An American at the Serb "Revolution"):

"Bob: I think you have been going a bit crazy with your anti-Kostunica stance. Read this. Charles."

What Mr. Alverson enclosed was the following post :

Date: Freitag, Oktober 13, 2000 16:58 **Subject:** Kostunica
THE ROCKFORD INSTITUTE <<http://www.rockfordinstitute.org/>>
SERBS AND THE WEST: THE ROAD AHEAD
by Dr.Vojislav Kostunica [...]

[to read it in its entirety, click on: <http://www.rockfordinstitute.org/NewsST101000.htm>>]

We replied to Mr. Alverson as follows:

"I already have, Charles. And this is what I wrote about it two days ago to Srdja Trifkovic, who posted this at the Rockford Institute site:

Date: Wed, 11 Oct 2000 22:13:10 -0700
To: Serge Trifkovic <STrif@compuserve.com>
From: TiM Publisher <publisher@truthinmedia.org>
Subject: Fwd: Re: SERBS AND THE WEST: THE ROAD AHEAD

FROM PHOENIX, AZ

Hi, Srdja. When did Voja actually write this? I don't see any references in his piece to current events, so my hunch is it might have been before the elections? Or maybe even before he had become a DOS candidate? Or maybe even before that, when he was still the "good old Kostunica?"

- If so, why did you not publish the dateline, instead of making it seem as if it was written on Oct. 10, 2000? Also, why is there a Rockford Institute copyright shown at your web site, if Kostunica did indeed write this - whenever he may have done it?

Bob Dj.

Never got a reply (even though I know Trifkovic personally very well).

Still think I am crazy? Bob Dj.

TiM Ed.: Now, it has been more than five days since we posed those questions to Srdja Trifkovic. We have still not received a reply, even though we've received other mail from him. We'll let the TiM readers draw their own conclusions about why not.

CANADA - What Will Happen to These "Revolutionaries" When They Are No Longer Needed?

OTTAWA, Oct. 13 - We received the following letter from Geoffrey Wasteneys, a TiM reader from Ottawa:

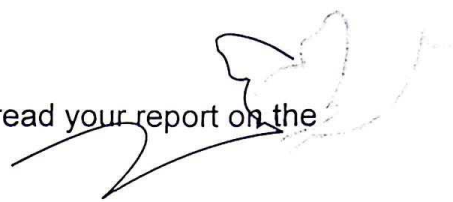
"Congratulations on this Bulletin, but it makes sorry reading."

To which we replied:

"Thanks. And I agree. But as George Burns (?) once said, "I don't aim to please; I just aim." To which I can add, "I just aim for the truth"."

Mr. Wasteneys continues with his comments about the "revolution" and the looting in Belgrade:

"What on earth is going on? You can't run a nation this way? I read your report on the "staged" revolution with great interest and concern.



I recall that Hitler rose to power by providing brown shirts, arm bands and soup kitchens to the three million or so unemployed German men. He got the money from the industrialists who were afraid of the Communists.

After he became Chancellor, Hitler didn't need the SA anymore, but Roehm, who was their leader, wanted them taken into the army. The result was the famous Putsch (coup) in which many hundreds, including Roehm, were shot.

In the West we were told that Hitler had acted because Roehm was in a nest of homosexuals, and that Hitler's action "was a good thing".

What will happen to these "revolutionaries" when they are no longer needed?

Separately, my impression is that the US peacekeepers in Kosovo are running out of patience with the Albanians. The honeymoon is almost over. But Camp, Bondsteel is a permanent establishment. They will never see the end of the US: like Guantanamo in Cuba."

Geoffrey Wasteneys, Ottawa, Canada

TiM Ed: Indeed. A very good analogy. And if the German Bundeswehr does set up shop in Serbia, they will probably do it in the North (Vojvodina), while the Brits take over Montenegro. Sooner or later the Serbs will wish the Ottomans were back. (I've made two opposite faces because this is truly black humor for any Serb who VOTED for this!).

SPAIN - Kostunica Is a Western Pet, Just Like Yeltsin and Others

SPAIN, Oct. 13 - We received the following letter from a TiM reader in Spain who goes by the name "Arga:"

"Bob: maybe your polls are not reliable, but you are telling very ugly things about Kostunica... Brave!

On Saturday (Oct. 14), Kostunica will meet in Biarritz with the 15 EU leaders: Did he not say he wouldn't accept western aid? He is a western pet.

I agree with you... this 'evolution' has been set-up. Much like every other revolution in Eastern Europe in the last few years.

Do you remember Yeltsin's revolution? Do you remember the picture of "Yeltsin against the tanks"?

Hahaha... It was clear that those tanks were set up as a prop - to obey Yeltsin. Otherwise, they would have crushed him like a worm (he is a worm, in fact... a drunken worm).

Years later, do you remember Yeltsin bombarding the Russian parliament? How democratic!!! (TiM Ed.: see "Yeltsin's Red October", a 1998 TiM Bulletin).

The western countries backed Yeltsin!!! Hahaha!! How coherent!!! They will support their pet Yeltsin at any cost!!

Do you remember Yeltsin's manoeuvre to steal General Lebed's votes (TiM Ed.: in the 1996 elections) and thus get the majority against the communists? How democratic again!!!

Do you remember the "democratic" Romanian revolution? They killed the Ceausescu couple without a proper trial. They were assassins!!!

But the new "democratic" president, Petre Roman, got the blessings of the western leaders. And the new "democratic system" "won't let the people starve again"... But when you see the change now on TV... and you see the homeless children of Bucharest, wandering by the streets, you realize the kind of change that has really happened there.

Do you remember the former DDR (East German) president? Eric Honeker? He spent the rest of his life in prison and he was terminally ill!!!! He had cancer... and he died from that illness. Honeker was another victim of the western bulldozer that runs over anyone, for the sake of "democracy and human rights".

Arga, Spain

SERBIA - EU Now Uses Bribes, Not Bombs

BELGRADE, Serbia., Oct. 15 - We received the following letter from Elizabeth Chung, a (foreign) student of Serbian history who has spent the last three years in Serbia:

"Dear Bob, I completely agree with you about the need to get the anarchy under control. I will tell you that it is not as bad as I expected. I am a student of history, Serbian History to be exact. The professors back home that I exchange e-mail with, as well as myself, expected much worse chaos.

- However, there are problems. For example, the old government confiscated many transmitters and a great deal of television equipment from independent stations. Now people want those things back, but when they go to the local state television station, they find that their old equipment is no longer there (probably moved to another city), so they are debating whether to take what they find or how to compensate themselves?

Television Cacak (pronounced "Chachak") is consulting an attorney about equipment they found there which is not theirs and what they should do, plus debating the legal and moral questions at this time. They have the equipment but they are not sure whether they are entitled to it or not.

I also fear that the old guard is going to make as much use as possible out of these incidents. I was referring to the game last night. I saw what happened on television and it was about anger. There is so much anger under the surface that is now coming out. We have two situations here in my opinion.

First there is the internal situation, stemming from the trail of corruption from the old government. The new government is trying to manage the chaos of this.

Secondly, there is the external situation of trying to locate the position Yugoslavia will take as the country is thrust out of isolation. This creates terrible pressure on the whole infrastructure, which has not been this delicate perhaps since King Alexander Obrenovic and his wife exited via window (TiM Ed.: Meaning, they were assassinated by a military coup in 1905).

Complicating matters is euphoria from most of the really good citizens who do not realize that a new ordeal is just beginning. The Serbs have a very promising but very fragile new republic on their hands. I can only hope and pray that it all works out for the best. The funds that are pouring in are so far without strings, at least the ones I have read about, but I am also afraid that this influx of money is going to overwhelm people and that much of it is going to be wasted in the chaos.

After three years here, for the first time I find myself wishing that events could just slow down. We waited and prayed that something would happen, but now we are moving at warp speed or something."

Elizabeth Chung, Belgrade, Serbia

U.K. - EU Now Uses Bribes, Not Bombs

U.K., Oct. 15 - We received the following letter from William Spring, a TiM reader from the U.K. and director of the British-based Christians Against Nato Aggression (CANA) organization:

"The Biarritz gathering of political deadbeats, loathed leaders of the new Europe, got a much

- However, there are problems. For example, the old government confiscated many transmitters and a great deal of television equipment from independent stations. Now people want those things back, but when they go to the local state television station, they find that their old equipment is no longer there (probably moved to another city), so they are debating whether to take what they find or how to compensate themselves?

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U.K. - EU Now Uses Bribes, Not Bombs

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"The Biarritz gathering of political deadbeats, loathed leaders of the new Europe, got a much

needed boost by the appearance in their midst of the representative of a country they had most recently bombed.

It was insensitive to the highest degree for Dr. Vojislav Kostunica to field questions about the possibility of handing over Mr. Slobodan Milosevic to Carla del Ponte's so called Court@TheHague, without at the same time referring to the indictments issued by the Serbian Public Prosecutor's Office of 29th August 2000 against NATO leaders (TiM Ed.: See Washington Funds Serb Opposition Efforts and other Balkans stories, Item 11). Nor to the application made by the Yugoslav Government to the International Court@The Hague for condemnation of the NATO aggression. Nor to the proceedings of the Association for Legal Theory & Practice @ Novi Sad last year, where NATO was condemned by internationally eminent lawyers. Nor to the many other initiatives (across Europe) aimed at getting NATO into the dock.

Confronted with the enemies of Yugoslavia gathered in conclave, Kostunica should not have given them absolution quite so readily. Perhaps he had to go and say what he said, as his paymasters wanted their reward. Still it gives a bad impression for Dr. Kostunica to be so pally (palsy) with the EU. Couldn't he have insisted at least upon one expression of regret by someone at the Conference, as a pre condition for attending?

Money makes the world go round. But the Serbs should have held out for a higher price.

Couldn't the UK Government have used the £1 billion (\$1.8 billion), it had spent on the NATO bombing, for less destructive activities? If the EU had dispersed its funds earlier, most people in Belgrade by now would be driving Mercedes, and casualties and deaths would have been avoided."

Willian Spring, U.K.

FLORIDA - Kostunica: A Chameleon

FLORIDA, Oct. 15 - We received the following letter from Mladen Vranjican, a TiM reader from Florida:

"The September 24 Yugoslav elections were for a largely ceremonial post of the federal head of state and for a federal assembly (legislature). In countries with respect for the rule of law, the outgoing president is usually allowed (actually obliged) to finish the term in office. Instead, Vojislav Kostunica and his thugs forced not just Milosevic to concede that he lost the election (for the NEXT term), but extorted his resignation by threats of further mob violence, thereby making all Kostunica's pronouncements for the respect of the rule of law, democratic ideals, blah, blah, blah... a farce!

Then, his thugs continued to dismantle the state, not federal, elected and appointed institutions as if the loss of an election on a federal level somehow affects the existing elected terms of the current state legislature, etc.! This unthinkable thuggery is happening on

Kostunica's watch -- a man ready to give lip service to the rule of law, democratic ideals and who happens to be a constitutional lawyer expert, or so it is claimed.

Imagine if G.W. Bush wins in November, and then proceeds, using paid thugs, to fire all the Democratic governors, state legislatures, judges, etc. And then, using the same mob, forces the sitting president to resign immediately, and give up his office before January 2001? And forces new extraordinary elections for state legislatures in all states.

Can anyone imagine that? Well, THAT is what the Administration in Washington and their paid DOS thugs in Serbia are calling "democracy!"

Meanwhile, Kostunica meets all the emissaries and accused war criminal elements of the NATO countries to shake their hands and "kiss and make up," while establishing a new brand of abolitionist "democracy," trying to return to the values of Serbia 150 years ago, or so he says. Now that the election is over, his anti-Western rhetoric is slowly subsiding as he realizes that the trick has worked.

Some time ago, I asked you if he was naive, stupid or just acting. And you answered with high degree of certitude that he was just plain naïve (see Toward Another "Red October"). I think you read him wrong, as many have as well. I think he was just plain acting.

I also wrote that the road to political success is not for nice guys, since an honest politician is an oxymoron, and a naïve one is food for more aggressive ones. The fact that Kostunica has not been eaten (yet), must mean that he is a true politician - neither honest, nor naïve.

As the Yugoslav election fades ever more into distant history, Kostunica's election-era statements are ever more morphing into those from whom he (directly or indirectly) accepted millions of dollars of bribes and is now accepting political and monetary favors.

Before and immediately after the elections, Kostunica was adamant that he would not, that it is indeed unconstitutional to, extradite Milosevic to the so-called International War Crimes Tribunal for former Yugoslavia (ITCY) in the Hague. He even made it clear that it was an American-run political institution, essentially a kangaroo court, bent on persecuting Serbs -- echoing the opinion of many, if not most Serbs -- and that he did not recognize it as a legitimate court.

Well, now that the 'demo farce' is over, and that the opinion of many, if not most, Serbs doesn't really matter any more, what does Kostunica say to his Western friends he had chastised so vehemently during his fake election rhetoric?

Wined and dined at the EU meeting in Biarritz, France, by the very NATO leaders who bombed his country - an act Kostunica had called criminal, he changed his tune on Oct. 15, and accepted an obligation to co-operate with an institution he had called earlier by its real name - a 'kangaroo court' and Washington's political tool.

After shaking hands with people he had accused of criminal acts against the Serbian people,

and contradicting his own statements from not so long ago, Kostunica is also changing his tune on another issue: Yugoslavia.

It is well known that the current American administration never recognized "rump" Yugoslavia (Federal Republic of...) as the successor of the former (Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia). Instead, it was referred to as Serbia and Montenegro.

One of the first things Washington's bell boy and Serbia's No. 1 traitor, Zoran Djindjic, Kostunica's second in command and -- by many accounts -- the real power behind Kostunica, echoed his master's state of mind when he suggested that Yugoslavia be dropped as the name for the joint state between Serbian and Montenegrin republics.

Kostunica, on the other hand, maintained throughout the campaign and shortly thereafter - while his and his unholy coalition's survival was questionable - that he would work on strengthening Yugoslavia's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Not once did he mention anything about possible changes to the name or status of the country until now.

Yet only two days ago, he said he wasn't opposed to Montenegro's independence. Some guarantee of the Yugoslav integrity and sovereignty that is! And now, in the blitz of Biarritz, Kostunica falls in line with his political commissar, Zoran Djindjic's, and his bosses in Washington, as reported by the CNN on Oct. 15:

"Kostunica also confirmed that he was ready to drop the name of Yugoslavia and have the state he led renamed 'Serbia and Montenegro.' "

A president of Yugoslavia ready to dissolve the country he was elected to run!?

Once again, every reason exists to believe, as evidence points to the inevitable conclusion, that concerted efforts are being made to dissolve Yugoslavia, reduce and neutralize Serbia (even occupy by German troops!), and install and maintain a regime there that will work for international and not national interests. Such a regime has already been established in Montenegro and in the Bosnian Serb Republic -- much to the delight of its NWO architects, such as Senator Joseph Biden who has nothing but high praise for it.

Every day, new news reports confirm the impression many of us have had - that Kostunica is not the honest naive fool he was portrayed to be, but a willing accomplice in the dissolution and destruction of his own country, which will undoubtedly earn him a special place in the Serb Quisling Hall of Fame, alongside Zoran Djindjic and his soulmate Biljana Plavsic, of the Bosnian Serb Republic."

Mladen Vranjican, Florida

U.K. - You Were Right about Kostunica!

U.K., Oct. 15 - We received the following letter from Stelios Stylianou, a TiM reader from the U.K.:

"Dear Bob, sorry I doubted your story about Kostunica. You were right!!! He's a sack of bull! What is worse, he wants to change the name of Yugoslavia into SERBIA-MONTENEGRO because he feels the name has lost its meaning."

To which we replied:

"No. He wants to do it because that's what Washington has been calling Yugoslavia "Serbia and Montenegro" ever since 1992, in order to deny it the succession rights (embassies, money, etc.) to the former Yugoslavia, while saddling "Serbia and Montenegro" with their share of the old Yugoslav debt (about \$5 billion plus interest compounded since 1992).

These rights of succession and associated debts are also the REAL REASON the outer sanctions are still in force against Kostunica's 'democratic' Yugoslavia, not his delivery of Milosevic to the Hague, as the western public has been told by our lamestream media. The latter is a snow job and a distant secondary issue."

Mr. Stylianou continues:

"Don't worry, NATO may think they have won for now but the war is not over, not by a long shot. The traitors are in for quite a battle with the Serbian parliament because is disapproving the fools moves to colonisation of Yugoslavia. Thus even if the NWO establishes its bases in Yugoslavia it has to finish the job to rid Russia of the face of the earth which could bring a possible WWIII. Even if Russia (for now that is!) cast Yugoslavia into the hands of the EU/NATO she will eventually change her mind about what she done. They need to tame the bear first for world domination and they haven't the guts to even try.

The Ostriches will have their heads chopped off in time for their treachery!

Stelios Stylianou, U.K.

Canada - Kostunica Is Already a Marked Man

CANADA, Oct. 15 - We received the following letter from Chris Soda, a TiM reader from Canada, who comments about Vojislav Kostunica's turn about face, after having been wined and dine by

the EU heads of state in Biarritz on Oct. 15 (see the Latest News Flash at the TiM front page on the Web):

"Hello, Bob: which of the following paraphrases can be attributed to Kostunica?"

- (a) "The ICTY is a political court, not a judicial one; I will never extradite a Yugoslav to the Hague."
- (b) "Extraditing Yugoslavs to the Hague will not be my first priority."
- (c) "The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will co-operate with all international institutions including the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia."

If you answered 'all of the above', sadly, you are correct.

Furthermore, no one in the mainstream media ran (Bernard) Kouchner's threatened re-implementation of sanctions, and I doubt any of them will run a story about an obvious fraud artist in action either.

But I can see why 'Former Yugoslavia' (in more ways than one) has been on Kostunica's lips recently. Not content to sell out his own soul to the highest bidder, he now embarks on selling out his country's name-and his countrymen-as well.

In my view, he is already a marked man.

'Democracy' lost its meaning when Kostunica's guys stormed the Parliament and burnt the only evidence to support DOS mathematical imagination, i.e. the ballots. This guy is so full of s... It should be obvious that rather than defend the heroic struggle of Yugoslavia against NATO, Kostunica prefers historical revisionism.

Maybe since he wants to change the name of his country, we should all believe the mainstreams that call him a 'Serb patriot'; better still, since 'Yugoslavia' no longer exists in his mind, then his 'election win in Yugoslavia' no longer exists either... And Kostunica apologists can't see the forest for the trees, I'm afraid.

When the Germans walk in and make themselves at home, we will see accomplished what Appendix B (TiM Ed.: of the Rambouillet agreement - Milosevic's rejection of which led to NATO's bombing) could not - the military occupation of all of Yugoslavia.... excuse me, Serbia-Montenegro.

Chris Soda, Canada

U.K. - Once a Slave, Always a Slave?

U.K., Oct. 9 - We thought the following ominous warning to the Serbs, which we received from M. Harrison, a TiM reader from the U.K., is an appropriate "closing statement" to what has just transpired in Serbia:

"Bob, I found this quote relevant to the current situation in Serbia:

Peoples, once accustomed to masters, are not in a condition to do without them. If they attempt to shake off the yoke, they estrange themselves even more from freedom. By mistaking for it an unbridled license to which it is diametrically opposed, they nearly always manage, by their revolutions, to hand themselves over to seducers, who only make their chains heavier than before." (Jean Jacques Rousseau, 1754)

By ridding themselves of the tyranny of Milosevic the Serbian people will not find freedom and liberty. They have instead placed themselves and the future of their nation in the hands of an even greater evil - the NWO of the International Community.

They may have been quite honest in their intentions, but they have been duped and, like the citizens of the former Stalinist Eastern European nations, will pay a heavy price for their choice of new masters.

Meanwhile, behind closed doors, the NWO vultures are laughing at the Serbian people, overjoyed that all their intrigue and scheming of the last 10 years has finally paid off. Over the last few days I've seen Serbs at each other's throats, beating each other in the streets; brother turned against brother. The minions of the NWO revel in their work and the misery they have caused.

God help Serbia and God help humanity!"

M. Harrison, U.K.

- END OF PART I -

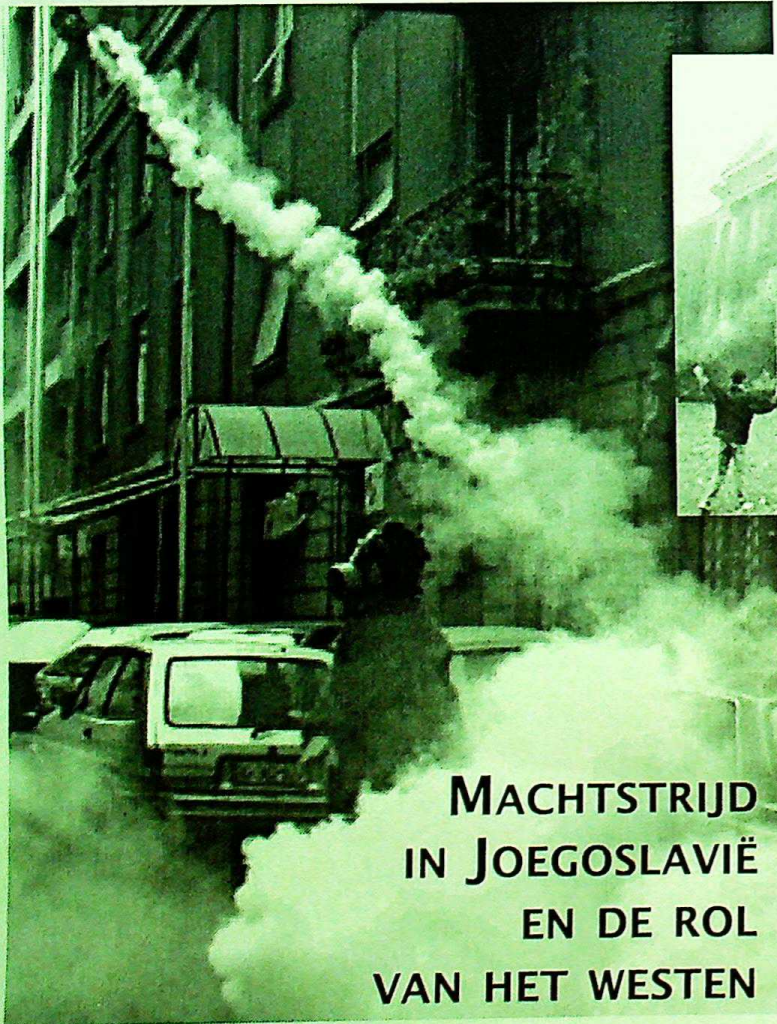
In the PART II of the October 2000 TiM Readers Forum, we will bring you TiM reader reactions to our stories on the Olympics, South African affairs, oil prices, capital punishment, Russian affairs... among other topics.

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MACHTSTRIJD IN JOEGOSLAVIË EN DE ROL VAN HET WESTEN



INLEIDERS

Jürgen Elsässer, *redacteur KONKRET*
Nico Varkevisser, *hoofdredacteur TARGETS*
gelegenheid tot discussie

Jürgen Elsässer is de schrijver van het
deze maand verschenen boek
'Kriegsverbrechen'

*Die tödlichen Lügen der Nato
und ihre Opfer im Kosovo-Konflikt*
Met een dossier over Srebrenica

Vojvodina opgelucht na vertrek Milosevic

Verkiezingen

Runa Hellinga

NOVI SAD - Waar je in Novi Sad Hongaren kunt vinden? De studenten in het kantoor van Otpor hebben geen idee. De studentenorganisatie, die naam maakte met haar vastberaden, vrolijke oppositie tegen Milosevic, telt weliswaar ook Hongaarse leden in de Vojvodina, maar voor hen moet je naar Subotica. „Hier leven bijna geen Hongaren”, zeggen ze in Novi Sad vol overtuiging.

Vijftig meter van het Otpor-kantoor staat op het centrale Vrijheidsplein een kerk, met een spitse toren met een typisch Hongaars patroon van veelkleurige dakpannen. Binnen leidt pastoor Janos Sztrikovits de mis voor zo'n dertig, meest oudere Hongaren. Sztrikovits is niet verbaasd dat de Otpor-jongeren daar geen weet van hebben. Novi Sad mag twee eeuwen geleden vrijwel puur Duits-Hongaars zijn geweest, de afgelopen elf jaar hebben de herinnering daaraan weggevaagd. Onder de 30 000 inwoners zijn de 25 000 Hongaren nog maar een kleine minderheid.

De pastoor schildert het verleden van de provincie idyllisch. Hij prijst de onderlinge verdraagzaamheid van de Hongaren, Serviërs, Kroaten, Duitsers en Slowaken die het gebied van oudsher bevolkten, hoe ze elkaars talen spraken, elkaars gebruiken respecteerden. „Met het Servische paasfeest werd hier in de kerk ook de klok geluid, en omgekeerd, met ons paasfeest ook die van de Servisch-orthodoxe kerk.”

Ivan Dulic, een Servische boer uit de buurt van Subotica, bevestigt dat. Zijn familie had altijd

een Hongaarse knecht in dienst, aan wie Ivan zelfs zijn roepnaam Janko te danken had. Niemand vond het destijds vreemd dat een Serviër met een Hongaarse roepnaam door het leven ging. Dat alles werd anders toen in 1989 Milosevic aan de macht kwam. De autonome provincie Vojvodina verloor haar zelfstandigheid. De Servische nationalisten kregen het voor het zeggen. Wie Novi Sad op zijn Hongaars Uj Videk noemde, kreeg problemen.

En toen de oorlogen begonnen, eerst in Kroatië, daarna in Bosnië, toen in Kosovo, kwamen de Servische vluchtelingen die niets moesten hebben van de oude ver-

gaars meer verstaan.”

De pastoor heeft jarenlang gevreesd dat het tot een bloedvergieten zou komen. Zoveel Serviërs hadden een wapen, zoveel Hongaarse jongeren wilden ook een wapen. Sinds op 5 oktober Milosevic definitief het veld moest ruimen, haalt hij dan ook opgelucht adem. En de meeste inwoners van de Voivodina met hem, zo bleek tijdens de verkiezingen voor het regionale parlement die een week later plaatsvonden. De gezamenlijke oppositie DOS haalde daar 117 van de 120 parlamentszetels. De socialisten kregen er twee, een onafhankelijke kandidaat een. De extremistische Servisch Radicale Partij verdween geheel van het toneel.

Toch vindt Sztrikovits het nog te vroeg om echt te juichen. „We weten eigenlijk helemaal niet waar Joegoslavië op dit moment politiek staat. Binnen DOS vind je alle stromingen. Waar het echt heengaat, moeten we afwachten.” Dat zeggen ook de jongeren van Otpor. „Nu heeft iedereen tegen de socialisten gekozen, maar nergens vóór. Eigenlijk zijn over een jaar, anderhalf jaar nieuwe verkiezingen nodig, maar dan met verschillende partijen,” meent studentenleider Alexander Pavlovic. Hij verwacht dat de socialisten dan een grotere ahang zullen hebben, want de socialistische kiezers waren na 5 oktober zo gedemoraliseerd, dat ze in de tweede ronde niet eens naar de stembus zijn gegaan.

Sztrikovits heeft echter goede hoop. „De socialisten zullen wel sterker worden, maar terugkomen zie ik ze niet. De vluchtelingen zullen voor een groot deel blijven, maar ze zullen opgaan in het geheel, nu de schreeuwers eenmaal verdwenen zijn.”

Wie Novi Sad

op zijn Hongaars
Uj Videk noemde,
kreeg problemen

draagzaamheid. „Sinds die er zijn, zijn er spanningen in ons dorp,” zegt Andras Nagypal, een gepensioneerde onderwijzer uit een dorp in de buurt van Subotica. „Hoewel dit altijd een Hongaarse regio is geweest, zeggen zij nu dat wij maar terugmoeten naar Hongarije. Ze hebben geen werk en claimen onze grond, onze huizen.”

„Er verschenen leuzen op de kerk zoals 'rijg de Hongaren aan het mes'. Het zoontje van een vriend van mij werd uitgescholden voor stinkende Hongaar, omdat hij op straat zijn moedertaal sprak,” zegt Sztrikovits. „Vooral jongeren wilden hun taal daarom niet meer te gebruiken, er zijn heel wat mensen in mijn kerk wier kleinkinderen nu geen Hon-

Published Wednesday, December 15, 1999

UC professor died for Kosovo dream
Dragoslav Basic returned to his homeland to 'build a bridge of
humanity'
over ethnic gulf; he was slain, his family critically injured

There will be a commemorative service for Dragoslav Basic at
noon Jan. 16
at Holy Trinity Serbian Orthodox Church in Moraga.

By Tom Lochner
TIMES STAFF WRITER

The Serbian man killed by a mob in the streets of Pristina,
Yugoslavia, two
weeks ago was a former Albany resident and visiting professor
at
UC-Berkeley who went home to pursue his dream of a harmonious
Kosovo.

Friends in the East Bay say Dragoslav Basic, 63, was a power-
ful voice for
peace.

A native of Pristina, Kosovo's capital, Basic was a professor
of civil
engineering who specialized in the construction of bridges and
other public
works projects in earthquake-prone areas.

But when he took a position at the University of Kosovo in
1990 after 11/2
years at Cal, Basic envisioned a different kind of bridge.

"He told me 'I could help the people build a bridge of humani-
ty that no
earthquake could ever destroy,' " said Berkeley resident Nick
Tomasevic, a
retired pilot and friend.

Early in the morning of Nov. 29, Basic was pulled from his car
along with
his wife and mother-in-law, then shot as a crowd beat and
tortured the
women amid revelry on Albanian Flag Day [as celebrated by the
KLA], the
holiday that commemorates the birth of the modern Albanian
state in the
aftermath of World War I.

The attack, reported widely on international television,
newspapers and
radio, was a graphic reminder of the ethnic rage Basic sought
to quell.

"It was not like he was just shot and killed," said Snezana Landau of El Cerrito, a friend of the family. "He was shot like a mad dog in the street with hundreds of people looking on. And nobody wanted to do anything."

Basic and his wife, Dragica, 51, are believed to have been taking Dragica's mother, Borka Jovanovic, 74, to a hospital after the older woman fell ill.

The women suffered numerous injuries and were hospitalized in Nis, outside Kosovo in eastern Serbia.

"Tomislav (the couple's son) saw his mother in Nis; he said he could not recognize her," said Desa Wakeman of Berkeley, a retired executive for a leasing company and Tomasevic's sister.

Wakeman's relatives spoke to Tomislav by phone.

"He said, 'My mother, you know, had beautiful black hair, but I couldn't see it, there was so much blood.' "

On Tuesday, Dragica Basic was in a Belgrade hospital where she had been transferred for emergency eye surgery on Thursday. Jovanovic was in the same hospital in critical condition.

By the time of Basic's death, the student body at the University of Kosovo had become overwhelmingly ethnic Albanian. Although he taught in Serbo-Croatian and English, Basic had become almost fluent in Albanian and advocated that others do the same.

"He once said to me, 'Almost every Albanian in Kosovo speaks Serbo-Croatian; every non-Albanian in Kosovo should speak their beautiful language,' " Tomasevic said.

Basic, a Fulbright scholar, was proud of his Serbian roots and confident of his place in the old, and the new, Kosovo.

"This is where his family had lived for centuries," said Wakeman. "They were very literate, Serbian Orthodox people, carriers of the Serbian tradition, who knew the history of the area. That is why they did not want to move."

Basic earned a master's degree at the University of Mississippi in the late 1970s, friends said. Basic lived at University Village, a UC-Berkeley-owned housing project in Albany.

The couple's daughter, Nikoleta, graduated from Albany High School in 1989; Tomislav attended Cornell Elementary School. The children live in Serbia today, where Nikoleta teaches English and Tomislav studies pharmacology.

Basic was at Cal in 1989 when Yugoslavian President Slobodan Milosevic, with ethnic strife on the rise, revoked Kosovo's status as an autonomous province within the Serbian Republic.

"(Basic) had a tremendous dilemma," said Wakeman. "He said, 'If everybody escapes, who is going to remain there?'"

"He felt it was his duty to return, not just as a Serb but as an educator," said Wakeman. "He believed that through higher education, something good could be achieved among the people of Kosovo."

And not just among Serbs and Albanians, but the province's Turkish, Greek and Rom minorities as well.

In a sense, Basic was trying to reclaim a part of his youth.

"The problem of Kosovo and Yugoslavia affected him terribly, not just because it was his homeland but because it was an example that human beings could coexist if the good will was applied more often," Tomasevic said.

Christian-Muslim animosity in the Balkans goes back to 1389, when a Serbian army fell to the Turks at the Battle of Kosovo. Basic was determined, 600 years later, that it was time for that wound to heal. He objected to political and religious leaders perpetuating violence, often by what they failed to say as much as by what they said.

"Basic was very critical when Milosevic went to Kosovo on the commemoration of 600 years, that he did not address the Albanian people," Tomasevic said. "He believed (Milosevic) should have said, 'Dear brother Albanians: 600

years ago, a catastrophe happened to all of us, and now we have a duty.

There is enough room in Kosovo for all of us."

In World War II, Basic believed, "a simple encyclical letter to all the Roman Catholic churches in the world, emphasizing that Jesus Christ was Jewish, that Christianity is a branch of Judaism, like Islam, too," might have staved off the Holocaust, Tomasevic said.

After Basic returned, he lamented what he saw as U.S. encouragement of post-Tito Yugoslavia's fragmentation, said Tomasevic. Wakeman and Tomasevic are ethnic Serbs who in 1941 were "cleansed" from their native Croatia, as Wakeman puts it.

"(Basic) accused the U.S. government of not (promoting) the idea of the melting pot," Tomasevic said.

Basic believed the U.S. should have said, "Listen, people: you are fingers of the same hand. We ... will not tolerate disintegration of your country. We will help you reorganize it," said Tomasevic.

Basic had a favorite saying about the end of war, by the 19th century Hungarian poet Sandor Petöfy, that he thought would make a great motto for the United Nations:

"What is battlefield glory compared to the beautiful rainbow made by breaking the sun's rays through the rain of tears?," Tomasevic said.

"This fellow, Basic, he was a civil engineer," said Tomasevic, "but besides his profession, he was a great humanist, a philosopher and a pacifist."

Herman de Tollenaere

My Internet site on Asian history and "new" religions:

<http://stad.dsl.nl/~hermantl/>

See also SIMPOS, information on occult tendencies' impact on society:

'Milosevic was gegijzeld door zijn eigen publieke opinie'



De Belgische historicus Raymond Detrez.

FOTO XANDER REMKES

VAN EEN SERVISCH overwinning, zoals die door Milosevic wordt opgeëist, is volgens Raymond Detrez uiteraard geen sprake. Maar ook niet van een vernederende capitulatie voor de NAVO, die 's mans positie onhoudbaar maakt.

Detrez: 'Milosevic is de anderen het verst tegemoet gekomen, maar hij heeft een stel concessies in de wacht weten te slepen: een grotere rol voor de Verenigde Naties, Russische aanwezigheid. Een referendum na drie jaar, over onafhankelijkheid van Kosovo, waarvan in Rambouillet nog sprake was, is nu van tafel. Op andere onderdelen is het huidige akkoord ongunstiger voor Servië, Belgrado verliest door het vertrek van al z'n militairen z'n greep op Kosovo.'

'Ik had wel verwacht dat hij eerder zou toegeven. In Belgrado hoorde je vertellen dat hij van het probleem-Kosovo af wilde. Zonder bombardementen kon hij er echter geen afstand van doen. Zodra de NAVO begon met ingrijpen, waren de Serviërs eensgezind in hun woede en afkeuring. Milosevic kon toen weer niet terug, hij was gegijzeld door zijn eigen publieke opinie.'

- Hij had niet beslist honderdduizenden Kosovaren hoeven te verjagen. Daardoor kon de NAVO toch ook niet meer terug?

'Inderdaad. Maar ik denk dat de Serviërs vreesden dat de mannen van het UCK door de NAVO als grondtroepen zou worden ingezet. Het UCK opereert als een guerrillaleger, het betreft de bevolking bij wat het doet. Dan is het moeilijk om onderscheid te maken tussen burgers en strijders.'

'Daarmee wil ik niet zeggen dat er geen echte etnische zuivering heeft plaatsgevonden, mede gevoed door een behoefte aan wraak. De Serviërs stelden de Kosovaren immers verantwoordelijk voor de bombardementen.'

'Ik vind dat het Westen zich veel te veel vastbijt in de persoon van Milosevic. Ik pleit ervoor de man te zien als een gewone Balkan-politicus, die zich opwerpt als beschermheer van Servië. Hij doet wat anderen in zijn positie ook zouden doen. Of Milosevic een schlemiel is (omdat alle oorlogen die onder zijn leiding zijn gevoerd, verloren zijn), of een Saddam Hussein, of een Albert Schweitzer, dat doet er niet toe! Hij belichaamt de politiek van Servië.'

Detrez ziet Milosevic dan ook nog niet snel verdwijnen. Hij

Verrast is hij niet door het toegeven van Slobodan Milosevic, grote verwachtingen over de duurzaamheid van het gesloten akkoord koestert hij evenmin. **RAYMOND DETREZ**, Belgisch historicus en Balkan-kenner heeft naam gemaakt met boeken over burgeroorlog op de Balkan, de sloop van Joegoslavië en (vers van de pers) *Kosovo; de uitgestelde oorlog*. In gesprek met *de Volkskrant* gaat hij prikkelende uitspraken allerminst uit de weg. 'De NAVO in actie uit idealisme? Ach kom. Ik denk dat ze er wel zin in hadden.'

een gouden kans om de werkloosheid en de economische teruggang op conto van de NAVO-bombardementen te schrijven. 'Hij hoeft niet eens meer onrendabele staatsondernemingen te sluiten. Die heeft de NAVO voor hem buiten bedrijf gesteld.'

Problemen krijgt hij pas op termijn, als er werk wordt gemaakt van de aanklacht door het Joegoslavië-Tribunaal. 'Dan zullen de Serviërs beginnen in te zien dat ze weinig kunnen beginnen met een president die nooit op bezoek naar het buitenland kan.'

Het conflict tussen Serviërs en Albanen is volgens Detrez geen kwestie van zwart/wit. 'Het UCK bestaat uit net zulke nationalistes als je in Servië vindt. Voor een onafhankelijke staat is het UCK bereid heel veel te offeren, ook mensenlevens. Zij hebben een tactiek toegepast, die op de Balkan al tientallen keren is uitprobeerd. Je organiseert een opstand, je weet - dat klopt altijd - dat die op gruwelijke wijze wordt onderdrukt, en dan kun je een militaire interventie uitlokken. In 1998 is dat niet gelukt, nu wel.'

- Het uitgangspunt van Rambouillet en ook van dit akkoord is een autonoom, multi-etnisch Kosovo dat deel blijft uitmaken van Joegoslavië. Is dat haalbaar?

'Op den duur niet. Met militaire

middelen kun je een autonoom Kosovo binnen Joegoslavië houden. Maar dat compromis wordt noch door de Serviërs, noch door de Kosovaren aanvaard. De Kosovaren zullen voor een onafhankelijk Kosovo blijven strijden.'

'Bovendien: wat betekent dat in 's hemelsnaam nu nog, een multi-etnisch Kosovo? Dat daar nog Serviërs leven, die doodsbang zijn? Het oude, federale Joegoslavië

'Of Milosevic een Saddam Hussein is of een Albert Schweitzer, dat doet er niet toe'

was multicultureel, multinational, daar leefde men op één of andere manier samen, er bestond een zekere harmonie. Maar als je, zoals in Bosnië na Dayton, onder militair toezicht moet samenleven, is dat dan multicultureel? Dat begrip verliest zo toch elke betekenis?'

'Ik heb een voorkeur voor multiculturele samenlevingen en ik ben ervan overtuigd dat het werkt.'

Maar ik zie dat de internationale gemeenschap andere oplossingen verkiest.'

- Wat brengt u tot die conclusie?

'Het Westen heeft geen moeite gedaan de Joegoslavische federatie bijeen te houden. Ik weet niet zeker of dat tien jaar geleden had kunnen lukken. Maar het viel te proberen. Door zich harder te keren tegen het Sloveense en Kroatische separatisme én tegen het Servische centralisme. Door de federale regering van premier Ante Markovic financieel te ondersteunen. In plaats daarvan is, terwijl de crisis op uitbreken stond, Joegoslavië door het IMF juist financieel onder druk gezet.'

'Het oude Joegoslavië is door ons in het Westen zonder slag of stoot opgegeven. Daarmee is een keuze gemaakt: wij kiezen niet voor federale staten, waarin veel volkeren samenleven, wij kiezen voor etnisch homogene staten. En nu staan we voor de consequenties, want nu kan elk volk aanspraak maken op zo'n etnisch homogene staat, en wat kunnen we daar tegen inbrengen? Wél Sloveenië erkennen en Kroatië, toestaan of zelfs aanmoedigen dat Tudjman in 1995 250 duizend Serviërs uit Kroatië verjaagt en dan ineens hó zeggen? Waarom hebben de Kosovaren geen recht op onafhankelijkheid? Als we dat zeggen, heb-

ben we moreel gesproken geen been om op te staan.

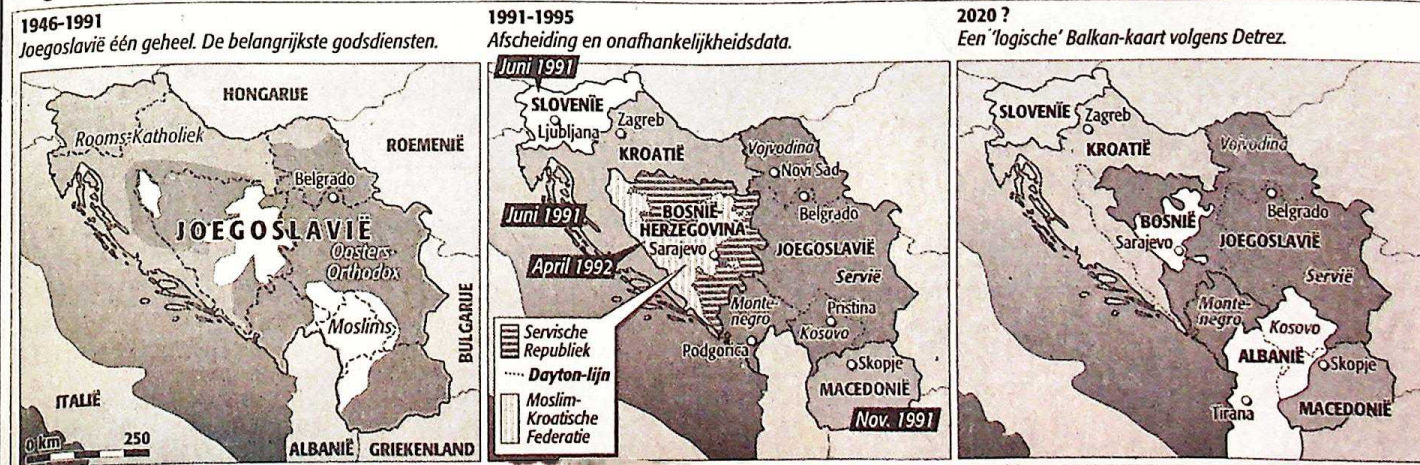
'Ik vind het zelf weerzinwekkend, maar nu de keuze eenmaal is gemaakt, zullen we verder moeten gaan in de richting van etnisch zo homogeen mogelijke staten. Dus opdeling van Bosnië, waardoor Servië alle Serviërs kan omvatten, en Kroatië alle Kroaten. Een onafhankelijk Kosovo, dat zich waarschijnlijk aansluit bij Albanië. Ook de Albanen in West-Macedonië zullen zich daarbij willen voegen. Het klinkt cynisch, maar als die homogene staten er eenmaal zijn, heb je rust op de Balkan.'

- Wacht even: zijn het Dayton-verdrag in Bosnië en de NAVO-interventie in Kosovo niet juist bedoeld om de vorming van etnisch homogene staten en alle geweld waarmee dat gepaard gaat een halt toe te roepen? Tot hier en niet verder?

'Tja, dan hebben de Kosovaren pech. Maar ik geloof niet dat de NAVO zich laat leiden door idealistische overwegingen. Er is sprake van heel andere motieven. Ik vraag me af: wil het Westen niet gewoon graag militair aanwezig zijn, in Macedonië, Albanië en Kosovo? Er is sinds de val van de Berlijnse Muur een machtsvacuüm ontstaan. In Midden-Europa wordt dat gevuld door aansluiting van die staten bij de NAVO. Op de Balkan gebeurt het op deze manier. Dat is toch ook logisch? Waarom zou een militaire organisatie niet streven naar controle over een zo groot mogelijk grondgebied?'

**Anet Bleich
Olaf Tempelman**

Joegoslavië opgedeeld



KOSOVO / KOSOVA
As Seen, As Told

Contents

dings of the
An analysis of the human rights find-
OSCE Kosovo Verification Mission
October 1998 to June 1999

The OSCE Kosovo Verification Mission (OSCE-KVM) was created in October 1998 as part of the international response to events in Kosovo. Recognizing that the Kosovo crisis was in large part a human rights crisis, the mission had a mandate to monitor, investigate and document allegations of human rights violations committed by all parties to the conflict. By the time the OSCE-KVM stood down on 9 June 1999, its Human Rights Division had amassed hundreds of in-country reports, and had taken statements from nearly 2,800 refugees.

This report presents a comprehensive analysis of the human rights findings of the OSCE-KVM. It gives an overview of the nature of the human rights and humanitarian laws violations in Kosovo. It looks at the specific impact of those violations on different groups in Kosovo society. It also gives a geographical human rights "map", describing events in hundreds of towns and villages throughout Kosovo.

The analysis reveals a pattern of human rights and humanitarian law violations on a staggering scale, often committed with extreme and appalling violence. The organized and systematic nature of the violations is compellingly described. Surveying the entire period of the OSCE-KVM's deployment, it is evident that human rights violations unfolded in Kosovo according to a well-rehearsed strategy.

[Contents]

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1999

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OEBS OBJAVIO IZVEŠTAJE O DOGADJANJIMA NA KOSOVU
RELEASE OF OSCE HUMAN RIGHTS REPORTS ON EVENTS IN

KOSOVO

The OSCE has produced two human rights reports that extensively document the human rights violations in Kosovo reported by OSCE field officers >>>

Organizacija za evropsku bezbednost i saradnju (OEBS), u izveštajima koji su danas objavljeni, istice da ciklus nasilja na Kosovu jos nije prekinut.

U izveštajima se iznose podaci koji potvrđuju da je, nakon masovnog kršenja ljudskih prava na Kosovu od strane srpskih snaga bezbednosti, usledio talas nasilja prema preostalim Srbima u pokrajini. Šef misije OEBS na Kosovu Den Everts je u uvodu jednog izveštaja napisao da "dokazi o nedavnom nasilju navode na zaključak da ciklus nasilja jos nije okončan".

Prema prvom izveštaju pod nazivom "As Seen, As Told", navodi se da se prva zabeležena kampanja ubijanja, silovanja, mučenja i drugih kršenja ljudskih prava desila između oktobra 1998. i juna 1999. godine, dok je pokrajina bila pod srpskom kontrolom. "Svuda su napadi na zajednice bili deo široke strategije, a ne propusti u sistemu komandovanja i kontrole", piše u izveštaju.

Prema drugom izveštaju, pod nazivom "As Seen, As Told Part II", druga kampanja je otpocela nakon dolaska 40.000 vojnika međunarodnih mirovnih snaga na Kosovo, ali su žrtve ubistava, zlostavljanja i maltretiranja pripadnici srpske i drugih manjina. Iako su mnogi napadi od juna ocenjeni kao individualna osveta posle visegodisnje srpske represije, u izveštaju se istice da je veliki broj incidenata organizovan. "Dokazi navode da su mnoge žrtve bile pažljivo izabrane, da bi se pokazala namera proterivanja manjina", piše u izveštaju OEBS-a. Izveštaj je potkrepljen izjavama svedoka, koji tvrde da je u te napade umesana Oslobođilacka vojska Kosova. Everts je istakao da ta dva segmenta izveštaja ni na koji način ne porede "danasnje zloupotrebe na Kosovu sa nasiljem u prošlosti". Izveštaj na 433 strane pokazuje da su zločini protiv kosovskih Albanaca eskalirali sa pocetkom NATO bombardovanja. "Masovna i nasumična ubistva postala su opšta pojava širom Kosova nakon pocetka vazдушnih napada NATO na Saveznu Republiku Jugoslaviju 24-25. marta", piše u izveštaju OEBS-a. "Medju mnogim stravičnim detaljima konflikta su izveštaji o namernim ubistvima dece, koja su vrsili pripadnici oružanih snaga", istice se u izveštaju i dodaje da su "starija i nesposobna lica masovno ubijana i potom spaljivana ili su spaljivana živa, cesto u svojim kucama". Everts je izjavio da je "preko milion kosovskih Albanaca raseljeno preko granice i unutar pokrajine, a da su hiljade Albanaca ubijene". U izveštaju se navodi da je celokupno srpsko stanovništvo postalo meta napada kosovskih Albanaca posle odlaska jugoslovenskih snaga bezbednosti iz pokrajine. "Iz izveštaja izbija samo jedan motiv za ove zločine: osveta", piše u izveštaju OEBS-a, u kome su navedeni incidenti u kojima su "ranjivi, stariji kosovski Srbi postali žrtve nasilja".

Izvestaji su izuzetno opsirni (zajedno imaju oko 900 strana) i zbog toga nismo u mogucnosti da ih prenesemo u celini. Kompletan tekst izvestaja na engleskom jeziku mozete procitati na zvanicnom sajtu OEBS-a:

Prvi izvestaj: "As Seen, As Told"

Drugi izvestaj: "As Seen, As Told Part II"

One report covering the period October 1998 to 9 June 1999 contains an analysis of the findings of the OSCE Kosovo Verification Mission (OSCE-KVM). This report, entitled "As Seen, As Told", pertains to the human rights situation in Kosovo during the broken cease-fire and armed conflict, including the whole of the NATO air campaign.

The second report "As Seen, As Told Part II" documents the period of 14 June to 31 October 1999, when more than 800,000 Kosovo Albanian refugees returned to a war-torn Kosovo under KFOR protection and UN administration. Publishing the reports in conjunction does not in any way suggest that the abuses of the past and the violations of today can be equated. The sheer scale and the involvement of the State make the former of a structurally different order than the latter. We give a full account of both, impartially reporting all violations regardless of when they were committed or who committed them.

The two reports are summarised below.

"As Seen, As Told"

Period covered: October 1998 to June 1999

The conclusions of the report's analysis are that clear strategies lay behind the human rights violations committed by Serbian forces; that paramilitaries and armed civilians committed acts of extreme lawlessness with the tolerance and collusion of military and security forces whose own actions were generally highly organized and systematic; and that the violations inflicted on the Kosovo Albanian population on a massive scale after 20 March were a continuation of actions by Serbian forces that were

well-rehearsed, insofar as they were taking place in many locations well before that date. While both parties to the conflict committed human rights violations, there was no balance or equivalence in the nature or scale of those violations - overwhelmingly it was the Kosovo Albanian population who suffered. The report also notes that persistent human rights violations lay behind the security breakdown which plunged Kosovo into armed conflict and a human rights and humanitarian catastrophe.

"As Seen, As Told Part II"

Period Covered: 14 June to 31 October 1999

"As Seen, As Told Part II" reviews the human rights situation in Kosovo from the establishment of the new OSCE Mission in Kosovo until October. It is a period character-

rised by acts of revenge, committed in a climate of lawlessness and impunity. The report, produced under difficult field conditions, documents human rights violations in Kosovo since the end of the air campaign and the return of more than 800,000 refugees. It analyses human rights conditions and events in each of the five regions of Kosovo, and shows that the desire for revenge has been the primary motive for the vast majority of human rights violations that have taken place. Kosovo Serbs, Roma, Muslim Slavs and others who are perceived to have collaborated

actively or passively with the Serb security forces, have been targeted for killing, expulsion, harassment, intimidation, house-burning and abduction. This has led to an exodus of these communities from Kosovo. As detailed in the other report, there is no doubt that many Kosovo Albanians suffered traumatic human rights violations for a decade before the conflict that left no family unscarred. However, whatever the context, the human rights perspective does not accept that the response to one injustice is the initiation of another.

Two iniquitous trends documented in this report are the targeting of vulnerable, elderly Kosovo Serbs and the increasing participation of juveniles in human rights violations, underlining the growing intolerance

that has emerged within the Kosovo Albanian community. Rights of Kosovo Albanians to freedom of association, expression, thought and religion have all been challenged by other Kosovo Albanians. The report reveals that opposition to the self-styled municipal administrations, often dominated by the (former) UCK, has sometimes led to intimidation and harassment.

The report contains many witness statements concerning UCK involvement in the violence, both before and after the demilitarisation deadline of 19 September ranging from reports of UCK "police" to more recent accusations about intimidation by persons claiming to be members of the nascent Kosovo Protection Corps (TMK). It is clear that the highest levels of the former UCK leadership and current provisional TMK hierarchy have formally distanced themselves from any connection of their members to the violence that has taken place. They highlight the ease with which criminal elements who were never part of the UCK had exploited the UCK umbrella for their own nefarious purposes. Despite such denials, it seems clear that the extent of UCK (and now provisional TMK) involvement is of such a nature and scope that the question of explicit or tacit involvement by the leadership requires close examination by the international community.

The report notes that deficiencies in law enforcement capabilities and the administration of justice have contributed to the climate of impunity within which human rights violations occur. The OSCE calls for thorough investigations into the allegations documented and for an infusion of more international police and international judicial experts to help break the cycle of impunity in Kosovo. The human rights documentation and investigations detailed in the two

reports represent part of the OSCE's commitment to assisting in the rebuilding of a Kosovo which is founded on the principles of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. These principles can only be realised through the continued monitoring and

reporting of the human rights situation and the establishment of the rule of law - a mandated task for the international community in Kosovo.

Reports are extremely extensive (totalling some 900 pages) and due to that we are not able to cover them completely. Complete text of reports may be found on the OSCE official site:

First report: "As Seen, As Told Part"

Second report: "As Seen, As Told Part II"

I*Net a.d. Beograd

van holst en steijnen

From: CDSM <cdsm_b@btopenworld.com>
To: <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>
Sent: vrijdag 24 mei 2002 02:16
Subject: Ex-Bosnian president interviewed about wartime terrorist camps, assassinations

Ex-Bosnian president interviewed about wartime terrorist camps, assassinations

[Announcer] In an interview with BHTV1, the honorary chairman of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA], Alija Izetbegovic, has said that he disapproves of the case of illegal possession of weapons in Mostar, but he understands the fear of renewal of hostilities even after the signing of the Dayton Agreement. Due to his engagement with various state duties, Izetbegovic was not informed about the camp for military training in Pogorelica. He believes that the current investigation against the former members of the AID [Agency for Information and Documentation, intelligence service] will prove that. Izetbegovic also said that he received numerous phone calls from people at home and abroad, who inquired about his health.

[Unidentified reporter] The long-standing chairman of the SDA and former chairman of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Alija Izetbegovic, told BHTV1 that he was not informed about the existence of the recently discovered arms caches in Mostar and that he understands, but does not approve of, the motives of those who set up the warehouse in 1996.

[Izetbegovic] At the time, a large number of people did not believe in the Dayton Agreement, did not believe that peace will hold. I believed that peace will hold.

[Reporter] Izetbegovic rejected the possibility that the weapons, many years after Dayton, could be used for illegal trafficking. He also said that he knew nothing about the camp for military training in Pogorelica near Fojnica [central Bosnia] and believes that the current investigation will prove that. He said that he knew about the contacts of the then Interior Minister Bakir Alispahic with the Iranian, but also the French and American intelligence services.

[Izetbegovic] I knew about these contacts, but I really did not know about the Pogorelica camp.

[Reporter] How is that possible? You were the president of the state.

[Izetbegovic] It is absolutely possible. That was a pure [changes thought], namely, when one follows the progress of the investigation, at least what the media report, it becomes clear that Pogorelica was not a terrorist, but an anti-terrorist impulse. When I found out I said that it was a mistake. On the basis of the information issued by Sfor [NATO-led Stabilization Force], which was I for then, I said that it was a mistake. If the information was true, I said that it was a mistake.

[Reporter] Why did not Bakir Alispahic face charges then?

[Izetbegovic] Well, we trusted Alispahic with the anti-terrorist training. There were two versions: one that it was a terrorist camp and the other that it was an anti-terrorist camp. We trusted him, but he was replaced.

[Reporter] At the request of the Americans?

[Izetbegovic] At the request of the Americans, yes.

[Reporter] Izetbegovic denies that he was informed about the preparations for assassination of certain political officials.

[Izetbegovic] I do not know who came up with the idea to plan that assassination on Konca [as heard]. Too much fuss has been made about this issue. They killed [Hakija] Turajlic then, our deputy prime minister. That was also planned somewhere. Somebody, somewhere, some headquarters planned this, that man did not come alone to kill him. And that was done in the presence of Sfor, I mean,

[Reporter] Unprofor [UN Protection Force].

[Izetbegovic] Yes, Unprofor. No investigation was ever launched. So much fuss was made about this, whether the assassination was even attempted, although it was never carried out. Turajlic was killed. Fikret [?Abdic,

former Muslim leader based in western Bosnia currently on trial for war crimes in Croatia] was not killed.

[Reporter] Izetbegovic knew about the loan of the Pakistani government to the amount of 20m dollars in 1992, but believed that the government in Islamabad would write it off.

[Izetbegovic] I think that there is no more left of that loan, I do not think so. I even thought that loan was written off since the Pakistani government kept silent about this loan for 10 years. At the time when [Haris] Silajdzic [the then prime minister] signed that agreement, there was talk that the loan would be transformed into some form of a donation.

[Reporter] Mr Izetbegovic, thank you for this interview.

[Izetbegovic] Thank you.

Source: BHTV1

van holst en steijnen

From: CDSM <cdsm_b@btopenworld.com>
Cc: William Spring <canauk@blueyonder.co.uk>; vrajavala <vrajavala@email.msn.com>; Targets Nico <redactie@targets.org>; Tara McCormack <tara.mccormack@virgin.net>; Steinen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>; Stan Gasparouski <minergy@btinternet.com>; Srdjan Stojanovic <srdjan_stojanovic@bigfoot.com>; Sonia Delibasic <soniadelibasic@yahoo.co.uk>; Slobodan Djukic <djupavle@EUnet.yu>; Sasha Soskic <sasha@soskic.freemove.co.uk>; Samo Yu <samoyu@hehe.com>; S Palnas <solicitorzb@hotmail.com>; S Felovic <srdjanball@yahoo.com>; S Colborne <scolborne@hotmail.com>; Robin Smith <nep@londoncommunists.org>; Roberta Dimitrijevic <roberta_d@yahoo.com>; Rae Davies <rfdavies@sthelie.sghms.ac.uk>; peptalk <peptalk@ntlworld.com>; Paul Taylor <pt99@blueyonder.co.uk>; Nar Whalman <narwhalman@blueyonder.co.uk>; Misha Gavrilovic &
Sent: vrijdag 24 mei 2002 02:33
Subject: Yugoslavia to demand urgent Security Council session

3 articles from B92

Yugoslavia to demand urgent Security Council session

20:15 BELGRADE, Thursday ? Yugoslavia has said it will request an urgent session of the UN Security Council to address the conflict emerging between the Kosovo parliament and the province?s UN administration.

The Yugoslav interior ministry issued a statement saying it had ordered Yugoslavia?s representative at the UN to file the request.

Parliament in Kosovo today adopted a resolution rejecting a border agreement reached last year between Yugoslavia and Macedonia. The resolution was immediately declared ?null and void? by the UN governor in Kosovo, Michael Steiner.

The Yugoslav interior ministry said it had consistently ?warned of the possibility of such actions? and ?insisted that violations of Resolution 1244 cannot be tolerated." Kosovo continues to be governed in line with UN Security Council Resolution 1244, adopted following the NATO bombing campaign against Yugoslavia.

The border agreement was reached between two sovereign states and its validity cannot be questioned, continued the statement. The agreement was endorsed by the UN Security Council in March. (Beta)

IMF warns of ?daunting? economic challenges

19:16 WASHINGTON, Thursday ? The International Monetary Fund today lauded Yugoslavia for its economic achievements but warned of ?daunting challenges? ahead.

The IMF said Yugoslavia?s new leadership had made ?impressive achievements? in stabilising the economy and implementing reforms after a decade of strife.

The Yugoslav economy, it said, is forecast to grow 4.0 percent this year, slowing down from 5.5 percent in 2001. It had a negative 18 percent growth rate in 1999, before the Milosevic regime was toppled.

The IMF warned that Belgrade would have to contain spending to enhance the tax administration, and said that reforms of the private and financial sector would prove crucial in securing private sector-led growth.

The ?decapitalized and overstaffed? enterprise sector would also have to be restructured, it said. (Reuters)

Covic discusses Kosovo with British officials

21:06 LONDON, Thursday ? Nebojsa Covic, the head of Belgrade?s Coordination Centre for Kosovo, attended talks in London today with a number of senior state officials, including Defence Minister Geoff Hoon.

Covic said they had agreed on a ?general aim? to create a multi-ethnic Kosovo within Yugoslavia, as well as that it was still too early to discuss

the final status of the province.

The deputy prime minister said the reactions of the British officials to events in Pristina today were "very precise and explicit." The UN governor in the province was forced to veto a resolution adopted by the Kosovo parliament, which rejected a territorial settlement reached between Yugoslavia and Macedonia.

Covic congratulated the Serb MPs for walking out on the session. "Their unity is an encouragement to us all," he told Beta news agency. He also lauded the decision of UN governor Michael Steiner to declare the resolution "null and void." "We have only words of praise for him," said Covic.

Belgrade's Kosovo coordinator said he hoped the events would serve as "a clear sign to all those who wish to divide, disintegrate and ethnically cleanse" the province, that it will "no longer be tolerated." (Beta

van holst en steijnen

From: Paul Davidson <p.davidson@btinternet.com>
To: <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>
Sent: dinsdag 28 mei 2002 02:13
Subject: Bosnia's top international official imposes 42 laws and decisions

(Outgoing NATO Mandarin Wolfgang Petritsch sacks all judiciary and imposes 'unity' between sharks and sardines. Not that the Serbs have ever behaved as sardines but that the removal of so-called "ethnic-barriers" will leave the Serb communities more exposed to the 'unified' ethnic policies of the right wing and hostile Islamists- PD)

3 Articles on the Bosnia transfer to UCK's Lord Ashdown (Sorry, the UK's Lord Ashdown)

AP, May 26, 2002

Bosnia's top international official imposes 42 laws and decisions on his last day on duty

By AIDA CERKEZ-ROBINSON, Associated Press Writer

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina - Bosnia's top international official cleaned house during his last working day on Friday, shaking up the judiciary and imposing dozens of new laws meant to remove obstacles to ethnic coexistence and democracy.

Before handing responsibility as Bosnia's high representative over to Paddy Ashdown of Britain, Wolfgang Petritsch imposed 42 laws and decrees on reforming the judiciary and police, public broadcasting and strengthening democracy. That's nearly as many as half of all ordinances he signed during his three year in office.

He described the new set of laws and ordinances, imposed during his last 36 hours in office, as measures to create "the backbone for a modern society." Petritsch, high representative since 1999, leaves the office Monday, when Ashdown takes over.

"The last decisions that I have taken ... are preparing the ground for what I call the final phase of peace implementation in Bosnia-Herzegovina," said the Austrian diplomat.

To impose the laws, Petritsch used powers given to him by the international community and detailed in the 1995 peace agreement that ended 3 1/2 years of the worst bloodshed in Europe since World War II. Warfare began in 1992, when Bosnian Serbs rebelled against a referendum endorsed by the countries Muslims and Croats to break away from Yugoslavia.

Effectively firing most judges and prosecutors in the country except justices of the Constitutional Court, he ordered them to reapply for their jobs, starting in September, along with other candidates.

He also created new councils to review the applications and decide who will fill the vacant positions. The councils, whose members are to be named by Ashdown, will also be able to discipline judges and prosecutors and will propose magistrates for the Constitutional Courts for parliament approval. The decrees meant to sweep away corruption, ethnic bias and inefficiency brought forth the kind of resistance that has dogged Petritsch throughout his tenure.

Protesting the moves, the nationalist Bosnian Serb Democratic party of Radovan Karadzic, the fugitive former leader sought by the U.N. war crimes tribunal, threatened to withdraw its representatives from forums of cooperation with Croats and Muslims and the international community. Party leader Dragan Kalinic also raised the possibility of an appeal to the Constitutional Court.

Petritsch acknowledged that his judicial reform is very "robust (and) invasive ... (but) in the next two years you will see a whole new judicial system in place."

The 1995 peace agreement created a post-war Bosnia divided into a Serb republic and a Muslim-Croat federation, linked by an all-Bosnia parliament, government and presidency. But with Serbs, Croats and Muslims still distrustful after their ethnic war, nationalists have been able to obstruct cooperation between the two entities, leaving the country united only on paper.

Complicating the transition from war to peace is the fact that the country is also going through another change from communism to a free-market democracy. Unemployment is over 40 percent, and the country remains dependent on foreign aid.

Still Petritsch was upbeat.

"There were times when I doubted that this country will ever become a viable state, that it would overcome certain problems and nevertheless I pretended to be an optimist," he told reporters. "I'm not any longer optimistic, but concretely confident, based on concrete achievements and progress that you have achieved here in Bosnia-Herzegovina," he said

Wednesday, 6 February, 2002, 11:38 GMT
Petritsch upbeat on Bosnia future

Bosnia's scars are well on their way to being healed

By the BBC's European Reporter Bill Hayton

The head of the international authorities in Bosnia, Wolfgang Petritsch, has told the BBC there might be no need for outside administrators to manage the country in three to four years' time.

In a relatively optimistic assessment of the situation in the country, Mr Petritsch told the BBC the past few years had seen definite progress.

You can see from Afghanistan that structurally there are similar problems - the absence of state institutions

Wolfgang Petritsch He said three population groups - Muslims, Serbs and Croats - were showing increasing willingness to compromise.

He indicated that if the trend continued, the international community's role in Bosnia could end in time for the 10th anniversary of the Dayton peace agreement.

"Right now I am preparing this kind of perspective of three or four years," he said.

He said the international community's role should move "from mentoring to monitoring".

Petritsch says work must continue on Bosnia's framework

Mr Petritsch said his successor, the UK's Lord Ashdown, (the UCK's Lord Ashdown - PD) who takes over the job later this year, should continue to focus on the establishment of a "rugged institutional framework".

"Rule of law, democracy, establishment of professional judiciary, police, the public administration - these are the pillars of any country and particularly now in Bosnia-Herzegovina," he said.

"You can see from Afghanistan that structurally there are similar problems - the absence of state institutions."

Mr Petritsch said the country was close to an "irreversible" strengthening of its frameworks.

But he added: "We are still not fully there yet, so this is what my successor will have to forcefully continue."

Monday, 27 May, 2002, 10:16 GMT 11:16 UK BBC website
Ashdown takes up Bosnia challenge

Ashdown is expected to complete the Bosnia project

Former Liberal Democrat leader Lord Ashdown takes over as the international community's new high representative in Bosnia-Herzegovina at a ceremony on Monday.

He begins a two-year stint as the most senior civilian working for the peace implementation council in the former Yugoslav republic, taking over from Austrian diplomat Wolfgang Petritsch.

He will have final responsibility for implementing the terms of the Dayton peace accord signed by the warring factions in December 1995.

He inherits a Bosnia unlikely to break out into a fresh conflict, but still beleaguered by the problems of a weak central government and a struggling economy.

He will also have to try to deal with the war crimes suspects still believed to be at large in the country, including the Bosnian Serb wartime leader, Radovan Karadzic.

Delivery

The peer, nominated by the European Union for the job, visited Bosnia several times during the war in the early 1990s, and frequently attacked the West for not launching air strikes against the Serbs.

Mr Petritsch's dealings with nationalists received mixed reviews

He also made trips to Kosovo as the crisis there was unfolding and became the first senior European political figure to testify at the trial of former Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic in The Hague.

Supporters such as UK Foreign Minister Jack Straw have used this as evidence of his "long standing commitment to the Balkans", making him "ideally suited to this challenging position".

Correspondents say Lord Ashdown will now have to prove he is capable of delivering as well as telling others what to do.

Advised by the peace implementation council, Lord Ashdown will have the power to dismiss officials who obstruct the completion of the peace process and to impose legislation where necessary.

Legacy

Bosnia was split under the 1995 Dayton peace treaty into two highly-autonomous entities - a Muslim-Croat federation and a Serb Republic, loosely linked through central government

Lord Ashdown's task will be to continue the work of Mr Petritsch, who guided the process of constitutional reform in the country.

During his three year mandate, he contended with Serb and Croat nationalists with ambitions to establish ethnically pure territories attached to neighbouring Croatia and Yugoslavia, as well as Muslim hardliners who wanted to dominate the state.

He imposed hundreds of laws aimed at strengthening state institutions and restoring the rule of law, and sacked dozens of legitimately elected officials in the process.

Mr Petritsch predicts that an international presence will still be required after Lord Ashdown's mandate expires in two years time, albeit one with a "largely minimised degree of interference".

van holst en steijnen

From: Paul Davidson <p.davidson@btinternet.com>
To: <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>
Sent: zondag 9 juni 2002 02:56
Subject: Parliament votes for death of Yugoslavia

Parliament votes for death of Yugoslavia

By Beti Bilandzic

BELGRADE (Reuters) - The Yugoslav parliament voted overwhelmingly Friday in favor of a plan to abolish the Balkan federation and replace it with a looser union between its last remaining members, Serbia and Montenegro.

The move clears the way for experts to flesh out a new constitution from the blueprint, pushed through by the European Union in March. The West is keen to head off a Montenegrin drive for independence which it fears would destabilize the region.

The Serbian and Montenegrin parliaments had already approved the plan, which would consign Yugoslavia to history after more than seven decades of existence in various forms. But analysts and diplomats still expect protracted battles over the details.

The upper house passed the plan 23-6 against and the lower house approved it by a vote of 74-23.

"Many people will see this day as the day when Yugoslavia died, because the name is no longer mentioned in the agreement - the new state is called Serbia and Montenegro," said Serbian Deputy Premier and Yugoslav deputy Zarko Korac.

The republics will get broad autonomy in one internationally recognized state with its own president, parliament, cabinet and army to replace the federal institutions.

EU foreign policy chief Javier Solana welcomed the vote.

"I am extremely pleased at the news that the Federal Parliament in Belgrade has endorsed the 14th March Agreement. It is an important step forward in the process," he said in a statement, urging all sides to implement the plan without delay.

In 1929, Yugoslavia - which means the land of southern Slavs - became the name for the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, founded 11 years earlier.

The country became a six-republic communist federation after World War Two under former partisan leader Josip Broz Tito. But that state collapsed in 1991 to unleash a decade of bloodshed, leaving only Serbia and Montenegro in the current Yugoslavia.

DEVIL IN THE DETAILS

The original plan, signed by leaders from all sides and Solana, envisaged that a new constitution would be ready for rubber-stamping by the three parliaments by the end of June.

However many analysts, diplomats and politicians say interpretations of the blueprint and ambitions for the new union already differ so widely that the prospect of agreement by then - or any time soon - is remote.

Lower house Speaker Dragoljub Micunovic said he expected the new draft constitution to be finished by the autumn. Yugoslavia would cease to exist when it is adopted.

"Under the most optimistic plan, this could be completed this year," Micunovic told reporters.

Pro-independence Montenegrin parties, for whom the scheme is at best a necessary evil to retain Western favor, set great store by a clause which lets them revive breakaway plans in three years.

They want to make union institutions as weak as possible, with deputies appointed from the republican parliaments. But the pro-Yugoslav bloc there wants close links to Serbia, and a directly elected parliament with a strong mandate.

A failure to resolve Yugoslavia's status quickly would be a blow for hopes to foster stability and attract badly needed foreign investment. But the EU has already achieved its primary goal of heading off Montenegrin independence, at least for now.

It feared a planned breakaway referendum would encourage further, violent redrawing of borders elsewhere in the Balkans. But many analysts see the Union as only a short-term solution because Serbia and Montenegro have already grown too far apart.

van holst en steijnen

From: CDSM <cdsm_b@btopenworld.com>
To: <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>
Sent: vrijdag 14 juni 2002 04:34
Subject: Serbia's parliament 'no longer exists'

A splendid outcome. Not wishing to praise Kostunica or his deputies for their action but, look how these actions feed the volatility and create openings for the anti-NATO forces in Yugoslavia. It shows a total inability at this time to consolidate the anti-Milosevic coup with a 'democratic' face. Any continuance of this phony parliament in present circumstances will deepen political polarisation and weaken the ability of NATO to rule with a democratic facade. New choices are being delivered. The SPS has repeatedly called for early elections. This demand can now reach a much wider audience - PD

Serbia's parliament 'no longer exists'
 By Dusan Stojanovic
 ASSOCIATED PRESS

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia ? The party of Yugoslavia's president withdrew yesterday from the parliament of the nation's main republic, declaring Serbia's legislature invalid and creating the worst political crisis in the country since President Slobodan Milosevic's ouster.

All 45 deputies of Yugoslav President Vojislav Kostunica's Democratic Party of Serbia walked out during a power struggle.

The deputy chief of Mr. Kostunica's party, Dragan Marsicanin, said that with the walkout of the deputies from the chamber, the Serbian parliament "no longer exists."

"This is a coup carried out without weapons," Mr. Marsicanin said. He was referring to a decision by anti-Kostunica lawmakers to fire all the pro-Kostunica lawmakers, prompting the walkout.

Zoran Djindjic, prime minister of Serbia, said Mr. Kostunica's allies were dismissed "to put some order in the country."

The move marked a deepening of the power struggle between Yugoslavia's two key politicians.

Mr. Kostunica, a centrist nationalist, and Mr. Djindjic, a pro-Western pragmatist, have been at loggerheads since jointly ousting Mr. Milosevic from power in October 2000.

Serbia and its tiny neighbor Montenegro make up what is left of Yugoslavia.

Removal of Mr. Kostunica's allies in Serbia's legislature would protect Mr. Djindjic from being ousted in a parliamentary vote.

Mr. Kostunica's party has criticized Mr. Djindjic's economic and political reforms, and has tilted toward Mr. Milosevic's neo-communists and ultra-nationalists in parliament. That left Mr. Djindjic's pro-democracy bloc with a slight majority in the 250-seat Serbian parliament.

Mr. Kostunica's deputies largely have boycotted parliamentary sessions, repeatedly preventing a quorum needed to act on reformist laws. That nearly blocked the assembly's work and threatened to bring new elections ? something Mr. Kostunica and Mr. Milosevic's allies were seeking.

Mr. Kostunica's party announced it would go ahead with "all forms of extraparliamentary political life," indicating street protests and strikes against Mr. Djindjic's government. That would further destabilize the country, already faced with deep economic and social problems. Mr. Milosevic's allies already were organizing some protests.

van holst en steijnen

From: CDSM <cdsm_b@btopenworld.com>
To: <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>
Sent: donderdag 20 juni 2002 16:07
Subject: Belgrade calls on UN to suspend Kosovo sell-offs

Belgrade calls on UN to suspend Kosovo sell-offs

By Stefan Wagstyl, East European Editor
Published: June 19 2002 5:00 | Last Updated: June 19 2002 5:00

Serbia yesterday appealed to the United Nations Security Council to suspend a planned privatisation programme in Kosovo in protest at a lack of consultation with Belgrade.

The Serbian government warned it might impose penalties on banks, lawyers and accountants involved in Kosovo privatisations, including banning participation in the much larger sell-off planned for Serbia.

Belgrade's appeal to the UN follows a decision last week by Michael Steiner, the head of Kosovo's UN administration, to establish the Kosovo Trust Agency to handle privatisation. Belgrade has turned to the Security Council after earlier protests to Kosovo failed to sway Mr Steiner.

The row comes amid continuing uncertainty about the future of Kosovo, which has been run by the UN since the 1999 war.

The province's ethnic Albanian majority demands independence, but legally Kosovo remains a part of Serbia. The international community has not said when final status might be decided, but is in the meantime trying to stabilise Kosovo politically and economically.

In a letter to the Security Council, the Serbian authorities ask for a suspension of privatisation and an investigation of the role of Unmik, the UN administration in Kosovo.

Belgrade insists it does not want to stop privatisation but to ensure it takes account of Serbian interests.

It is particularly concerned about the fate of \$1.4bn in international debts owed by Kosovo companies but guaranteed by the Serbian government. Belgrade's letter says: "Given the complex interrelation between insolvent Kosovo companies and their lenders and guarantors in Serbia proper, we must insist on playing an active role in the privatisation process.

Unmik says it is pressing ahead with privatisation to "establish clear ownership over assets, facilitate and protect new investment and put idle assets into productive use". Officials argue the Kosovo economy requires restructuring if it is to grow, create jobs and reduce social tensions.

van holst en steijnen

From: CDSM <cdsm_b@btopenworld.com>
To: <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>
Sent: donderdag 20 juni 2002 16:01
Subject: The king of Bosnia - The Spectator

FEATURES

The king of Bosnia

The Spectator

Paddy Ashdown must feel that power is finally his, says David Chandler. Why else would he sack Bosnia's deputy prime minister? A fortnight after taking over as Bosnia's international High Representative, Lord (Paddy) Ashdown claims that he has already taught the Bosnians a valuable lesson in democratic procedures ? by sacking an elected deputy prime minister and barring him from holding any future official public office.

Last Friday's announcement of the dismissal of Nikola Grabovac, the minister of finance and deputy prime minister of the Muslim-Croat Federation (one of the two entities that makes up the divided Bosnian state, the other being the Serb-dominated Republika Srpska), marks a new step for the international administrators of the tiny Bosnian state. Grabovac was not dismissed because of accusations that he was involved in war crimes or ethnic violence, nor for advocating populist or nationalist views, nor for opposition to policy being imposed by the international administrators. While all these have previously been accepted as valid reasons for sacking elected Bosnian presidents and prime ministers, the Grabovac case has broken new ground. Grabovac was sacked and his political career ended for the educative purpose of teaching Bosnians the virtues of ministerial responsibility and ?proper governance and transparency? in public affairs.

His dismissal comes in the wake of the AM Sped affair, in which public money from the federal government was misappropriated by the director of the private company. However, as Ashdown's office has been quick to point out, the lapse in financial controls is not alleged to reflect on Grabovac personally. According to the chief spokesman of the Office of the High Representative, Julian Braithwaite, ?The affair in which he is involved is not a matter of his guilt or involvement in corruption.? The deputy prime minister has been sacked by Ashdown merely because he is refusing to ?accept final political responsibility for the actions or inactions of his ministry and step down from this position?. The OHR claims, ?This is about political responsibility. If Bosnia is to become a part of Europe, then it needs to adopt these sort of European standards.?

Ashdown states that Grabovac should have resigned and that this should not be ?seen as an admission of guilt? but rather as a ?brave and honourable political act?. Grabovac argues that, in Bosnia, ministerial resignations are perceived differently. There is no law in Europe that ministers have to resign if their department is implicated in a scandal of some sort. Recent history shows that while some ministers (like the Dutch) might be happy to resign despite having no personal responsibility, others (like the British) can remain long after their sell-by date. The fact is that ministerial responsibility is a question for governments, political parties and, in the final analysis, the public via the ballot-box to decide. It seems bizarre that developing democracy in Bosnia could be seen to involve sacking elected representatives on the basis that they do not live up to some alleged ?European standards? which it would be impossible to formalise. It is hardly a lesson in democracy to dismiss elected ministers on such flimsy justification.

As Chris Patten, the European Commissioner for Foreign Affairs, recently said of Ashdown in the Bosnian press: ?He is a man with an extraordinary career in British politics?, adding that he was ?recognised as a man full of energy, who always has a vision?. Of course, the notable point about Ashdown's career was the fact that his political opinions consistently failed to appeal to the vast majority of British people, who apparently found his ?energy? and ?vision? something they would rather do without. For the Bosnians, the problem may well be that Ashdown's years of frustration with his failure to gain a position of political power in Britain make him an unlikely candidate for rolling back the powers of the international administration as Bosnia gradually prepares itself for self-government and the eventual end of the ?transitional? protectorate. This danger was highlighted in his inaugural speech when he argued that Bosnia's transition to self-government involved more than a set of administrative and structural reforms. Ashdown feels that the key question is leadership:

No state has ever been built ? no people have ever prospered ? unless they

can produce from among themselves leaders who have a vision that transcends faction, who have the ability to put the interest of the country first, and who have the courage to take the risks necessary to lead. Bosnia and Hercegovina has so far not produced enough leaders of this sort. Cometh the hour, cometh the Lord. Like David Beckham for England, Paddy Ashdown clearly feels that the leader whom the Bosnians have lacked has now arrived. He has made it clear that he is not interested in governing through political consensus:

I have concluded that there are two ways I can make my decisions. One is with a tape measure, measuring the precise equidistant position between three sides. The other is by doing what I think is right for the country as a whole. I prefer the second of these. So when I act, I shall seek to do so in defence of the interests of all the people of Bosnia and Hercegovina, putting their priorities first.

Ashdown's approach to Bosnia ? his belief that Bosnian political parties and the political process are irrelevant now that he has the governor's post; the conceit that he is a better judge of what is right and in the interests of the Bosnian people than their elected representatives; and his moral mission to set standards that exist nowhere outside of an idealised view of Western politics ? means that he could well discredit the whole idea of Western bureaucrats bringing democracy to the Balkans. Grabovac could soon be looking back and counting himself lucky to be out of the mess of Bosnian politics.

Dr David Chandler lectures in international relations at Brunel University and has written widely on the Balkans, including *Bosnia: Faking Democracy after Dayton* and *From Kosovo to Kabul: Human Rights and International Intervention*, both published by Pluto Press

van holst en steijnen

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Sent: zaterdag 22 juni 2002 08:40
Subject: Reservations about Kosovo?

Hey, Not very enlightening—or even very informative—as Phillips doesn't mention that Free Serbia (well, sorta free—at least free of the Western troops in as full a force as elsewhere) continues to be a multi-ethnic refuge for all those cleansed from other parts of Yugoslavia—but I thought you might want to read this. What with the Milanovic sentencing, Justice and Decency—even in Belgrade—seem further away than ever. Mick

(Counter Punch online)

June 20, 2002

Kosovo 2002

Serbian Reservations

by James T. Phillips

"Did you come to see the zoo?"

A teenage girl wearing a colorful headband and dangling earrings stared at me as she asked about my intentions. The look on her face was a mixture of defiance and bemusement. Journalists prowling around her turf were once a common sight and, since the neighborhood is a small Serb enclave in the center of Pristina, noticing a man with a camera wasn't very difficult.

The teenager's home is located in a six-story block of apartments. One hundred and seventy-four Serbs live in the apartments, and other buildings housing thousands of Albanians surround the enclave. The Serbs have access to one small store, a fitness center and, when I asked where do the children play, the teenage girl pointed to a dusty courtyard that functions as a football pitch. Twenty British KFOR soldiers live in one of the apartments, and they guard the Serbs day and night. The soldiers are alert, well armed and, like the Serbs in the courtyard, easy targets for those staring in through invisible bars that encircle the enclave.

"We are like prisoners here," said the girl. "We live like animals in a zoo."

Yugoslavia was once multi-ethnic and modern, a member of the United Nations and, until 1991, ruled by communists. Eleven years after the beginning of the endless warfare in the Balkans, the nation of Yugoslavia has been cleaved into pieces by various nationalist leaders identified in the international press as freedom fighters (Croats), democrats (Bosnian Muslims), rebels (Albanians) and butchers (Serbs). With the assistance of politicians, diplomats and bomber pilots from the United States of America - and compliant members of NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Association) and the United Nations - the leaders of these various entities have succeeded in creating ethnically pure regions carved out of the carnage of war.

Capitalism has replaced communism in these new nations and, although many of the same leaders continue to rule, the cleansing operations during the past decade have assured the people of the former Yugoslavia a future free from

oppression, fear and ethnically incompatible neighbors.

Except, of course, in Kosovo.

During the Balkans Wars (1991-2002), Slovenes, Croats, Bosnians (Croat, Serb and Muslim), Macedonians and Albanians fought and died for the right to be independent and free. The Serbs living in Kosovo also fought and died, yet three years after the end of NATO's brutal war against Yugoslavia they are still not free.

Statistics about the success or failure of the mission in Kosovo, gathered and published by KFOR, UNMIK and humanitarian aid groups - and reported by journalists and writers looking to confirm their own biases and agendas - are available in many busy offices located in bustling city of Pristina. The dissemination of this information and propaganda sometimes seems to take priority over the delivery of food and supplies to the people concentrated in a few ethnically pure enclaves scattered throughout Kosovo.

The simple stories about the lives of Serbs, Roma and other minorities living in these enclaves have gone missing, and the less-than-equal undesirables of Kosovo continue to live in fear, loathing the rise of a government dominated by Albanians and the fall of their own precarious living standards.

* * *

"I'm sorry," said the man sitting next to me. "My son, he is full of energy."

I met Jovica Rajkovic and his seven-year-old son Milan on the train that runs from Zvecan to G. Jankovic. Milan was sitting in the seat across from me, and he was kicking the edge of my seat. His father gently admonished the boy. Milan stopped kicking and tried to stand up on his seat and look out the dirt-encrusted window. Jovica reached over and took hold of his son's arm. Milan sat down. He remained still for less than five seconds.

Zvecan is a small town located north of Mitrovica, the "flashpoint" city where Serbs and Albanians live, separated by the polluted Ibar River. Serbs live north of the river and Albanians live in the southern areas of the segregated city. The railroad station in Zvecan sits in a cleft between crumbling hills and shares a small valley with the rusting remains of the Trepeca mining complex, the source of the pollution that flows in the Ibar River. G. Jankovic is a large town located near the border crossing between southern Kosovo and northern Macedonia, and it is the end of the line.

Three years ago, in the spring of 1999, the same train and the same tracks were used to transport thousands of Albanians to the Blace refugee camp in Macedonia. On a hot and humid day in June of 2002, a Serb father and son boarded the ancient train and traveled the short distance to their home in Kosovo Polje. Armed KFOR soldiers from Greece provided protection for the passengers as the train chugged slowly through areas populated by Albanians. The damage done to the Albanian towns and villages during the war has been repaired, and the new houses dotting the landscape would be considered small mansions in North America.

Jovica peered through the window. He pointed towards blackened shells of burned-out houses in abandoned Serb villages.

"Look there," said Jovica. "The Albanians have destroyed our homes."

There was very little rebuilding or remodeling occurring in the Serb villages, and there were no large homes being financed and constructed for Serbs, as was being done for the free and independent Albanians of Kosovo. Since the end of the war between NATO and Yugoslavia, thousands of new structures have been built by Albanians and paid for by the international community. However, three years after the war ended many Serbs continue to live in tents and small pre-fabricated shelters, surviving on what little aid and assistance that is trickling down to them after the Albanians have siphoned off most of the money, goods and services being provided by the international community.

"It is a catastrophe for my people," said Jovica.

When we arrived at the station in Kosovo Polje, Jovica and Milan said goodbye and stepped down onto a platform crowded with passengers waiting to board the southbound train. Gripping his son's hand tightly in his own huge fist, Jovica quickly threaded his way through groups of Albanians standing in and around the railway platform. The atmosphere was tense. Hostile stares and smirking laughter by the Albanians quickened the pace of the Serb father and son, and they were out of my sight within seconds.

* * *

UNMIK is the acronym for the United Nations Mission in Kosovo, the international organization responsible for re-organizing a shattered land and people. Although the landscape of Kosovo has seen some definite improvements, many of the people still live broken lives. And, fittingly for this surreal province of Serbia, UNMIK has not even been able to provide a secure environment for its own Serb civilian employees.

"This is terribly humiliating," said Marija, a young Serb woman who works for UNMIK.

I was escorting Marija to her job in Pristina. She lives only three blocks from her office, but is afraid to walk through the streets alone. Although she speaks excellent English and passes herself off as an American, the young woman, a hard-edged and proud Serb, is scared to acknowledge her ethnicity.

Marija is not her real name. A Serb working in Albanian areas of Kosovo can easily become a target of Albanians who want to continue the cleansing of the ethnic minorities that began immediately after the end of the war in June of 1999. UNMIK also disapproves of any disparaging comments from the local staff. Marija could lose her life or her job if her real name was published. Like others Serbs, Marija has lost her identity as well as her freedom.

"The internationals want to get rid of us," said Marija, referring to the enclaves populated by minorities, and protected by UNMIK and KFOR. "They want to get rid of a problem, and the problem is the Serbs."

* * *

"The Serbs are not free."

David Pierson is a 48-year-old American from Colorado working as an UNMIK policeman in the city of Pristina; he agrees with Marija.

"They are always under escort," said Pierson. "I don't call that free. The Serbs have to come and go in groups."

Officer Pierson was sitting at a table outside a small kiosk, drinking coffee and watching the people pass by when I stopped and said hello. His perch was only a few blocks from Marija's office. There are more than 500 American policemen currently working in Kosovo. They try to offer protection to the minority communities, but walking a beat in Pristina usually means driving around in a brand-new Sports Utility Vehicle painted to resemble a Coca-Cola can with wheels. Their contact with the people is limited to responding to calls for assistance from Serbs, and ordering coffee at Albanian cafes.

"Crime is down, murders are down," said Barry Fletcher, a press spokesman for UNMIK. Fletcher is also an American policeman. "Now, it's just street crime, car thefts and sexual assaults. But if we pull out of here in the next few years, the situation will return to what it was in 1999.

"Both side view themselves as victims," said Fletcher. "They do not accept that they are also the perpetrators. Only time will heal the hate."

The Albanians once lived under Serbian rule, and they rebelled against their alleged oppressors. With the assistance of other Americans - politicians and diplomats, aid workers and soldiers - the Albanians won their war of liberation and have created a society that is discriminating against the Serbs, Roma and other minorities. The policemen now stationed throughout

Kosovo have to deal with the problems.

"It's apartheid," said Fletcher, the UNMIK spokesman, acknowledging the fact that good cops cannot change bad behavior, and giving credence to the Serb complaints about whether the international community really cares about protecting innocent lives. "If you give us information about a crime, and give us a name, we'll book them. We'd love to."

* * *

Marija thinks it is a crime when her right to walk to work is denied, and does not believe that freedom for the ethnic minorities of Kosovo is very high on the agendas of the Albanians or the Americans.

"The internationals want to get rid of the Serbs," said Marija as I escorted her to her job at UNMIK headquarters.

"The Serbs are going to remain in a cage."

James T. Phillips is a freelance reporter. He has covered wars in Iraq, Croatia, Bosnia, Kosovo and Macedonia. He can be reached at: james@unet.com.mk

van holst en steijnen

From: CDSM <cdsm_b@btopenworld.com>
To: <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>
Sent: zondag 23 juni 2002 06:04
Subject: European Intelligence: The US Betrayed Us In Macedonia

European Intelligence: The US Betrayed Us In Macedonia

by Christopher Deliso in Skopje
 antiwar.com
 June 22, 2002

SKOPJE - The US government was accused today of subsidizing and training Albanian paramilitaries in Macedonia, in a secret European report leaked to Dutch National Radio.

The furor over a clandestine connection- frequently alleged, but never proven- further worsens transatlantic relations that have already been strained by an ongoing trade war. The Dutch report comes at a particularly sensitive time for President Bush, who is currently seeking to solidify international support for a wider war on terror. The US Embassy in Skopje was not aware of the charges by late Friday evening, and could not yet make an official statement.

Because specific details were not permitted to be leaked, the report was filtered through the Klingerdaar Institute (a respected Dutch military analysis firm). Klingerdaar in turn gave the salient information to Dutch Radio, which also interviewed several individuals who had been involved in Macedonia. The investigation centered on several controversial episodes, including the battle of Arachinovo (26 June 2001), and the 'Essential Harvest' weapons collection mission in September.

Even before this new report, American involvement had long been suspected at the three-day battle in Aracino, a heavily Albanian town northeast of Skopje. As the battle progressed, the Macedonians claimed to be on the verge of eliminating NLA forces. Yet suddenly they were given the order to pull back, and NATO buses rolled in to escort the heavily-armed Albanians out. At the time, NATO claimed that this intervention was vital, because the Albanians were coming dangerously close to victory, and mediation was needed.

The story from many witnesses, however, was very different. German newspaper Hamburger Abendblatt reported that 17 American military advisors from MPRI (the Virginia-based private military company) were also evacuated with the Albanians. This, Macedonians declared, was the real reason for NATO's intercession. But while MPRI had an official contract as Macedonian Army advisors, suggestions of a similar presence with the Albanians were vigorously denied.

The Dutch report confirms the link, however, and quotes the German reporter who filed the original story. Apparently one of the MPRI men had been captured by the Macedonians. He panicked, and, waving his US passport, shouted 'diplomatic immunity!' Through heavy US intercession, the man was freed and evacuated together with his comrades and the NLA fighters. European sources identified this particular individual as having been active in training Bosnian fighters in the 1990's.

According to the Dutch report, there are still many unanswered questions about Operation 'Essential Harvest.' At the time, NATO decided that collecting approximately 3,500 weapons would sufficiently disarm the Albanians. Yet after the collections began, Macedonians charged the NLA with giving up only their oldest and least useable guns. Museum curators in Skopje sarcastically asked that the Albanians' WWII-era pistols be donated to their collection.

The Europeans claim that NATO was well aware that antiquated guns were being surrendered- and further, that not even four percent of these weapons could be fired.

More damning still is testimony from Macedonian intelligence services, who claim that NATO merely exchanged the Albanians' old weapons for new ones. This story comes independently of the Dutch report, from one individual who secretly watched 'Essential Harvest' through binoculars from a nearby mountainside.

During the war, the Dutch report also states, constant telephone connection was maintained between Albanian rebels and high-level American officials.

Some of these conversations were taped by European intelligence. At some point the Americans became aware that they were being tapped, and discontinued direct phone contact. At this point, the Europeans claim, America purchased computers with phone technology for the NLA. Thus communications were restored.

This stunning report comes at a time when Holland is taking over NATO's Macedonia command from the Germans. Some analysts are viewing the denunciation of the US involvement as a direct invitation to the Hague for American leaders- just as the US has been reiterating its opposition to a world court.

Last year's war in Macedonia was started by the self-declared National Liberation Army (NLA), an Albanian militant group originally denounced by NATO spokesman George Robertson as "murderous thugs." As the war proceeded, however, the "terrorists" were legitimized into "freedom fighters." Heavy Western pressure forced a restrained response from the Macedonian army. As a result, the war was dragged out, and the Macedonian government was forced to negotiate with the NLA and its chief, Ali Ahmeti.

Despite winning new rights across the board, such as an amnesty for NLA members, use of Albanian language and devolved local government, Albanian kidnappings, shootings and bombings have continued after the cease-fire. The heavy NATO and OSCE presence has been unable or unwilling to solve many of these crimes. Although he remains on George Bush's terrorist blacklist, Ali Ahmeti has started his own political party, and is now becoming acknowledged as a political player in Macedonia.

Previous articles by Christopher Deliso on Antiwar.com

Rwanda-Tribunaal

veroordeelt hoge hutu

7-12-99
ARUSHA – Het Rwanda-Tribunaal heeft een leider van de hutu-militie Interahamwe schuldig bevonden aan genocide. De 41-jarige Georges Rutaganda, zakenman en vice-voorzitter van Interahamwe, is volgens het VN-hof ook schuldig aan misdaden tegen de menselijkheid en moord. Hij kreeg levenslang. Rutaganda zou onder meer wapens hebben verspreid en de leiding hebben genomen tijdens de massamoorden, die in 1994 aan 800 000 mensen het leven hebben gekost

Partijen Servië delen macht in regering

BELGRADO – De drie belangrijkste partijen in de Joegoslavische deelrepubliek Servië zijn het gisteren eens geworden over de samenstelling van een overgangsregering, en over de datum van vervroegde parlementsverkiezingen, namelijk 23 december.

In het nieuwe overgangskabinet behoudt de SPS-partij van ex-president Milosevic zowel de premierspost als de ministeries van binnenlandse zaken, financiën, justitie en informatie.

Daar staat tegenover dat de par-

17-12-2000
tij van regerend president Kostunica, DOS, en de Servische Vernieuwingsbeweging SPO twee vice-premiers leveren en de staatssecretarissen bij elk van de SPS-ministeries. Aangezien consensus tussen hen nodig is voor besluitvorming, kunnen de DOS en de SPO zo de partij van Milosevic controleren.

De SPS heeft in totaal twaalf ministerposten in de overgangsregering, de DOS en SPO allebeides. Volgens SPS-leider Andjelkovic „garandeert deze regeling dat de regering in het belang werkt van de burgers en hun toekomst”.

Rwanda-Tribunaal veroordeelt hoge hutu

7-12-99
ARUSHA – Het Rwanda-Tribunaal heeft een leider van de hutu-militie Interahamwe schuldig bevonden aan genocide. De 41-jarige Georges Rutaganda, zakenman en vice-voorzitter van Interahamwe, is volgens het VN-hof ook schuldig aan misdaden tegen de menselijkheid en moord. Hij kreeg levenslang. Rutaganda zou onder meer wapens hebben verspreid en de leiding hebben genomen tijdens de massamoorden, die in 1994 aan 800 000 mensen het leven hebben gekost.

'VN-politie verdenkt UCK-leiders van moord

17-12-2000
HAMBURG – De VN-politie in Kosovo verdenkt leiders van het Kosovo Bevrijdingsleger (UCK) van foltering, afpersing en de vorming van executiepelotons. Een van de verdachten is een vertrouweling van UCK-leider Thaci, meldt het Duitse Der Spiegel.

van holst en steijnen

From: Mick Collins <cirqueminime@club-internet.fr>
To: Paul Davidson <p.davidson@btinternet.com>; Christopher Black <bar@idirect.com>; Nico van holst en steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>; Nico Varkessian <office@globalreflexion.org>
Sent: zondag 23 juni 2002 21:13
Subject: FW: CPC--SOS!

De : Mick Collins <cirqueminime@club-internet.fr>
Date : Mon, 24 Jun 2002 06:09:10 +0200
À : Krsljanin Vladimir
Objet : CPC--SOS!

Hey, If it's not one thing (Milanovic's jailing), it's something worser. What the fuck is up in Serbia? And is this the same Mihajlo Markovic we interviewed when last in Belgrade--nice old guy, historian, looks like Bob Hope? Somebody give me a clue here. Lost at CPC, Mick

(NY Times online 23 June 2002)

Serbia Socialists Oust Milosevic
By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Filed at 8:09 p.m. ET

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia (AP) – Moderates in Slobodan Milosevic's Socialist party voted to remove the former Yugoslav president as party leader on Sunday, a year after he was extradited on war crimes charges.

The moderates replaced him with a reform-minded official from their ranks, although they did give Milosevic the title of honorary president. The future of the Socialist Party of Serbia remained unclear despite the vote; Milosevic supporters did not attend its congress and dismissed the results.

The moderates chose Brislav Ivkovic as the new party leader. Ivkovic had been a close ally of Milosevic before he turned reformist after the former president was ousted two years ago. A year ago, Milosevic was extradited to the U.N. war crimes tribunal in The Hague, Netherlands

However, he remained the party's official leader and controlled party affairs by phone from his detention cell in the Netherlands, where he is on trial for atrocities committed in Croatia, Bosnia and Kosovo.

Zivorad Igie, a key Milosevic loyalist, called the decisions at the congress in Belgrade Sunday "outrageous and illegal." Igie said he and others loyal to Milosevic would not recognize those elected and would continue to act as the "legal" Socialist party.

Ivkovic had been a target of intra-party feuding that has shaken the party over the past months. He was attacked earlier this year by Milosevic for attempting to carve out a new party from the Socialists.

Milosevic loyalists tried to oust Ivkovic in April, but he resisted, calling for a special party meeting -- Sunday's congress -- to settle the issue.

About 1,500 delegates of some 2,000 present at the party congress voted for Ivkovic. Some 500 party members -- those most loyal to Milosevic -- were not present.

In what amounts to the day's most serious blow for Milosevic, moderates also filled the party's top posts with reform-minded officials.

After being sent to the U.N. court in June 2001, Milosevic nominated another party member, Mirko Marjanovic, to act as his deputy. Marjanovic's position

within the party remained unclear after Sunday's vote.

Mihajlo Markovic, a party official who pushed for the change in leadership, opened the convention earlier in the day with harsh words for Milosevic.

"The Socialist party has lost its way," Markovic said. "It was overwhelmed by dictatorial and authoritarian policies and corruption."

After the vote, however, he struck a more conciliatory tone.

"He united people and the country," Markovic said. "And now he defends them at The Hague."

Milosevic helped found the Socialist Party of Serbia in 1990 from the remnants of Serbia's branch of the communist party, which had ruled Yugoslav for nearly five decades.

van holst en steijnen

From: CDSM <cdsm_b@btopenworld.com>
To: <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>
Sent: donderdag 27 juni 2002 01:50
Subject: Yugoslav president seeks backing from military commanders for removing army general

Yugoslav president seeks backing from military commanders for removing army general

By Misha Savic, Associated Press, 6/25/2002 10:15

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia (AP) With the army's chief of staff defying orders to quit, President Vojislav Kostunica on Tuesday lobbied top generals to back his decision to fire the commander and end the latest political crisis in Yugoslavia.

In a move likely to find approval among Western governments, Kostunica fired Col. Gen. Nebojsa Pavkovic by special decree late Monday, saying he wanted to ensure "civilian control over the army" and because Pavkovic "believed that he is above the army and above the state."

But Pavkovic refused to accept his dismissal, arguing that Kostunica did not have the authority to fire him especially because other members of the Supreme Defense Council did not endorse Kostunica's decision.

"I will not carry out this order," Pavkovic said.

A high-ranking officer speaking on condition of anonymity told The Associated Press that Kostunica called Tuesday's meeting of commanders from the army, air force and navy to seek their support.

"The president wants to try to secure approval for his decree and to secure the proper functioning of the armed forces," the officer said.

Kostunica did not issue any statements ahead of the meeting. But a communique afterward indicated that he failed in persuading the generals to support his actions. It said only that senior generals were ready to fulfill all decisions of both the Supreme Defense Council which did not endorse the firing and Kostunica who did.

Pavkovic led the Yugoslav army during its 1999 confrontation with NATO in Kosovo but later played a key part in the bloodless overthrow of Milosevic by refusing to order the army to protect the president when he was ousted two years ago.

Pavkovic has been investigated by the U.N. war crimes tribunal for his role in the Kosovo campaign, but there has been no public announcement of an indictment. Milosevic, who was ousted in October 2000, is currently on trial in The Hague on charges of genocide and other crimes committed during the Kosovo conflict and other Balkan wars.

Struggling to keep his post, Pavkovic on Monday alleged that the country's political leadership was being pressured by the U.S. administration.

There has been no official American demand to fire the general, but his association with Milosevic and role in the Kosovo campaign has tarnished his image abroad.

Pavkovic said, while challenging his dismissal, said he would not oppose his replacement, Gen. Branko Krka, a career intelligence officer seen as politically neutral.

Krka issued a statement Tuesday promising to perform his new duties "with full responsibility, dignity and in the most professional manner."

The constitution is ambivalent on whether the president can act alone in dismissing the chief of staff.

Initially close to Kostunica, Pavkovic in recent months has moved closer to Prime Minister Zoran Djindjic of Serbia, the president's greatest rival. Serbia, home to more than 90 percent of all Yugoslavs, effectively sets national policies.

van holst en steijnen

From: Paul Davidson <p.davidson@btinternet.com>
To: <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>
Sent: maandag 6 mei 2002 13:23
Subject: Massacre Or Not? It Depends On Which Side Of Washington's Ledger You're On

Swans

**Massacre Or Not?
 It Depends On Which Side Of Washington's Ledger You're On**

by Stephen Gowans

May 6, 2002

In 1999, Serb police alerted the media of an impending arrest of a man accused of murdering a police officer. The arrest would take place in Racak, a Kosovo village, known as a Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) stronghold. The KLA had been labelled a terrorist organization by the US State Department a year earlier, reviled for running drugs and under suspicion for its connections to Osama bin Laden. As the Serb police approached Racak, international observers watched from the surrounding hills. Entering the village, the Serb police immediately came under fire from KLA guerillas. The police returned fire, while a TV crew filmed the firefight. The next day William Walker, the US ambassador to Yugoslavia, led the press back to Racak. Laid out in a shallow trench were the bodies of dozens of ethnic Albanian civilians. Walker said the Serb police had cold-bloodedly massacred the civilians the day before, shooting men, women and children at close range.

Not long after, NATO forces began a 78-day bombardment of Yugoslavia, in which hundreds, if not thousands of civilians were killed, and thousands more permanently injured. Racak was said to be a precipitating event. The bombing campaign – a massacre itself – was said to be necessary to stop future Racaks.

A few weeks ago, another massacre took place. This time in the West Bank. The West Bank is not, contrary to what many North Americans believe, part of Israel. But that hasn't stopped Israel from occupying it. Or attacking its cities and towns and refugee camps.

Those who live in the Jenin refugee camp were displaced from their homes when Israel was created in 1948. Others took up residence in the camp when Israel expanded its borders in the 1967 war. In defiance of international law and various UN resolutions, Israel hasn't let the refugees of Jenin return to their homes. Instead, the refugees wait in despair, in poverty, for justice. And when they can wait no longer, they strap bombs to their chests.

Ethnic Albanian Kosovars who fled their homes, or were driven from them, were allowed to return. They haven't been forced to live in squalid camps, waiting for justice.

But with Israel, exceptions are made.

Martin van Creveld, Israel's leading military historian, knows this. Van Creveld says Sharon's plan is to "drive Palestinians across the Jordan," in other words, to ethnically cleanse the occupied territories. The result – unremarked upon by van Creveld – would be the completion of the Zionist project: all of historical Palestine for the Jews. (1)

"Some believe," van Creveld writes, "that the international community will not permit such an ethnic cleansing. I would not count on it. If Mr. Sharon decides to go ahead, the only country that can stop him is the United States."

This, sadly, is true. Israel's repeated expression of contempt for human rights, for international law, for the international community, goes on under the aegis of its protector, the United States, itself, equally contemptuous of human rights (Camp X-Ray), international law (the bombing of Afghanistan and countless other places), and the UN (the bombing of Yugoslavia, to mention but one brazen instance.)

The US, van Creveld predicts, will let Israel go ahead. And who, honestly surveying the history of the US-Israeli relationship would doubt him?

Return to Jenin.

The IDF, the Israeli army, didn't invite the media to witness its operation to "destroy the terrorist infrastructure" in the Jenin refugee camp. On the contrary, the IDF prevented the media from recording what was going on. And international observers didn't watch the IDF carry out its operations. There are no international observers in the occupied territories, even though the Palestinian Authority has repeatedly asked that international observers be deployed, and the international community has demanded it. Israel won't

consent, and Washington doesn't insist on it. Instead, Washington pays for the tanks and F-16s and tanks and bulldozers that Israel uses to massacre refugees.

The UN's Middle East envoy Terje Roed-Larsen was shocked when he saw what the IDF had done in Jenin. "This is horrifying beyond belief," he said. A "blot that will forever live on the history of the state of Israel." For daring to criticize Israel – the country that must never be criticized, no matter what depths of depravity it sinks to – Roed-Larsen has been vilified by the Sharon government. (2)

Peter Hansen, Commissioner General of the United Nations Relief and Works for Palestinian Refugees, said, "I have never seen such a human tragedy as that I saw in Jenin. A Swiss seismic expert who accompanied me to Jenin was also shocked and even said he had never seen such a destruction in any part of the world for decades. I think that such massacres will never be wiped out of the human memory and their effects will be remembered by several Palestinian generations." (3)

And now Israel won't consent to a UN inquiry into what happened in Jenin, playing its usual trump card: "The whole world is out to get us. It always has been."

Compare that to the fate of Yugoslavia, and its former leader, Slobodan Milosevic. Milosevic is being tried before a UN tribunal for murder, genocide and crimes against humanity.

His country was devastated by 78-days of NATO bombing. The media were at Racak. Milosevic allowed international observers into Kosovo, not an occupied territory, but a province of Serbia. He asked that a UN force be deployed. And Milosevic is reviled as a brute, strongman, murderer, and ethnic cleanser.

Sharon, whose history as a war criminal is well documented, prevents the media from covering Israel's operations in occupied territory which the UN has long called for Israel to quit, refuses to allow international observers, and blocks a UN inquiry. And George W. Bush calls Sharon a man of peace.

The differences – stark and disturbing – don't stop there. There are compelling reasons to believe a massacre happened at Jenin, despite Israeli denials. The tell-tale signs are overwhelming: Israel's drawing a curtain around the camp while the operation was in progress; its intransigent refusal to allow an inquiry; the harrowing testimony of those who fled the camp; reports from UN workers and others.

By contrast, the Racak massacre, part of The Hague Tribunal case against Milosevic, probably didn't happen, and yet, was the ostensible basis for destroying a country and undermining those inside it who opposed Washington's imperial designs on the Balkans.

The international observers present on the date of the attack reported no massacre of civilians. The TV crew that was present didn't capture a massacre on film (but did capture a firefight between the police and the KLA.) And the forensic pathologists who investigated the incident on behalf of the European Union later wrote that there was no evidence of a massacre, and that the forensic evidence was consistent with the dead being fallen KLA fighters, not Racak civilians. The United States, it seems, was looking for a pretext to intervene militarily, and was willing to jump at (if not collude in) a KLA fabrication.

How is it that a massacre that probably happened can be largely sloughed off, while a massacre that probably didn't happen, can set in motion a 78-day air war, the ouster of a president, and a tribunal at The Hague? As always, it simply depends on which side of the US ledger a country is on. Israel facilitates the pursuit of US imperial ambitions in the Middle East, so its immense crimes are overlooked. Yugoslavia, with its largely socialized economy and refusal to join NATO, gets in the way. As a result, it no longer exists.

Take another case: Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez (wrong side of the ledger: too independent) and Pakistan's military dictator General Musharraf (right side of the ledger: pliable and subordinate.) Chavez, who was elected and has found his government under threat for pursuing policies intended to benefit the majority (a rarity in Venezuela), is portrayed as a would-be dictator with a regrettable cavalier disregard for democracy, while Musharraf who seized power in a coup is "backed to the hilt by his new-found allies in the US State Department, who remain appreciative of his decision to back the US-led war of terrorism." (4)

Musharraf has just held a sham referendum to seek a mandate for his continued dictatorial rule. Opposition parties were barred from campaigning, Musharraf counted the votes, and the referendum question never asked directly whether Musharraf should stay on in power, only whether his reforms were approved of. Washington, which raised a stink about electoral irregularities in Yugoslavia under Milosevic, Belarus under Lukashenko, and Zimbabwe under Mugabe, uttered not a word about Musharraf's sham. Nor did Tony Blair, who portrayed himself as a champion of democracy in insisting election monitors oversee the last elections in Zimbabwe, work himself up into high dudgeon over this "assault on democracy." Instead, he remained tight-lipped, perhaps even pleased, his passion for democracy tempered by "geostrategic considerations."

As for America's steadfast allies in the Middle East -- Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Kuwait -- the issue of stolen elections will never arise: there are no elections to steal. Nor are human rights a big deal in these oil monarchies, something you would never know the way the State Department carries on about Cuba. The absence of multi-party elections will invite a highly visible rebuke every year, but chop off the hands of those who steal a loaf of bread and who notices?

Cuba, of course, long ago figured out that it was going to get a raw deal from Washington when it decided Cubans shouldn't bear the brunt of the country's long domination by the US. Pillage, rape, burn; ethnically cleanse, murder; commit war crimes; seize power by coup; throw people into concentration camps; it doesn't matter, as long as it's done in the name of free enterprise. That's Castro's blunder. All would be forgiven, the absence of multi-party elections overlooked, the human rights abuses ignored, if only Castro could see his way to turning the Cuban economy over to US multinationals...again.

Oil rich monarchs who tolerate no elections, let alone multi-party elections, military dictators who back American wars of conquest, and brazen war criminals of the Sharon stripe, will continue to enjoy the high esteem of Washington, and therefore of the American media, and therefore of the American people.

Some day the outrageous hypocrisy of US governments and the country's servile media will be perceived, the mountains of bullshit behind which base and inhumane schemes are pursued will be penetrated. Some day. We can only hope.

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Stephen Gowans is a writer and political activist who lives in Ottawa, Canada. He writes a regular column for Canadian Content and is also a frequent contributor to the Media Monitors Network. In addition, Gowans maintains his own Web site, *What's Left in Suburbia?*, that is filled with relevant information.

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