

# Milosevic & Aanklachten

Map 7B

# Komen ze naar Belgrado of niet?

'Medestrijders in Den Haag' zeggen vaarwel

door Runa Hellinga in Belgrado

**De hele dag leefden Milosevic-aanhangers in Servië gisteren tussen hoop en vrees. Wordt hij wel in Belgrado begraven, of toch niet?**

Het graf in Belgrado was gevonden. De Servische Socialistische Partij bereidde zich er al op voor dat Milosevic in de hal van het partijgebouw zou worden opgebaard. De rechter had immers gezegd dat Mira Milosevic voor de begrafenis van haar man terug mocht keren naar Belgrado. Hij wordt in Belgrado begraven, melden ook alle nieuwszenders.

Maar Dragoslav Ogjanovic, advocaat van de familie, was er gisterenmiddag bepaald niet van overtuigd

dat de ex-president naar huis terug zou keren. „Het is natuurlijk aan de familie zelf om te beslissen, maar deze gerechtelijke uitspraak is voor Mira Milosevic geen garantie dat ze niet vervolgd zal worden. Het is een opschorting, geen amnestie. En ze wil niet alleen haar man kunnen begraven, ze wil later ook zijn graf kunnen bezoeken.” Ogjanovic noemt de hele discussie rond de begrafenis „een zwarte bladzijde in de Servische geschiedenis”.

De beslissing van de Servische rechter gaat niet verder dan dat Mira de begrafenis kan bijwonen. Ze moet haar paspoort inleveren, 15 000 euro borg betalen en zich na afloop ter beschikking van de rechtbank stellen voor verhoor. Het is nauwelijks de totale amnestie die Mira als voorwaarde had gesteld om

haar man in Servië te begraven. „Belgrado doet er alles aan om een begrafenis in Servië te vermijden”, zei Marko Milosevic in Moskou, vlak voor zijn vertrek naar Nederland. „Daarom heb ik geen andere keuze

**Discussie over begrafenis is 'zwarte bladzijde in Servische geschiedenis'**

dan voor een begrafenis in Moskou te beslissen.”

's Middags hoopt partijbestuurder Dejan Backovic van de Socialistische Partij echter dat Milosevic toch in Belgrado begraven zal worden. En inderdaad, 's avonds komt het verlossende woord van de familie-advocaat

Zdenko Tomanovic: het wordt Belgrado. Evengoed betreurt Socialistische Partij-bestuurder Milutin Mrkonjic het dat de Servische regering niet bereid is een staatsbegrafenis voor Milosevic te organiseren.

Dat de regering met de hele kwestie in haar maag zit, is overduidelijk. „Milosevic' invloed in dit land is nog steeds heel groot”, aldus Andreja Mladenovic, woordvoerder van de Democratische Partij van Servië en van premier Kostunica. „Daarom is het voor ons vooral van belang te zorgen dat de politieke stabiliteit van het land niet in gevaar komt. Er wachten Servië de komende maanden een paar belangrijke beslissingen, rond Kosovo en onderhandelingen met de EU. Het laatste wat wij nu kunnen gebruiken is politieke onrust.”

De andere aangeklaagden van het Joegoslavië-tribunaal die in Den Haag in de gevangenis zitten, hebben in een advertentie afscheid genomen van Slobodan Milosevic - 'hun medestrijder in Den Haag'. De gezamenlijke rouwadvertentie stond in het Servische dagblad *Polityka* en enkele andere dagbladen. De meeste ondertekenaars van de advertentie met de sobere tekst „Wij wensen zijn familie alle sterkte” zijn Serviërs uit Bosnië en Kroatië. Maar opvallende uitzondering is Ante Gotovina, de Kroatische generaal die verdacht wordt van oorlogsmisdaden tegen Serviërs in Kroatië en wiens uitlevering jarenlang een heikel punt tussen Kroatië en de EU is geweest. Gotovina werd uiteindelijk eind vorig jaar in Spanje gearresteerd.

## Tribunaal sluit zaak IT-02-54 zonder verdachte



Van onze verslaggever

**Het proces tegen de overleden Joegoslavische ex-president Slobodan Milosevic is gisteren officieel beëindigd.**

De verdachtenbank van waaruit Milosevic de afgelopen jaren veelvuldig fulmineerde tegen de rechters van het Joegoslavië-Tribunaal in Den Haag, bleef gisterochtend leeg. De vijf blauwe stoelen waren stille getuigen van het formele einde van een vierjarig juridisch steekspel.

„Zijn dood heeft deze procesgang beëindigd”, sprak rechter Patrick Robinson tot de zaal, waarin onder meer hoofdaanklaagster Carla del Ponte. „We betreuren zijn overlijden. We betreuren het ook dat door zijn voortijdige dood niet alleen hij, maar ook alle andere partijen verstoken blijven van een oordeel over de beschuldigingen in de aanklacht”, zei de Jamaicaanse rechter.

Op de zitting, die maar twee minuten duurde, was veel nationale en internationale pers afgekomen. Net als bij het begin van het proces in februari 2002 stond het plein voor het tribunaalgebouw vol satellietwagens van de grote tv-stations.

Binnen zei rechter Robinson dat de zitting het sluitstuk was van „een uiterst moeizame procesgang”. Tij-

dens de rechtszaak bleek de Joegoslavische ex-president zich weinig gelegen te laten liggen aan de procedures van het tribunaal, dat hij 'illegaal' noemde. Ook rechter Robinson kwam regelmatig met Milosevic in botsing. Afgelopen februari moest de rechter hem nog de mond snoeren omdat Milosevic bleef protesteren tegen de weigering van het tribunaal hem tijdelijk naar Moskou te laten gaan voor een medische behandeling voor zijn hoge bloeddruk. Hij ging tegen het besluit in beroep, maar een uitspraak was er nog niet.

Een lid van het juridische team van Milosevic, Cathrin Schütz, zei na afloop van de zitting dat Milosevic er de afgelopen weken in zijn cel op hoopte dat zijn beroep zou worden gehonoreerd. De theorie dat Milosevic pillen zou hebben geslikt om zich zieker voor te doen, vindt ze onzin. „Zelfmoord is voor 100 procent uitgesloten”, zegt Schütz. „Hij probeerde juist zo gezond mogelijk te leven en wilde zijn proces helemaal volbrengen”.

Het internationale verdedigingscomité van Milosevic vindt dat het Joegoslavië-Tribunaal alle medische rapporten over Milosevic openbaar moet maken. „Dan kan er over gediscussieerd worden, zodat de waarheid naar boven komt”, zei de voorzitter van het comité, de Canadese juriste Tiphaine Dickson.

### Familie Milosevic: Graf in Belgrado

DEN HAAG - Slobodan Milosevic wordt toch in Belgrado begraven. Dat heeft de advocaat van de familie Milosevic, Zdenko Tomanovic, gisteravond gezegd. Volgens hem zou Milosevic' zoon Marko dat het Joegoslavië-tribunaal hebben laten weten. Marko was gisteren in Nederland om het lichaam van zijn vader op te halen. Hij zou daarmee vandaag vanaf Schiphol naar Belgrado vliegen.

Een begrafenis in Belgrado leek van de baan, omdat de familie van Slobodan Milosevic de kans te groot achtte dat weduwe Mira Markovic na die begrafenis in Servië wordt opgepakt. Een rechtbank in Servië schortte gisteren wel een arrestatiebevel tegen haar op. Kennelijk was dat voldoende.

MEER NIEUWS OP EUROPA 8

De zoon van Milosevic, Marko (uiterst rechts), gisteren bij het Nederlands Forensisch Instituut in Rijswijk. Na Milosevic' overlijden op zaterdag werd het lichaam overgebracht naar het NFI voor een autopsie. Marko Milosevic kwam het daar gisteren ophalen voor de begrafenis. Milosevic-junior, die in Servië bekend staat als een snelle jongen die in

schimmige zaakjes zat, arriveerde gisteren in Nederland vanuit Moskou. Hij vluchtte daar zes jaar geleden naartoe toen hem de grond in Servië te heet onder de voeten werd, nadat zijn vader was afgezet. Na aankomst op Schiphol zei hij dat zijn vader is vermoord. „Hij is gedood, er is een moord gepleegd”, aldus Marko Milosevic. FOTO REUTERS

## Onthullend en Bewustmakend Nieuws

### Russia blames UN tribunal for Milosevic death

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15/03/2006

The lower house of the Russian parliament today harshly criticised the UN War Crimes Tribunal, blaming it for Slobodan Milosevic's death and calling for its quick closure.

The State Duma voted unanimously to approve a statement that accused the tribunal of being "extremely politicised and biased" in its inquiries and said that its failure to provide Milosevic with adequate medical care led to the former Yugoslav president's death on Saturday.

"Russia had been ready to accept Slobodan Milosevic for treatment and provide the International Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia with the guarantees of his return to The Hague, but the tribunal had ignored these appeals, undertaking full responsibility for Milosevic's life," the lower house said.

It said the tribunal's failure to provide qualified medical care to Milosevic amounted to "flagrant violation of human rights."

The statement called for a quick completion of the tribunal's inquiries and said that its "further activities will be unfeasible."

Milosevic was arrested in 2001 and put on trial in February 2002 on 66 counts for war crimes and genocide in Croatia, Bosnia and Kosovo during Yugoslavia's violent break-up in the 1990s.

He was the first sitting head of state indicted for war crimes.

He was the sixth war crimes suspect from the Balkans to die at The Hague.

A week earlier, convicted former Croatian Serb leader Milan Babic, a star prosecution witness against Milosevic, killed himself in the same prison.

The Russian parliament alluded to the deaths, saying that "such a tragic chain of events is in clear discord with European calls for observing human rights."

During today's debates, some MPs angrily recalled the Western criticism of Russia's rights record, saying that Milosevic's death shows the West doesn't have the moral right to judge Russia.

"We must immediately end all European Union inspections of Russian prison facilities," said nationalist MP Sergei Abeltsev.

Source: *Breaking News*

## Ex-Serbian leader "confided poisoning claims on eve of death"

BBC Monitoring Europe (Political) - March 15, 2006, Wednesday

*Text of report by Montenegrin Mina news agency*

Sarajevo, 15 March: Slobodan Milosevic was convinced that he was being poisoned by the Hague tribunal, said today former Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic.

Bulatovic was scheduled to testify as a defence witness at Milosevic's trial and was in The Hague when he died.

Bulatovic told a news conference that Milosevic was "strongly and deeply" convinced that he was being poisoned by the tribunal, because he was not taking the contested medication rifampicin, which is used to treat leprosy.

"The crown proof that Milosevic was poisoned is the Hague tribunal's indifference - the tribunal did nothing - although the medication was found in his bloodstream on 12 January, while the results of tests were given to Milosevic only on 9 March," he said.

Bulatovic said that Milosevic told him that he was being poisoned at the tribunal and that he had informed his legal representative Zdenko Tomanovic about that.

"On 9 March, Milosevic spoke to the assistant of the imposed defence lawyer, Gillian Higgins [Milosevic always insisted on defending himself on his own], and asked her to refer to the court council his request that an independent medical commission establish whether he was being poisoned," Bulatovic said.

He also said that Milosevic on that occasion told Higgins that he was deeply humiliated by claims that he was taking the disputed medication on his own.

"Because of strict controls at the Hague tribunal, there was no chance that someone could have given Milosevic secretly the medication which would annul the effect of the prescribed medication," Bulatovic said.

Asked who could have been poisoning Milosevic, Bulatovic said "the same people who put him in prison were the people who were poisoning him".

"Milosevic would have been alive today if he was transferred to a hospital," he said.

Bulatovic said that Milosevic was convinced that his testimony would be crown proof in countering the indictment charges that the former Yugoslavia was destroyed "by a criminal organization at whose helm he was".

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Source: Mina news agency, Podgorica, in Serbian 1705 gmt 15 Mar 06

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## Milosevic could be saved if he was treated in Russia--Bokeria

Itar-Tass - March 15, 2006; 12:03 GMT

THE HAGUE, March 15 (Itar-Tass) - "If Milosevic was taken to any specialised Russian hospital, the more so to such a stationary medical institution as ours, he would have been subjected to coronographic examination, two stents would be made, and he would have lived for many long years to come," Academician of the Russian Academy of Medical Sciences Leo Bokeria told Russian journalists here. "A person has died in our contemporary epoch, when all the methods to treat him were available and the proposals of our country and the reputation of our medicine were ignored. As a result, they did what they wanted to do," the Academician noted.

"We have asked for the materials of the entire patholo-anatomic analysis, including microscopic examinations, to be handed over to us after the end of the overall investigation," he stated.

Touching on toxicology, Leo Bokeria said: "The ongoing analysis may take up to three months, although I am almost 100 per cent sure this was a sudden death, caused by Milosevic's cardiopathology". The Academician said the conspiracy theory was ruled out by what he was able to see. "Unfortunately, it is an absolutely banal fact that he died due to lack of medical treatment. That's all," Bokeria stressed.

The Russian ambassador to the Netherlands has asked the court chairman, this time on behalf of our state, to pass over all those materials to us, Bokeria said. "If we get them, we shall definitely analyse these materials and shall share our findings with the public at large, because Russian public opinion should not be ignored". Being as I am a member of the Russian Public Chamber, I want "this important episode of the latest history to find objective and adequate reflection in the Russian society," the Academician stressed.

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**Sagittarius**

**Van:** "Sagittarius" <sagitar@hetnet.nl>  
**Aan:** "Vugt, Peter Paul van"  
**Verzonden:** woensdag 15 maart 2006 11:30  
**Onderwerp:** Re: opiniestuk inzake de dood van Milosevic  
 Geachte heer van Vugt,

Accoord, maar zou u er nog een slotregeltje aan toe willen voegen, dat luidt: "Strafklachten tegen de verantwoordelijke tribunaalfunctionarissen zullen dan ook niet uitblijven".

En kunt u mij een ex. van de editie laten toesturen ?  
 Bij voorbaat dank !

Nico Steijnen

— Original Message —

**From:** Vugt, Peter Paul van  
**To:** 'Sagittarius'  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 15, 2006 10:11 AM  
**Subject:** RE: opiniestuk inzake de dood van Milosevic

Geachte heer Steijnen,

Dank voor uw prikkelende opiniebijdrage die ik graag op de opiniepagina van De Gelderlander van morgen mee neem. Helaas is het stuk wel veel te lang en heb ik er aardig in moeten snijden. Ik vraag uw toestemming het stuk in onderstaande versie te mogen plaatsen.

Vriendelijke groet,

Peter-Paul van Vugt  
 Opinieredactie De Gelderlander  
 024-3650562

In gesprekken die ik de afgelopen dagen met allerlei mensen had over de dood van Slobodan Milosevic, overheerste de opinie dat het hier ging om een man waartegen, in een jarenlang proces, ondanks zijn manhaftig, dan wel, naar believe, brutaal tegenspartelen, in een jarenlang proces het bewijs zich steeds verder had opgestapeld, en die, nu het proces zijn einde begon te naderen, de grond steeds verder onder zijn voeten voelde wegzakken. En die dus rijp was voor de een of andere wanhoopsdaad. Een zorgvuldig gekoesterde beeldvorming.

De realiteit omtrent het verloop van het proces-Milosevic was daaraan tegenovergesteld. Een werkelijkheid die, als zodanig, bovendien voor iedereen direct verifieerbaar is. En wel door de moeite te nemen om zelf de transcripts van de zittingen te lezen.

Niet Milosevic stond er in zijn proces beroerd voor, maar het tribunaal. Dat was niet alleen 'vandaag' zo. Toen de aanklagers, na jaren, hun bewijsvoering moesten afronden, kopte de Volkskrant 'Geen sluitend bewijs tegen Slobodan Milosevic' (26 februari 2004), en kwam de NRC zelfs met de kop: 'Zaak tegen Milosevic valt uit elkaar' (28 februari 2004). Klaarblijkelijk is dit - als gevolg van de door de tribunaalverdedigers in de media steeds verder opgeblazen stereotypering dat het tribunaal genadeloos bezig was de schurk Milosevic op te rollen - inmiddels diep in het collectieve bewustzijn weggezet.

Jarenlang waren door de aanklagers, in een onafzienbare reeks, honderden getuigen tegen hem in stelling gebracht, en waren tonnen documenten over hem uitgestort, maar nog steeds onbrak tegen hem een <CF9901>sound case</CF>.

Dat werd er, voor het tribunaal, alleen nog maar veel slechter op toen Milosevic eindelijk aan de beurt kwam om zijn verdediging te presenteren. Wat als verslaggevers vermomde tribunaalaanbidders zorgvuldig voor het grote publiek hebben weten af te schermen, is dat Milosevic in de afgelopen tijd, aan de hand van getuigen, een ongelooflijke ravage heeft aangericht onder wat nog van de aanklachten over was.

Wat hij, voor een groot deel met behulp van westerse getuigenissen, in de afgelopen anderhalf jaar wist aan te tonen, was niet alleen voor zijn aanklagers verwoestend, maar ook voor de NAVO dermate desastreus, dat dit alle alarmseinen op rood moet hebben gezet.

Onder invloed van wat Milosevic voor het tribunaal systematisch boven water haalde, dreigden in het westen gevestigde opinies over de grondslagen voor de NAVO-oorlog van 1999 tegen Joegoslavië rijp te worden voor de sloop.

Op 25 augustus 2005 zag aanklager Nice zich genoodzaakt om te verklaren dat Milosevic niet langer werd vervolgd vanwege de beschuldiging dat hij, met geweld, naar een Groot-Servië had gestreefd. Daarmee lagen de grondslagen

van de aanklachten tegen hem definitief aan duigen. Die waren immers allemaal gebaseerd op, en onderling verbonden door, de centrale beschuldiging dat Milosevic, als leider van een criminele organisatie, bij alles een streven naar de vestiging van een Groot-Servië voor ogen had gehad.

Maar de ravage werd al snel nog groter. En begon zich nu, als een boemerang, tegen zijn westerse beschuldigers zelf te keren. Zo leverde Milosevic, opnieuw aan de hand van veelal westerse getuigen, krachtige bewijzen dat er van een humanitaire noodsituatie in Kosovo, aan de vooravond van de NAVO-oorlog van 1999 tegen Joegoslavië, geen sprake was geweest.

Alsof dit allemaal nog niet rampspoedig genoeg was voor de zaak van het tribunaal leverden de getuigen van Milosevic ook nog breed bewijs van het feit dat niet het optreden van het Servische leger in Kosovo de Albanezen op de vlucht dreef, maar dat dit voornamelijk een gevolg was van de intensieve NAVO-bombardementen en intimidatie van de Kosovaarse opstandelingen.

Niet Milosevic had dus een motief voor zelfmoord, maar de voor de NAVO werkende tribunaalentourage had een duidelijk motief voor moord. De zaak dreigde, voor de NAVO(-landen), de instigators en financiers van het tribunaal, volkomen uit de hand te lopen. Eerdere pogingen om Milosevic rigoreus het zwijgen op leggen door hem een aangewezen advocaat op te leggen, waren gestrand.

Enorme belangen staan op het spel, dat zal duidelijk zijn. Na Abu Graïb en Guantano Bay is er voor naïviteit over westerse scrupules als het gaat om mensenrechten geen plaats meer.

En het wemelt in de tribunaalentourage van de functionarissen die hechte banden met de NAVO hebben.

Hebben 'ze' Milosevic niet gedood, dan hebben ze hem in elk geval de dood ingejaagd.

Mr. N.M.P. Steijnen

-----Oorspronkelijk bericht-----

**Van:** Sagittarius [mailto:sagitar@hetnet.nl]

**Verzonden:** dinsdag 14 maart 2006 17:08

**Aan:** redactie@gelderlander.nl

**Onderwerp:** opiniestuk inzake de dood van Milosevic

geachte redactie van De Gelderlander,

Bijgaand opiniestuk wordt u aangeboden ter publicatie,

hoogachtend,

mr. N.M.P. Steijnen,

advocaat

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## Quotable

War is a way of shattering to pieces...materials which might be used to make the masses t comfortable and...too intelliger  
 – Geo

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## Invictus

### Slobodan Milosevic, 1941-2006

In the morning hours of March 11, news came from the Scheveningen prison near The Hague: Slobodan Milosevic, former president of Serbia and Yugoslavia, was found dead in his cell. It was the second death in Scheveningen in a week; on March 5, Milan Babic, once a leader of the Serb rebellion in what is today Croatia, had allegedly committed suicide while waiting to testify in another trial. Babic had plea-bargained with the Inquisition and received a sentence of "only" 13 years.

News of Milosevic's death prompted an outpour of vitriol in the mainstream Imperial media. Milosevic was the man it wasn't only politically correct to hate, it was dangerous for one's political credentials in the West *not* to. AP, AFP, Reuters, BBC, CNN, all the major newspapers in the UK, France, Germany, the U.S., and just about everyone else raced to see who could publish the most venomous denunciation of the man they blamed for everything that happened in the Balkans over the past 15 years.

In producing this stream of abuse, everyone was governed by the assumption that all the charges against Milosevic had been

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proven, if not in the court of law, then in the "court of public opinion" – in which they, of course, have been the judge, jury, and executioner all along.

## "Sole Culprit"

Consider, for a moment, this editorial that appeared in the *Washington Post* on Tuesday:

*"Ethnic and sectarian rivalry was real in a cobbled-together state, but few people expected, much less wanted, a civil war. Mr. Milosevic, a Communist Party apparatchik in Serbia, deliberately and methodically nursed this latent tension from a flicker to a conflagration and used it to consolidate a criminal regime in Belgrade. He bombarded Serbs with lies and hateful demagoguery about their supposed victimization at the hands of Croats, Bosnian Muslims, and Kosovo Albanians, and he convinced them that the only solution was a Greater Serbia created through war and ethnic cleansing. ...*

*"More than is generally recognized, at least in his own country, he was personally responsible for the most destructive conflict, and most terrible atrocities, recorded in Europe since World War II. There were other protagonists and other criminals, some of them Croatian, Bosnian, and Albanian. But without Mr. Milosevic the Yugoslav wars wouldn't have happened."*

Just about everything here is false. Milosevic never called for war – unlike, for example, Izetbegovic or Tudjman. His famous 1989 speech in Kosovo, often said to be a call for conflict, actually called for coexistence. That is why it is never actually quoted. By describing the very real atrocities of Croats, Muslims, and Albanians allied with Hitler as the fruit of Milosevic's malicious imagination, the *Post* simply engages in Holocaust denial. The claim that Milosevic desired and pursued a "Greater Serbia" is pure propaganda-inspired fiction. As for his "personal responsibility" ... well, the Hague Inquisition spent three years trying to prove it, with thousands of investigators, paid experts, and Imperial troops at its call, and managed to produce... nothing.

Another popular claim made in the press is that Milosevic had "started four wars." Again, it's pure fiction. The only war he could have started was the one in Kosovo – and the blame for that one lies squarely on the shoulders of NATO and its allies, the terrorist UCK. Though he claimed he was defending

Brave New  
11/30/2001

A Desert C  
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11/26/2001

A Viceroy I  
11/9/2001

Once More  
Feeling  
11/2/2001

Exposed A  
10/19/2001

Empire's E  
10/12/2001

The Revolt  
Wasn't  
10/6/2001

Laughable  
Sycophant  
9/29/2001

Theater of  
Absurd  
9/22/2001

That Sink  
9/8/2005

Rejecting I  
9/1/2005

Malicious :  
8/25/2001

Allies and  
8/18/2001

Remember  
Storm  
8/4/2005

Footprints  
7/28/2001

The Price  
7/21/2001

Smokescreen  
7/14/2001

Silver City  
7/7/2005

The Mask  
6/30/2001

Snuff Real  
6/16/2001

19-3-06

Yugoslavia, in truth Milosevic was all too willing to yield to separatists. He was the driving force behind the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, established by Serbia and Montenegro in April 1992, implicitly recognizing the secession of everyone else. It was the United States that refused to recognize the FRY, insisting on a fiction that Belgrade was claiming other territories.

## Out With the Old

**M**ilosevic's rise to power in the late 1980s was just one of the stories in post-Tito Yugoslavia, which had functioned for decades as a Communist dictatorship where expressions of ethnic identity were approved only when they benefited the Party agenda. After the death of Tito in 1980, the Communists, unable to choose a successor, governed by committee; between economic woes caused by decades of central planning and bad debts, and political problems stemming from inter-ethnic rivalries Tito had exploited to secure his power, Yugoslavs were getting increasingly frustrated. A bad constitution (1974) complicated the already complex system of governance – especially in Serbia, the only Yugoslav republic with additional provinces (Vojvodina and Kosovo). When Milosevic emerged from the ranks of bland Communist *apparatchiks* to supplant the inept, dogmatic leadership in Belgrade, moved to amend the 1974 division of Serbia in line with the other republics, and declared that after decades of Communist suppression that being a Serb was not a fountainhead of "bourgeois reactionary evil," he became an overnight hero to millions.

Imperial "official history" tries to paint the triumph of nationalism among the Slovenians, Croats, Muslims, Albanians, and Macedonians as a reaction to Milosevic's rise. To do that, however, one would have to deny the historical roots of such nationalisms, or the convictions of their champions. Leaders of Slovenian and Macedonian separatists were former Communist officials, whose peoples had profited handsomely from the Yugoslav arrangement. Croatia's Tudjman, a Holocaust-denier with a soft spot for the WWII Croatian regime allied with Hitler, and the Bosnian Muslims' Alija Izetbegovic, an unrepentant Islamic revolutionary, were not responses to Milosevic – they had worked on their programs long before he ever appeared on the political scene. Separatist political parties had already been elected in Ljubljana, Zagreb, and Sarajevo before Milosevic won the first election in Serbia in the fall of 1990.

Death, Lie:  
Videotape  
6/9/2005

Battle for I  
6/2/2005

Back to Ko  
5/19/200!

The Once i  
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5/12/200!

Slouching  
Secession  
5/5/2005

Whitewash  
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4/28/200!

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4/21/200!

Bargains, I  
and Lies  
4/14/200!

Reality Bit  
4/7/2005

Carnival of  
Absurd  
3/31/200!

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3/24/200!

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Rising?  
3/17/200!

The Harad  
3/10/200!

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Convergen  
Kosovo  
2/24/200!

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Better  
2/10/200!

The New K  
2/3/2005

The ICG SI  
Again  
1/27/200!

A Broken I  
19-3-06

## Demonized

To secure independence, Slovenia, Croatia, and later on Izetbegovic's Bosnian government claimed they were victims of "aggression" by the Federal Army and/or Serbia. Yet it was Milosevic who never disputed the Croats', Slovenes', and Muslims' right to secede from Yugoslavia; he only supported the right of 2-odd million Serbs living in Croatia and Bosnia to secede themselves. Zagreb and Sarajevo chose to resolve that dispute violently; both Tudjman and Izetbegovic made statements to that effect, and they are publicly available.

It was during the 1991 conflict in Croatia that PR agents in the West started demonizing Milosevic as the president of Serbia, which was labeled the "aggressor" in what was actually an ethnic war. As clashes started in Bosnia in 1992, flaring up into full-scale war upon Izetbegovic's declaration of independence in April, demonization of Serbs and Milosevic in particular became a staple of war reporting from the Balkans.

## "Peacemaker" to "Hitler"

Throughout the conflict in Bosnia, the U.S., Europe, and the UN acted as if Milosevic was controlling the Bosnian Serbs, and blamed him every time the peace talks failed – even when the Muslims were responsible. Serbia remained under a crippling UN blockade from April 1992 to 1996, imposed as punishment for the alleged Serb massacre of a breadline in Sarajevo. Milosevic got no credit for his blockade of the Bosnian Serbs in 1994, or for standing by while U.S.-backed Croatian forces ethnically cleansed hundreds of thousands of Serbs from zones nominally under UN protection. He was maneuvered into heading the Serb delegation to the Dayton peace talks by Washington, with the "coincidentally" timed indictments of Bosnian Serb leaders by the nascent (and U.S.-sponsored) Hague Inquisition.

In Dayton, Milosevic had to deal with treachery, deceit, and bad faith on behalf of not the Muslim or Croat delegations, but the American "mediators." Richard Holbrooke proudly described in his memoir how he tried to cheat Milosevic, and only regretted getting caught. And it is Holbrooke who credits Milosevic with saving the talks, which Izetbegovic threatened to sink at the very last moment. It may have been pretentious

1/20/2001

Unprepare Challenges  
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12/18/2001

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Balkans!  
9/16/2001  
More Archi

of Milosevic to claim himself as the "key factor of peace in the Balkans," but he had at least partially earned that designation in Dayton, and from his most bitter enemy.

Three years later, however, it was the very same Holbrooke spearheading Washington's effort to force Milosevic into a war over Kosovo, where the terrorist Albanian "Kosovo Liberation Army" (with Washington's support) was fighting for secession.

Today Holbrooke claims Milosevic had broken every deal he'd signed; that's a lie. It was Holbrooke's employer who did so, from Dayton to Kumanovo, and it was Holbrooke's employer who was responsible for the 1999 Rambouillet "agreement" – a travesty of diplomacy not seen since the 1914 Austro-Hungarian ultimatum to Belgrade. Washington today accuses Milosevic of starting the 1999 war over Kosovo by "negotiating in bad faith," but it is hard to imagine diplomacy in worse faith than the American "peace effort" in Rambouillet, the frame job in Racak, and the subsequent naked aggression disguised as "humanitarian intervention."

It was 1999 when Milosevic was indicted by the Hague Inquisition, again "coincidentally" with the crisis of morale in NATO headquarters as Serbia refused to surrender and more and more images of NATO's civilian victims became available to the public. Armed with the indictment, the pro-NATO media went into high gear in their demonization of Milosevic, routinely comparing him to Hitler and the Serbs to Nazis. He had become the Emmanuel Goldstein of the new world order, whom everyone *bellyfelt* as evil.

## Captive

**M**ilosevic stepped down as president of Yugoslavia in the evening hours of Oct. 5, 2000, after the mob organized by the "Democratic Opposition of Serbia" had demonstrated claiming election victory, sacked the federal parliament, and stormed the state TV. Ballots documenting the alleged DOS victory conveniently perished in the fires set by protesters. The DOS, funded and organized by Washington in what would later become a pattern for "revolutions" in Georgia and Ukraine, soon established a new government under the leadership of Zoran Djindjic. In April 2001, Djindjic had Milosevic arrested. In June, he broke half a dozen Serbian and Yugoslav laws and handed Milosevic to the Hague Inquisition.

There was no trace of the once-accommodating, compromising

WHAT  
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politics. His  
column for  
Antiwar.co  
appeared €  
Thursday s  
November  
more of his  
on the Balk  
other topic  
out his blog



**Sagittarius**

**Van:** "Sagittarius" <sagitar@hetnet.nl>  
**Aan:** "R Despotovic"  
**Verzonden:** woensdag 15 maart 2006 13:05  
**Onderwerp:** Re: Belangerijke vraag?

Lieve mensen,

Ik ben zeer ontroerd door jullie verzoek en jullie aanbod. En ik beschouw dit als een grote eer !

Ik zou niets liever doen. Maar helaas, helaas, ik heb zo dringend werk te doen, dat ik geen tijd heb. Ik weet nu al niet hoe ik alles rond moet krijgen ! En ik vooral ook dringend de rechtszaak tegen Van Aartsen op poten gaan zetten. Daar ben ik helemaal nog niet aan toe gekomen, naast talloze andere dingen.

Ik denk ook, Milosevic kennende, dat hij, praktisch als hij was, er de voorkeur aan zou geven dat ik mijn tijd (alles wat ik nog kan vrijmaken) zou inzetten voor de strijd. ZIJN STRIJD ! Dat zal ik ook doen. Maar met mijn hart zal ik de dag van zijn begrafenis daarbij aanwezig zijn, samen met de vele anderen. Alle dagen brand hier een kaars voor hem op mijn kantoor.

Liefs en sterkte gewenst.

Stuur iedereen van Nedaist, als jullie willen, mijn deelneming met dit enorme verlies. En zeg erbij dat Milosevic maar een ding gewild zou hebben, namelijk dat wij zijn strijd met kracht zouden voortzetten.

Hij heeft ons het voorbeeld gegeven hoe te vechten. Dat zullen we dus overnemen, ieder naar vermogen en op zijn plek.

Morgen komt er, als het goed is, een artikel van mij in de NRC, dat ik ook al aan jullie stuurde.

Dat komt trouwens ook in de Gelderlander, maatr wel flink ingekort.

Gisteren stond er al een flink stuk over onze persconferentie in het Parool, onder de kop "Aanklacht wegels 'moord' Milosevic". De tekst luidt (misschien kan het vertaald worden en rondgestuurd) :

DEN HAAAG - De 'Milosevic Defence Organisation in The Netherlands', een actiegroep in Amsterdam. stapt naar justitie inzake de dood van Slobodan Milosevic.

De organisatie klaagt de drie rechters in de zaak-Milosevic (Robinson, Kwon en Bonomy), hoofdaanklaagster Carla Del Ponte, aanklager Nice, de president van het Joegoslavië-tribunaal, Pocar, en de gevangenisdirecteur in Scheveningen aan op basis van de Internationale conventie tegen mishandeling en onmenselijke behandeling. Advocaat N. Steijnen zei dat de organisatie bewust voor de conventie heeft gekozen omdat VN-werknemers zich dan niet op hun immuniteit kunnen beroepen. Steijnen stelt dat hij in het verleden de autorisatie van Slobodan Milosevic heeft ontvangen om in Nederland namens hem juridisch op te treden. De aanklacht zal op zeer korte termijn worden ingediend. Mocht het openbaar ministerie er niet aan willen dan stapt Steijnen naar de Hoge Raad en het VN-comite tegen mishandeling in Geneve. Nico Varkevisser, voorman van de actiegroep, stelde dat Milosevic in zijn cel is vermoord. Hij riep het tribunaal, dat hij als 'het Guantanamo van

'erland' omschreef, op om al zijn activiteiten te staken. Varkevisser  
oemde de theorie dat Milosevic zelfmoord heeft gepleegd absurd. "Hij wilde  
juist vechten". Hij stelde verder dat Milosevic ook geen kans had zelf  
medicijnen tot zich te nemen. "De bewaker kwam met een doosje pillen die hij  
onder toezicht moest innemen. Hij kon niet smokkelen. Alleen: welke middelen  
er in het doosje zaten wist niemand. Overigens werd hij constant bewaakt.  
Hij was nooit alleen. De vraag is dus wie hem die middelen toediendeen  
waarom." "Dit is een poging om Servie te destabiliseren en kapot te maken. De  
echte schuldigen zijn de NAVO en Amrerika", aldus Varkevisser.

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

From: "R Despotovic" <despot@tiscali.nl>

To: "Nico en Neeltje" <nico.s@slobodan-milosevic.org>

Sent: Wednesday, March 15, 2006 12:23 AM

Subject: Belangerijke vraag?

- > Beste Nico,
- > bij ons Nedaist-en is een idee ontstaan om jou te vragen of jij bereid  
bent
- > de begavenis van Slobo bij te wonen in naam van de PC en Nedaist.
- > Wij willen je in deze financieel steunen omdat jij grote bijdrage hebt
- > geleverd voor deze zaak.
- >
- > Nico, graag hoor ik het van jou hoe jij hierover denkt?
- >
- > Met vriendelijke groet,
- >
- > Roza en Radica
- >
- >

**Sagittarius**

**Van:** "Klaus von Raussendorff" <redaktion@aikor.de>  
**Aan:** "Klaus von Raussendorff" <raussendorff@web.de>  
**Verzonden:** woensdag 15 maart 2006 11:59  
**Onderwerp:** Tödliche Verschwörung gegen Milosevic: Faschistische NATO-Praxis und flankierende Medien-"Theorie"

Liebe Leute,

zur tödlichen Verschwörung gegen Slobodan Milosevic in faschistischer NATO-Praxis und flankierender Medien-"Theorie" dokumentiere ich:

**MILOSEVICS LETZTER BRIEF**

Aus: junge Welt v. 15. März 2006

<http://www.jungewelt.de/2006/03-15/003.php>

[ 1 ]

**DIE KU-KLUX-KLAN-LOGIK ZU DEN HAAG**

Von Rainer Rupp

Aus: junge Welt v. 15. März 2006

<http://www.jungewelt.de/2006/03-15/053.php>

[ 2 ]

(same article in English):

**KU-KLUX-CLAN LOGIC IN THE HAGUE**

From: junge Welt, March 15, 2006

<http://www.jungewelt.de/2006/03-15/053.php>

translated by: John Catalinotto March 14, 2006

[ 3 ]

**AN DEN GERICHTSTOXIKOLOGEN PROFESSOR DR. DONALD UGES**

Schreiben von John Jefferies, Irische Sektion des Internationalen Komitees

für die Verteidigung von Slobodan Milosevic (ICDSM) [www.icdsmireland.org](http://www.icdsmireland.org)

Vom 14. März 2006

[ 4 ]

**EINE FORM VON FOLTER**

Auszüge aus der Verhandlung vor dem "Tribunal" in Den Haag gegen Slobodan Milosevic am 29. November 2005

Aus: junge Welt v. 13. März 06

<http://www.jungewelt.de/2006/03-13/001.php>

[ 5 ]

**Unabhängige Untersuchung gefordert**

Mitteilung der Deutschen Sektion des Internationalen Komitees für die Verteidigung von Slobodan Milosevic-ICDSM

Das Internationale Komitee für die Verteidigung von Slobodan Milosevic (ICDS) hat bei einer Pressekonferenz in Den Haag am 14. März durch seine juristische Sprecherin, die kanadische Rechtsanwältin Tiphaine Dickson, gefordert, zur Aufklärung der Ursachen des Todes von Präsident Milosevic die medizinischen Unterlagen für eine unabhängige Untersuchung zugänglich zu machen und die diplomatische Immunität der beteiligten Mitglieder des Mitarbeiterstabs der Vereinten Nationen im Hinblick auf die Frage zivil- oder strafrechtlicher Verantwortung aufzuheben.

Trauerfeiern für Präsident Slobodan Milo  
sevic

am heutigen Mittwoch, den 15. März 2006 in Berlin (20 Uhr, Restaurant  
Avamor, Uhlandstr. 120, U-Bahnhof Blissestraße) und  
am kommenden Freitag in Wien (19 Uhr, Gußhausstraße 14/3) statt. Ferner ist  
für

Mit internationalistischen Grüßen  
Klaus von Raussendorff

---

Anti-Imperialistische Korrespondenz (AIKor) -  
Informationsdienst der Vereinigung für Internationale Solidarität (VIS)  
e.V.,

Redaktion: Klaus von Raussendorff  
Postfach 210172, 53156 Bonn; Tel. & Fax: 0228 - 34.68.50;  
Webmaster: Dieter Vogel

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\*\*\*\*\*  
Vom 14. März 2006

[ 4 ]

EINE FORM VON FOLTER

Auszüge aus der Verhandlung vor dem "Tribunal" in Den Haag gegen Slobodan  
Milosevic am 29. November 2005

Aus: junge Welt v. 13. März 06

<http://www.jungewelt.de/2006/03-13/001.php>

[ 5 ]

Unabhängige Untersuchung gefordert  
Mitteilung der Deutschen Sektion des Internationalen Komitees für die  
Verteidigung von Slobodan Milosevic-ICDSM

Das Internationale Komitee für die Verteidigung von Slobodan Milosevic  
(ICDS) hat bei einer Pressekonferenz in Den Haag am 14. März durch seine  
juristische Sprecherin, die kanadische Rechtsanwältin Tiphaine Dickson,  
gefordert, zur Aufklärung der Ursachen des Todes von Präsident Milosevic die  
medizinischen Unterlagen für eine unabhängige Untersuchung zugänglich zu  
machen und die diplomatische Immunität der beteiligten Mitglieder des  
Mitarbeiterstabs der Vereinten Nationen im Hinblick auf die Frage zivil-  
oder strafrechtlicher Verantwortung aufzuheben.



... world public opinion have already  
... the dictator guilty. That's what counts.

... his path-breaking document concludes that we  
... would all have lived in Greater Serbia had the  
... U.S., the EU, NATO and the leaders of Slovenia,  
... Croatia, Bosnia, and Kosova not stood up as one  
... for their deeply held beliefs in justice, peace,  
... human rights and democracy. Indeed, they saved  
... Europe from this new dictator who might even have  
... dwarfed Hitler," says the author.

The analysis is in 3 parts, begin here:

[http://www.transnational.org/forum/meet/2006/Oberg\\_Slobo\\_1.html](http://www.transnational.org/forum/meet/2006/Oberg_Slobo_1.html)

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Guide, News & Themes  
<http://www.transnational.org/sitemap.html>

--  
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Version: 7.1.375 / Virus Database: 268.2.1/279 - Release Date: 10-3-2006

Sagittarius

**Van:** "R Despotovic" <despot@tiscali.nl>  
**Aan:** "Nico en Neeltje" <nico.s@slobodan-  
**Verzonden:** woensdag 15 maart 2006 1:34  
**Onderwerp:** Flawed prosecution a cautionary tale

## Flawed prosecution a cautionary tale

Anthony Browne and Nick Hawton

The Australian, March 14, 2006

THE death of Slobodan Milosevic in his prison cell after almost five years of testimony raised questions over the conduct of a trial that had been hailed as the most important war crimes tribunal since World War II.

The UN's International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia was set up in 1993 to blaze a trail for a new era of war crimes justice, with Milosevic the first head of state to be prosecuted. But Milosevic never accepted its legitimacy and now even former Western envoys to the Balkans say it was a cautionary tale in how not to bring tyrants to justice.

Carl Bildt, the former UN envoy to the Balkans, said that the dictator's death was **"seriously damaging to The Hague tribunal"**.

Critics charged that the trial was too complex, easily manipulated by Milosevic and expensive. The chief judge, Richard May, and the defendant died in the process. The prosecution phase lasted two years. In contrast, the Allied tribunal at Nuremberg took less than a year to try, convict, sentence and hang the 10 top Nazi defendants.

Rather than trying Milosevic on a few easily proven sample charges, it attempted **to act as a historical truth commission**. His British lawyer, Steven Kay QC, said: "If you look at the indictment, it is like a whole chapter of a state's life, dissolution, collapse and rebirth. And to put that into the form of a trial - it's really impossible."

Richard Dicker, of Human Rights Watch, said: "I think we need to dial down our expectations of the history-telling functions of these trials."

The judges are accused of being too lenient, letting Milosevic represent himself and use the courtroom for political grandstanding.

"Milosevic abused his right to represent himself and that should not be allowed in future," Mr Dicker said.

David Owen, the former Balkans envoy, told the BBC: "We need to have a post-mortem discovery of why the trial went on for such a long time."

For those whose families had been slaughtered by Serbian soldiers or who had been held for years under siege in Sarajevo, there was bitter disappointment that Milosevic would not now face justice.

But his grandstanding at the UN tribunal and ultimately his claims that he may have been poisoned in his cell only strengthened his heroic aura to Serb nationalists.

"I just wish my father, who was about the same age as Slobodan Milosevic, had been given

enough time to die of natural causes and not be slaughtered like so many others at Srebrenica," Hasan Nuhanovic said in the Fontana Bar close to the old UN headquarters in Sarajevo.

Mr Nuhanovic was one of the UN interpreters when Srebrenica fell to Bosnian Serb forces in July 1995, heralding the darkest chapter of the 1992-95 Bosnian War, when 8000 Muslim men and boys were murdered in the hills and valleys around the town. He lost his father, mother and brother.

"I don't know what to feel about Slobodan Milosevic's death," he said. "It means justice will not be seen to be done and his supporters will now regard him as a martyr."

The Times

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## DEBUNKING THE CONSPIRACY THEORY: MILOSEVIC COULD NOT HAVE ESCAPED BY GOING TO THE MEDICAL CENTER IN MOSCOW

www.slobodan-milosevic.org - March 15, 2006

Written by: Andy Wilcoxson

On the occasion of Slobodan Milosevic's death, the Hague Tribunal and the Western media have concocted an elaborate conspiracy theory in an apparent effort to absolve the tribunal of responsibility.

According to this conspiracy theory, Milosevic secretly took a drug called Rifampicin to block the effectiveness of his high blood pressure medicine, which in turn created a fake medical condition that he used to justify his request to go to Moscow under the pretext of obtaining medical treatment, however obtaining medical treatment wasn't Milosevic's real objective that was just a ruse so that he could make his escape.

Dr. Donald Uges, a professor of clinical and forensic toxicology at the University of Groningen, was the first to advance this theory in the media. He told the New York Times "It's like a James Bond story", and on that score he's absolutely correct it's exactly like a James Bond story – it's fiction.

Dr. Uges told the New York Times: "There was one escape for Milosevic out of prison, and that was to Moscow where his wife and son, and friends were. He wanted to go to Moscow on a one-way trip."

Moscow was never an avenue of escape for Milosevic. On January 18th the Russian Government gave the Hague Tribunal assurances that it would guarantee "Milosevic's personal security during his time in Russia and his return to The Hague within the timeframe specified by the Tribunal." Milosevic would have been under armed-guard the whole time he was in Russia. There was absolutely no chance that he could escape by getting medical treatment Moscow.

Dr. Uges was all over the media, acting more like a politician than a doctor, he told the Irish Times that Milosevic "took Rifampicin himself, not for suicide, only for his trip to Moscow." Of course Dr. Uges is a toxicologist, and not a mind reader. He can't possibly know what was going on in Milosevic's thoughts, but he didn't let that get in his way.

Rifampicin is odorless and tasteless, and as such could have been mixed into Milosevic's food without his knowledge. He was administered all of his medicine by guards at the prison dispensary. He took the medicine that they gave him. The drug could have easily been added into one of his medicine capsules.

Clearly, Dr. Uges can't know whether Milosevic took the drug knowingly or not, but we can find a clue in the letter that Milosevic wrote to the Russian Foreign Ministry on March 8th:

*"I think that the persistence, with which the medical treatment in Russia was denied, in the first place is motivated by the fear that through careful examination it would be discovered, that there were active, willful steps taken, to destroy my health, throughout the proceedings of the trial, which could not be hidden from Russian specialists."*

*"In order to verify my allegations, I'm presenting you a simple example, which you can find in the attachment. This document, which I received on March 7, shows that on January 12th (i.e. two months ago), an extremely strong drug was found in my blood, which is used, as they themselves say, for the treatment of tuberculosis and leprosy, although I never used any kind of antibiotic during this 5 years that I'm in their prison."*

*"Throughout this whole period, neither have I had any kind of infectious illness (apart from flu)."*

*"Also the fact that doctors needed 2 months (to report to me), can't have any other explanation than we are facing manipulation. In any case, those who foist on me a drug against leprosy surely can't treat my illness; likewise those from which I defended my country in times of war and who have an interest to silence me."*

In his interview with the New York Times Dr. Urges confirmed that March 7th was indeed the day that Milosevic learned the drug had been found in his blood.

Clearly, the detection of the drug is what motivated Milosevic to write the letter. As the text of the letter makes plain Milosevic was not knowingly taking the drug.

The letter raises some serious questions: Why did it take the tribunal's medical staff two months to tell him that the drug had been found in his blood? If they knew in January, then why wasn't an investigation launched immediately to determine how the drug was getting into his system? Why was this information concealed from him for two months?

The conspiracy theory being advanced in the media by Dr. Uges and certain "unnamed sources" at the Hague Tribunal just doesn't hold water. The conspiracy would have to involve: Milosevic, the Russian Government, the doctors at the Bakulev Medical Center in Moscow, the person who was procuring the drug and sneaking it in to him, the doctor who was advising him on how to take it, etc.... It's all just too far-fetched to be true.

## DEBUNKING THE CONSPIRACY THEORY: MILOSEVIC COULD NOT HAVE ESCAPED BY GOING TO THE MEDICAL CENTER IN MOSCOW

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Written by: Andy Wilcoxson

On the occasion of Slobodan Milosevic's death, the Hague Tribunal and the Western media have concocted an elaborate conspiracy theory in an apparent effort to absolve the tribunal of responsibility.

According to this conspiracy theory, Milosevic secretly took a drug called Rifampicin to block the effectiveness of his high blood pressure medicine, which in turn created a fake medical condition that he used to justify his request to go to Moscow under the pretext of obtaining medical treatment, however obtaining medical treatment wasn't Milosevic's real objective that was just a ruse so that he could make his escape.

Dr. Donald Uges, a professor of clinical and forensic toxicology at the University of Groningen, was the first to advance this theory in the media. He told the New York Times "It's like a James Bond story", and on that score he's absolutely correct it's exactly like a James Bond story - it's fiction.

Dr. Uges told the New York Times: "There was one escape for Milosevic out of prison, and that was to Moscow where his wife and son, and friends were. He wanted to go to Moscow on a one-way trip."

Moscow was never an avenue of escape for Milosevic. On January 18th the Russian Government gave the Hague Tribunal assurances that it would guarantee "Milosevic's personal security during his time in Russia and his return to The Hague within the timeframe specified by the Tribunal." Milosevic would have been under armed-guard the whole time he was in Russia. There was absolutely no chance that he could escape by getting medical treatment Moscow.

Dr. Uges was all over the media, acting more like a politician than a doctor, he told the Irish Times that Milosevic "took Rifampicin himself, not for suicide, only for his trip to Moscow." Of course Dr. Uges is a toxicologist, and not a mind reader. He can't possibly know what was going on in Milosevic's thoughts, but he didn't let that get in his way.

Rifampicin is odorless and tasteless, and as such could have been mixed into Milosevic's food without his knowledge. He was administered all of his medicine by guards at the prison dispensary. He took the medicine that they gave him. The drug could have easily been added into one of his medicine capsules.

Clearly, Dr. Uges can't know whether Milosevic took the drug knowingly or not, but we can find a clue in the letter that Milosevic wrote to the Russian Foreign Ministry on March 8th:

*"I think that the persistence, with which the medical treatment in Russia was denied, in the first place is motivated by the fear that through careful examination it would be discovered, that there were active, willful steps taken, to destroy my health, throughout the proceedings of the trial, which could not be hidden from Russian specialists."*

*"In order to verify my allegations, I'm presenting you a simple example, which you can find in the attachment. This document, which I received on March 7, shows that on January 12th (i.e. two months ago), an extremely strong drug was found in my blood, which is used, as they themselves say, for the treatment of tuberculosis and leprosy, although I never used any kind of antibiotic during this 5 years that I'm in their prison."*

*"Throughout this whole period, neither have I had any kind of infectious illness (apart from flu)."*

*"Also the fact that doctors needed 2 months (to report to me), can't have any explanation than we are facing manipulation. In any case, those who foist on me a drug, should be able to treat my illness; likewise those from which I defended my country in times of war."*

In his interview with the New York Times, Dr. Uges said that it was on the day that Milosevic learned the drug had been found in his blood.

Clearly, the detection of the drug in Milosevic's blood, as stated in the text of the letter makes plain Milosevic was not knowingly taking the drug.

The letter raises some serious questions. How could the staff two months ago tell him that the drug had been found in his blood? How could an investigation be conducted immediately to determine how the drug was found in his blood? How could it take two months?

The conspiracy theory that Milosevic "took Rifampicin himself" at the Hague Tribunal just doesn't hold up. In the government, the doctors at the Bakulev Medical Center in Moscow, who were put in to him, the doctor who was advised by Dr. Uges.

The fact that the tribunal is floating such a stupid story tells you right off the bat that they're guilty as sin for Milosevic's death.

Milosevic had no motive to sabotage his own health. A trip to Moscow for medical treatment would not have allowed him to escape. The Russian Government guaranteed all the way back in January that it would return him within the timetable set by the tribunal.

If Milosevic had been sabotaging his health he would have been running the risk of handing his defense over to Mr. Kay. Anybody who followed the trial proceedings knows that he would have never done that.

The trial was not going well for the prosecution. They had not presented a stitch of evidence to show that he ordered or condoned the commission of a single crime. The prosecution spent a great deal of time trying to prove that crimes were committed, but they never made a link between any of the alleged crimes and Milosevic.

At the end of the trial the judges were going to have to write a judgment based on the evidence presented in court. Writing a credible judgment convicting Milosevic on the evidence would have been impossible, because the prosecution never managed to link him to a crime.

The Milosevic trial was an embarrassment for a lot of very powerful people, which is why the media very rarely covered the proceedings. He was using the trial as a platform to expose the crimes committed in Yugoslavia by various Western governments and political officials.

Milosevic had an extremely long list of enemies. A person would have to be an fool to think that nobody wanted to kill him. It is a well-known fact that MI6 was plotting his assassination in 1992.

It isn't hard to believe that one of his many enemies wanted to shut him up so badly that they poisoned him. Maybe they didn't want to kill him outright; maybe they just wanted him to be sick enough that Mr. Kay could take over his defense.

At any rate, it's a lot easier to believe that a foreign intelligence agency, or a corrupt tribunal official, was able to infiltrate one guy into the prison who mixed the drug into Milosevic's food or into some of his other medicines.

Whatever their intentions might have been, Milosevic is dead, and those responsible must be held legally accountable. Clearly, Mr. Robinson, Mr. Kwon, and Mr. Bonomy bear the most responsibility because it was their decision that denied him the medical care he urgently needed in Moscow.

The doctors who knew that the Rifampicin was in his blood, but didn't tell him for two months must also be held accountable, and the prison officials who allowed the drug to be smuggled into the prison must also be held responsible. If nothing else they were negligent in their duty to keep non-prescribed drugs out of the prison.

###

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## Quotable

When the tyrant has disposed enemies by conquest...and the nothing to fear from them, ther always stirring up some war

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March 15, 2006



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## Invictus

### Slobodan Milosevic, 1941-2006

In the morning hours of March 11, news came from the Scheveningen prison near The Hague: Slobodan Milosevic, former president of Serbia and Yugoslavia, was found dead in his cell. It was the second death in Scheveningen in a week; on March 5, Milan Babic, once a leader of the Serb rebellion in what is today Croatia, had allegedly committed suicide while waiting to testify in another trial. Babic had plea-bargained with the Inquisition and received a sentence of "only" 13 years.

News of Milosevic's death prompted an outpour of vitriol in the mainstream Imperial media. Milosevic was the man it wasn't only politically correct to hate, it was dangerous for one's political credentials in the West *not* to. AP, AFP, Reuters, BBC, CNN, all the major newspapers in the UK, France, Germany, the U.S., and just about everyone else raced to see who could publish the most venomous denunciation of the man they blamed for everything that happened in the Balkans over the past 15 years.

In producing this stream of abuse, everyone was governed by the assumption that all the charges against Milosevic had been

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proven, if not in the court of law, then in the "court of public opinion" – in which they, of course, have been the judge, jury, and executioner all along.

## "Sole Culprit"

Consider, for a moment, this editorial that appeared in the *Washington Post* on Tuesday:

*"Ethnic and sectarian rivalry was real in a cobbled-together state, but few people expected, much less wanted, a civil war. Mr. Milosevic, a Communist Party apparatchik in Serbia, deliberately and methodically nursed this latent tension from a flicker to a conflagration and used it to consolidate a criminal regime in Belgrade. He bombarded Serbs with lies and hateful demagoguery about their supposed victimization at the hands of Croats, Bosnian Muslims, and Kosovo Albanians, and he convinced them that the only solution was a Greater Serbia created through war and ethnic cleansing. ...*

*"More than is generally recognized, at least in his own country, he was personally responsible for the most destructive conflict, and most terrible atrocities, recorded in Europe since World War II. There were other protagonists and other criminals, some of them Croatian, Bosnian, and Albanian. But without Mr. Milosevic the Yugoslav wars wouldn't have happened."*

Just about everything here is false. Milosevic never called for war – unlike, for example, Izetbegovic or Tudjman. His famous 1989 speech in Kosovo, often said to be a call for conflict, actually called for coexistence. That is why it is never actually quoted. By describing the very real atrocities of Croats, Muslims, and Albanians allied with Hitler as the fruit of Milosevic's malicious imagination, the *Post* simply engages in Holocaust denial. The claim that Milosevic desired and pursued a "Greater Serbia" is pure propaganda-inspired fiction. As for his "personal responsibility"... well, the Hague Inquisition spent three years trying to prove it, with thousands of investigators, paid experts, and Imperial troops at its call, and managed to produce... nothing.

Another popular claim made in the press is that Milosevic had "started four wars." Again, it's pure fiction. The only war he could have started was the one in Kosovo – and the blame for that one lies squarely on the shoulders of NATO and its allies, the terrorist UCK. Though he claimed he was defending

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Malicious ;  
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Allies and  
8/18/2001

Remember  
Storm  
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Footprints  
7/28/2001

The Price I  
7/21/2001

Yugoslavia, in truth Milosevic was all too willing to yield to separatists. He was the driving force behind the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, established by Serbia and Montenegro in April 1992, implicitly recognizing the secession of everyone else. It was the United States that refused to recognize the FRY, insisting on a fiction that Belgrade was claiming other territories.

## Out With the Old

**M**ilosevic's rise to power in the late 1980s was just one of the stories in post-Tito Yugoslavia, which had functioned for decades as a Communist dictatorship where expressions of ethnic identity were approved only when they benefited the Party agenda. After the death of Tito in 1980, the Communists, unable to choose a successor, governed by committee; between economic woes caused by decades of central planning and bad debts, and political problems stemming from inter-ethnic rivalries Tito had exploited to secure his power, Yugoslavs were getting increasingly frustrated. A bad constitution (1974) complicated the already complex system of governance – especially in Serbia, the only Yugoslav republic with additional provinces (Vojvodina and Kosovo). When Milosevic emerged from the ranks of bland Communist *apparatchiks* to supplant the inept, dogmatic leadership in Belgrade, moved to amend the 1974 division of Serbia in line with the other republics, and declared that after decades of Communist suppression that being a Serb was not a fountainhead of "bourgeois reactionary evil," he became an overnight hero to millions.

Imperial "official history" tries to paint the triumph of nationalism among the Slovenians, Croats, Muslims, Albanians, and Macedonians as a reaction to Milosevic's rise. To do that, however, one would have to deny the historical roots of such nationalisms, or the convictions of their champions. Leaders of Slovenian and Macedonian separatists were former Communist officials, whose peoples had profited handsomely from the Yugoslav arrangement. Croatia's Tudjman, a Holocaust-denier with a soft spot for the WWII Croatian regime allied with Hitler, and the Bosnian Muslims' Alija Izetbegovic, an unrepentant Islamic revolutionary, were not responses to Milosevic – they had worked on their programs long before he ever appeared on the political scene. Separatist political parties had already been elected in Ljubljana, Zagreb, and Sarajevo before Milosevic won the first election in Serbia in the fall of 1990.

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## Demonized

To secure independence, Slovenia, Croatia, and later on Izetbegovic's Bosnian government claimed they were victims of "aggression" by the Federal Army and/or Serbia. Yet it was Milosevic who never disputed the Croats', Slovenes', and Muslims' right to secede from Yugoslavia; he only supported the right of 2-odd million Serbs living in Croatia and Bosnia to secede themselves. Zagreb and Sarajevo chose to resolve that dispute violently; both Tudjman and Izetbegovic made statements to that effect, and they are publicly available.

It was during the 1991 conflict in Croatia that PR agents in the West started demonizing Milosevic as the president of Serbia, which was labeled the "aggressor" in what was actually an ethnic war. As clashes started in Bosnia in 1992, flaring up into full-scale war upon Izetbegovic's declaration of independence in April, demonization of Serbs and Milosevic in particular became a staple of war reporting from the Balkans.

## "Peacemaker" to "Hitler"

Throughout the conflict in Bosnia, the U.S., Europe, and the UN acted as if Milosevic was controlling the Bosnian Serbs, and blamed him every time the peace talks failed – even when the Muslims were responsible. Serbia remained under a crippling UN blockade from April 1992 to 1996, imposed as punishment for the alleged Serb massacre of a breadline in Sarajevo. Milosevic got no credit for his blockade of the Bosnian Serbs in 1994, or for standing by while U.S.-backed Croatian forces ethnically cleansed hundreds of thousands of Serbs from zones nominally under UN protection. He was maneuvered into heading the Serb delegation to the Dayton peace talks by Washington, with the "coincidentally" timed indictments of Bosnian Serb leaders by the nascent (and U.S.-sponsored) Hague Inquisition.

In Dayton, Milosevic had to deal with treachery, deceit, and bad faith on behalf of not the Muslim or Croat delegations, but the American "mediators." Richard Holbrooke proudly described in his memoir how he tried to cheat Milosevic, and only regretted getting caught. And it is Holbrooke who credits Milosevic with saving the talks, which Izetbegovic threatened to sink at the very last moment. It may have been pretentious

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of Milosevic to claim himself as the "key factor of peace in the Balkans," but he had at least partially earned that designation in Dayton, and from his most bitter enemy.

Three years later, however, it was the very same Holbrooke spearheading Washington's effort to force Milosevic into a war over Kosovo, where the terrorist Albanian "Kosovo Liberation Army" (with Washington's support) was fighting for secession.

Today Holbrooke claims Milosevic had broken every deal he'd signed; that's a lie. It was Holbrooke's employer who did so, from Dayton to Kumanovo, and it was Holbrooke's employer who was responsible for the 1999 Rambouillet "agreement" – a travesty of diplomacy not seen since the 1914 Austro-Hungarian ultimatum to Belgrade. Washington today accuses Milosevic of starting the 1999 war over Kosovo by "negotiating in bad faith," but it is hard to imagine diplomacy in worse faith than the American "peace effort" in Rambouillet, the frame job in Racak, and the subsequent naked aggression disguised as "humanitarian intervention."

It was 1999 when Milosevic was indicted by the Hague Inquisition, again "coincidentally" with the crisis of morale in NATO headquarters as Serbia refused to surrender and more and more images of NATO's civilian victims became available to the public. Armed with the indictment, the pro-NATO media went into high gear in their demonization of Milosevic, routinely comparing him to Hitler and the Serbs to Nazis. He had become the Emmanuel Goldstein of the new world order, whom everyone *bellyfelt* as evil.

## Captive

**M**ilosevic stepped down as president of Yugoslavia in the evening hours of Oct. 5, 2000, after the mob organized by the "Democratic Opposition of Serbia" had demonstrated claiming election victory, sacked the federal parliament, and stormed the state TV. Ballots documenting the alleged DOS victory conveniently perished in the fires set by protesters. The DOS, funded and organized by Washington in what would later become a pattern for "revolutions" in Georgia and Ukraine, soon established a new government under the leadership of Zoran Djindjic. In April 2001, Djindjic had Milosevic arrested. In June, he broke half a dozen Serbian and Yugoslav laws and handed Milosevic to the Hague Inquisition.

There was no trace of the once-accommodating, compromising

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Milosevic at The Hague. That man had probably perished with the first NATO bombs in 1999. Instead, the Inquisitors faced a proud and defiant man, who threw the accusations back into their faces and insisted not only on his innocence, but on the illegitimacy of the ICTY and the culpability of NATO and Washington for the bloodshed in Yugoslavia. The prosecutors took over two years to present their "kitchen sink" indictment

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**Verzonden:** woensdag 15 maart 2006 1:34  
**Onderwerp:** Fw: Milosevic took wrong drugs before death

## Milosevic took wrong drugs before death

NZ Herald, 14.03.06 8.20am

THE HAGUE - Slobodan Milosevic took drugs that worsened his health before dying in prison, a Dutch expert said today, as the former Yugoslav president's family tried to decide whether to bury him in Serbia or Russia.

Adding to controversy over Milosevic's death just months before an expected verdict in his war crimes trial, Russia expressed its "distrust" of proceedings and pressed The Hague tribunal to allow its doctors to examine post mortem results.

Groningen University toxicologist Donald Uges said he thought Milosevic had knowingly taken harmful medicines to improve his case for going for medical treatment to Russia, where his wife, son and brother live.

Dutch prosecutors said on Monday they had formally released his body, which Milosevic's son Marko was to collect for burial. The Dutch Foreign Ministry said it had granted visas for Marko and Russian medical experts.

Marko said the family wanted the funeral in Belgrade, but might ask for a temporary burial in Moscow if the Serbian authorities failed to guarantee the safety of his mother Mira Markovic, who fled Serbia from corruption charges in 2003.

Milosevic, 64, who suffered from a heart condition and high blood pressure and was found dead in bed in his cell on Saturday, had faced a possible life sentence if convicted.

"I don't think he took his medicines for suicide - only for his trip to Moscow ... that is where his friends and family are. I think that was his last possibility to escape The Hague," toxicologist Uges said. "I am so sure there is no murder." Uges said tests he conducted two weeks ago on Milosevic's blood showed traces of rifampicin - a drug used against leprosy and tuberculosis that would have neutralised other medicines.

A preliminary autopsy report yesterday showed Milosevic had died of a heart attack, but toxicology tests were still under way. The tribunal said it did not expect results today.

The autopsy was conducted by Dutch scientists and attended by Serbian pathologists. Serbia said the autopsy had been very professional and the whole procedure filmed.

But Russian news agencies quoted Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov as saying Moscow did not trust the autopsy results and wanted its doctors to examine the results of the post mortem.

Last month, the tribunal rejected a request by Milosevic to be allowed to travel to Moscow for specialist medical care.

...yer said Milosevic feared he was being poisoned with the wrong drugs in a bid to save his life, and wrote to Russia the day before he died asking for help.

The central issue is whether or not Mr Milosevic was receiving the proper medical treatment," he told journalists.

Saying she was furious Milosevic's victims had been denied justice, UN chief prosecutor Carla del Ponte suggested he might have killed himself to evade a verdict, noting that former Croatian Serb leader Milan Babic committed suicide at the jail last week.

A spokeswoman for the UN tribunal said it was too early to say whether the heart attack might have been caused by poisoning or whether suicide could be ruled out, adding that an inquiry ordered by court president Fausto Pocar was continuing.

The man branded the "Butcher of the Balkans" had been on trial for four years charged with 66 counts of genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes involving conflicts in Bosnia, Croatia and Kosovo that tore Yugoslavia apart in the 1990s.

The tribunal said it would hold a hearing on today that was expected to formally close the Milosevic trial.

Pathologists said he died of a "myocardial infarction" that could be explained by two heart conditions he suffered from. A myocardial infarction is usually caused by a blockage in one of the coronary arteries that supplies blood to the heart.

Cardiologists treating Milosevic had warned he was at risk of a hypertensive emergency, when surges in blood pressure can damage the heart, kidneys and central nervous system.

Few in Serbia showed grief over the death of Milosevic, who ruled from 1990 until his overthrow in 2000.

Since then, Belgrade has turned westwards and is under mounting pressure to arrest Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and his military commander Ratko Mladic, both accused of genocide, as a price for progress on European Union membership.

Milosevic's Socialist Party and the ultranationalist Radical Party have demanded a state funeral and burial in the "Avenue of Heroes" section of Belgrade's main cemetery.

But Belgrade mayor Nenad Bogdanovic said he would not authorise burial in that section, which is reserved for distinguished citizens, including assassinated Prime Minister Zoran Djindjic, who extradited Milosevic to The Hague in 2001.

Marko Milosevic said he would ask Russia for permission for a temporary burial in Moscow unless his mother's safety could be assured in Serbia. Serbian President Boris Tadic has said he will not grant Mira an amnesty and ruled out a state funeral.

"I just lost my father and do not want to risk my mother," Marko told Russia's 1st Channel television.

Mira Markovic's lawyers said they were offering guarantees she would appear in a Serb court to answer corruption charges so she could attend the funeral.

A Serbian court dropped all charges against Marko Milosevic last year, a controversial decision made after the main witness against him unexpectedly withdrew testimony that Marko and others had threatened him with a chainsaw.

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**Verzonden:** woensdag 15 maart 2006 1:30  
**Onderwerp:** Rest Easy, Bill Clinton: Milosevic Can't Talk Anymore

*Published on Monday, March 13, 2006 by CommonDreams.org*

## **Rest Easy, Bill Clinton: Milosevic Can't Talk Anymore**

by Jeremy Scahill

<http://www.commondreams.org/>

Slobodan Milosevic is characterized in the obituaries as the "Butcher of the Balkans." If that is the story you want to read about, please go to almost any other media outlet and read it again and again. Some are now suggesting that death is Milosevic's final revenge, that he "ended up cheating history" by dying before judgment was passed. But the world has already passed judgment on Milosevic and what is being cheated by his death is history itself.

What the corporate media overwhelmingly ignores in Milosevic's death is what they ignored in his life as well—his intimate knowledge of US war crimes in Yugoslavia. While Milosevic was undoubtedly a war criminal who deserved to be tried for his crimes, he was also the only man in the unique position of being able to expose and detail the full extent of the US role in the bloody disintegration of Yugoslavia in the 1990s. In fact, that is precisely what he was fighting to do at his war crimes trial when he died.

Because of the rule of victors' justice in the ad hoc tribunal system (a poor and unfair substitute for a true international court), Milosevic's case would have been the only international trial to potentially expose the details of the illegal, US-led NATO bombing of Yugoslavia for 78 days in 1999. While the US-backed court consistently tried to limit Milosevic's right to speak, stripping him of his right to self-representation, Milosevic battled regularly to raise US war crimes. Sadly, with Milosevic will likely die the last hope the victims of these crimes in Yugoslavia had of getting their day (if it could even be called that) in court—a tragic and unjust reality to begin with—that speaks volumes about the twisted state of international justice.

Milosevic's cause, regardless of what one thinks of it, was a casualty of 9/11—an event that relegated him and his trial to the annals of history before it was even over. Most people in the world—with the exception of those in the Balkans where the proceedings were broadcast live, daily—probably didn't even know Milosevic was still on trial in the Hague. It became an obscure sideshow to the blood and gore unfolding constantly on the international stage.

Milosevic's death means that those who bombed Yugoslavia for 78 days beginning 7 years ago this month, killing thousands, will be, once and for all protected from any public scrutiny for their crimes. However opportunistic Milosevic may have been, he would have been one of the few people to appear at the Hague that could have—and would have—laid out these crimes in great detail. Now, there is almost certain to be no condemnation of the US bombing of Radio Television Serbia, killing 16 media workers, the cluster bombing of the Nis marketplace, shredding human beings into meat, the use of depleted uranium munitions and the targeting of petrochemical plants causing toxic and chemical waste to pour into the Danube River. There will be no condemnation of the bombing of Albanian refugees by the US or the deliberate targeting of a civilian passenger train or the bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade. Milosevic also would have discussed how the US supports a regime in Kosovo that has systematically expelled Serbs, Romas and other ethnic minorities from their homes and burnt down scores of churches. He would have discussed the role of the US in funding and arming the Kosovo Liberation Army, which operates like a death squad and how the new prime minister of Kosovo, Agim Ceku, is a US-trained war criminal who gained infamy in both the Bosnian war and the 1999 Kosovo conflict. And Milosevic would have talked of the US interference in the Yugoslav elections in 2000 and the ultimate neoliberal takeover that was the aim of Clinton's sanctions and 78 days of bombing. In reality, it would have fallen on deaf ears, but it would have been stated for the record.

It is ironic that Milosevic's last legal battle was an attempt to compel his old friend turned nemesis Bill Clinton to testify at his trial. If successful, Milosevic would have grilled the man who was US president through the entire Yugoslav war in what would have been a fiery direct examination. Clinton and Milosevic were once pals who talked collective strategy in the 1990s. Milosevic had many damning stories to tell and, without a doubt, uncomfortable questions to ask Clinton. The judges in Milosevic's case clearly worked to keep those moments from ever happening and the US government made clear its forceful opposition to such subpoenas of US officials, even considering invading a country that would put a US official on trial. With or without Clinton, Milosevic's defense would have brought to light some serious documentation of US war crimes and he died, muzzled, before he really got started.

attention, therefore, has been paid to Milosevic's long-term efforts—which predated 9/11, the 1999 NATO bombing of his own trial—to expose the presence of al Qaeda in the Balkans—from Bosnia to Kosovo. With 9/11, Milosevic's link of al Qaeda was easily dismissed as laughable, pathetic opportunism. But those who followed Milosevic's career and more importantly the events of the 1990s in Yugoslavia know it was none of those. Those allegations were based on true events the US does not want discussed in an international court. Following the defeat of the Soviets in Afghanistan in the 1980s, many Mujahadeen eventually turned their sights on Yugoslavia where they went to fight alongside the Bosnian Muslims against the Orthodox Serbs and Catholic Croats. Once again, the US and bin Laden were on the same team. To this day there are reports of training camps in Bosnia, which remains under occupation. It is also a likely training ground for future blowback.

In his opening statement, Milosevic alluded to some of the information he would introduce during his defense. "In 1998 when [Clinton envoy Richard] Holbrooke visited us in Belgrade, we told him the information we had at our disposal, that in Northern Albania the KLA is being aided by Osama bin Laden, that he was arming, training, and preparing the members of this terrorist organisation in Albania. However, they decided to cooperate with the KLA and indirectly, therefore, with bin Laden, although before that he had bombed the embassies in Kenya and Tanzania [and] had already declared war." Milosevic concluded that "one day all this will have to come to light, these links."

That, however, is unlikely and more so now that Milosevic is dead.

To be sure, there will never be indictments of these US war criminals at the Hague: Bill Clinton, Madeline Albright, Jamie Rubin, William Cohen, Sandy Berger, Richard Holbrooke and Wesley Clark. For many of Serbia's victims of US war crimes, Milosevic's trial was a "Hail Mary" pass, as awful of an historical irony as that is, aimed at someone recognizing their forgotten suffering.

It is a sad testimony to the state of international jurisprudence that after many attempts to find justice, the only hope for US victims in the Yugoslavia wars was the trial defense of a man many of those same victims despised. If there was an independent international court that was recognized and respected by the US, those responsible for bombing Yugoslavia would have been alongside Slobodan Milosevic in the docks these past years instead of having their responsibility being buried with him.

*Jeremy Scahill is an independent journalist who spent extensive time reporting from Yugoslavia, including covering the 1999 US-led NATO bombing from the ground. The night Milosevic was arrested in Belgrade, Scahill was beaten by the former president's supporters outside Milosevic's residence. He has also reported from Milosevic's trial in the Hague. Scahill is currently a Puffin Writing Fellow at The Nation Institute. He can be reached at [jeremy\(at\)democracynow.org](mailto:jeremy(at)democracynow.org)*

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No virus found in this incoming message.

Checked by AVG Free Edition.

Version: 7.1.375 / Virus Database: 268.2.1/279 - Release Date: 10-3-2006

**Sagittarius**

**Van:** "Ian Johnson" <i-johnson@lineone.net>  
**Aan:** <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>  
**Verzonden:** woensdag 15 maart 2006 1:22  
**Onderwerp:** CDSM: Criminal Proceedings - John Laughland 14th March

Comment

## Criminal proceedings

The case against Slobodan Milosevic would never have held up in a proper court of law

**John Laughland**  
**Tuesday March 14, 2006**  
**The Guardian**

I was one of the last western journalists to meet Slobodan Milosevic. Having been called to The Hague as a potential witness, I spent an hour in his cell in January last year. Like most who met him, I found him polite and intelligent. "We will win," he told me. "Freedom is a universal value. They have no evidence against me."

Such statements will shock those who have been assured that Milosevic was a nationalist dictator bent on establishing a racially pure Greater Serbia. But civilised societies ought to be reluctant to condone criminal convictions based on hate campaigns. The fact is that Milosevic's enemies have never been able to produce a single rabid nationalist, let alone racist, quotation from his mouth, while in the four years of his trial at The Hague not a single witness has testified that he ordered war crimes.

Instead, witnesses have been trooping into The Hague for nearly two years now, testifying that there was neither genocide in Kosovo nor any plan to drive out the civilian ethnic Albanian population, and that Milosevic could not be held responsible either for the break-up of Yugoslavia or the subsequent civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Establishing criminal responsibility is an exact science and the fact is that Milosevic was not in charge of Yugoslavia when it was breaking up. The 1991 order telling the (multi-ethnic) Yugoslavian army to fight the secessionist states, Croatia and Slovenia, was given by the then head of the federal government, Ante Markovic, a darling of the west - and western intervention made the situation much worse. Milosevic is often accused of upsetting the internal balance of the Yugoslavian federal constitution, but few seriously believe that a political system modelled on Switzerland's stood any chance of long surviving Tito.

The Hague prosecution issued the original indictment against Milosevic for Kosovo in May 1999, at the height of Nato's attack on Yugoslavia and in apparent justification of it. It was not until a year and a half later, and between seven and 10 years after the events, that the indictments for Bosnia and Croatia were added. This was presumably done because the prosecutors realised that Nato's allegations about genocide in Kosovo could not stand up in court. But the Bosnia and Croatia indictments were problematic too. Milosevic has always denied moral or legal responsibility for the atrocities committed by the Bosnian Serbs, for instance in 1995 at Srebrenica, because, as president of neighbouring Serbia, he was not in charge of Bosnia or the Bosnian Serbs. Even if he had influence over the Bosnian Serbs, that is a long way from criminal responsibility.

If the international criminal tribunal for the former Yugoslavia were a proper court of law, the charges against him would have been dismissed long ago. Unfortunately, it is a highly politicised organ, created on the initiative of the very states which attacked Yugoslavia in 1999, and whose judges have disgraced themselves by bending the rules to facilitate the prosecution's task. In 2004, the judges imposed defence counsel on Milosevic, even though the ICTY's charter states that defendants have the right to defend themselves, and even though they knew he was too sick to stand trial. On February 24 2006, at the prosecution's insistence, they rejected Milosevic's request to be transferred to a heart clinic: he died a fortnight later.

It is corrosive of the core values of western civilisation for the chief Hague prosecutor, Carla del Ponte, now to say that Milosevic escaped justice by dying, for this assumes that "justice" means not due process but a guilty verdict. The day we start to believe that we will have abandoned the rule of law completely.

• John Laughland is the author of *Le Tribunal Pénal International: Gardien du Nouvel Ordre Mondial* (The International Criminal Tribunal: Guardian of the New World Order)

**Sagittarius**

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**Van:** "R Despotovic" <despot@tiscali.nl>  
**Aan:** "Dragan Knezevic" <classic2direct@yahoo.com>; "Nico en Neeltje" <nico.s@slobodan-  
**Verzonden:** woensdag 15 maart 2006 0:57  
**Onderwerp:** A cunning way to kill a man that needs no expertise

## A cunning way to kill a man that needs no expertise

**By Dr Thomas Stuttford**

**The Times, 14 March 2006**

<http://www.timesonline.co.uk/article/0,,13509-2084522,00.html>

WE HAVE known for years that Milosevic had a bad heart, with hypertensive heart disease associated with coronary heart disease and myocardial ischemia. As a result, the blood supply to his heart was inadequate and I'm surprised that he lived as long as he did.

He should have been considered for a coronary bypass or angioplasty (unblocking of the arteries). The problem here is that if someone suffers from severe heart disease, their heart may no longer be strong enough to take a better arterial blood supply.

I have not heard of rifampicin being used to mask the effects of another drug, but the mechanism by which drugs can interfere with one another is known as the "grapefruit effect", because grapefruit interferes with the metabolic pathways of many drugs. Imagine the route that a drug takes into the body as a series of alleyways. When one drug is taken to interfere with another, it is like sending a lorry down a narrow highway, preventing other traffic from reaching its destination.

In this case, rifampicin was apparently used to block the pathway for heart medication. This would have built up behind, like traffic building up on a congested road. With the drugs unable to reach the liver, they would go round and round in the blood supply — building up to dangerous levels and potentially causing terrific damage — but with their effects entirely negated.

You don't have to be terribly skilled to establish which drugs interfere with others. They are listed in a reference book called *Martindale's* and any would-be poisoner could have looked up the pharmacology of the drugs that Milosevic was being prescribed and discovered those that used the same pathways.

The interaction of drugs is a constant worry in medicine. I never heard of anyone deliberately using this to poison a patient, but it is unquestionably a cunning way of doing it.

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No virus found in this incoming message.

Checked by AVG Free Edition.

Version: 7.1.375 / Virus Database: 268.2.1/279 - Release Date: 10-3-2006

**Sagittarius**

**Van:** "R Despotovic" <despot@tiscali.nl>  
**Aan:** "Nico Varkevisser" <nico.v@slobodan-milosevic.org>; "Jenny Ligtenberg" <jenny1@scarlet.nl>; "Nico en Neeltje" <nico.s@slobodan-milosevic.org>  
**Verzonden:** woensdag 15 maart 2006 0:54  
**Onderwerp:** 'Slobo manipulated medication to fake a medical condition'

Timely Aid Could Have Saved Milosevic

<http://www.expressindia.com/fullstory.php?newsid=64381>

Milosevic's son says his father was murdered

<http://www.iht.com/articles/2006/03/14/news/milosevic.php>

.....  
<http://www.nytimes.com/2006/03/14/international/europe/14milosevic.html?ex=1143003600&en=d3c855d7bf4a4316&ei=5070&emc=eta1>

NY Times

INTERNATIONAL / EUROPE | March 14, 2006  
 March 14, 2006

## Expert Suggests Milosevic Died in a Drug Ploy

By MARLISE SIMONS

THE HAGUE, March 13 — A top toxicologist in the Netherlands said Monday that he believed that Slobodan Milosevic, the former Yugoslav leader, had been manipulating medication to fake a medical condition, a ploy that contributed to his ill health and may have played a role in the heart attack that caused his death.

That theory was advanced by Dr. Donald Uges, professor of clinical and forensic toxicology at the University of Groningen, who suggested that Mr. Milosevic had been seeking to demonstrate that Dutch doctors could not cure him and that he should therefore be allowed to seek treatment, and freedom, in Moscow.

He was imprisoned here on charges of war crimes and crimes against humanity, including genocide during three Balkan wars in the 1990's.

Dr. Uges based his theory on his detection in Mr. Milosevic's blood of a drug that had not been prescribed for him and that was not only inappropriate but, under the circumstances, dangerous. Mr. Milosevic, who had complained days before that he was being poisoned, was found dead on his bed in his prison cell on Saturday morning.

The drug at issue is a powerful antibiotic known as rifampicin, used to treat serious bacterial infections like tuberculosis, leprosy and Legionnaire's disease. Rifampicin, detected in Mr. Milosevic's blood as recently as two weeks ago, is known to interfere with medications he was taking for high blood pressure.

An international team of doctors, including Dutch, Belgian and Serbian forensic specialists, attended an autopsy on Sunday and said in a preliminary report that Mr. Milosevic had died of a heart attack. Their toxicology tests are due in the next few days.

But experts from Moscow want to examine the results and perform their own autopsy in the belief that the previous one was inconclusive or erroneous, a plan that could delay Milosevic family plans to take the body to Belgrade for burial.

Other investigations are still going on. The Dutch police and the United Nations tribunal where Mr. Milosevic was on trial for four years are carrying on their own investigations into his abrupt death.

Discovery of the antibiotic in Mr. Milosevic's blood has raised a number of questions, including who brought it into the country and how it ended up in Mr. Milosevic's system.

The Dutch police have searched for clues in the three rooms most used by Mr. Milosevic: his private cell, the small room he used as his office, and the room where he received visitors. They are also investigating the source of the drug, which is difficult to obtain in the Netherlands.

All physicians treating Mr. Milosevic have reported that they never prescribed rifampicin for him, confidential court documents show.

Dr. Uges, in a 90-minute telephone interview on Monday, said he was first contacted in January by a senior toxicologist in The Hague, Dr. Daan Touw, who had been consulted by the court about Mr. Milosevic recurrent health problems.

"Milosevic had constant high blood pressure, and the cocktail that always works was having no effect," Dr. Uges said. "So Touw had concluded that another medicine was being used to stimulate the liver and to neutralize this cocktail. He asked me for a report, a counter-expertise, because his own report had been dismissed by Milosevic's lawyers."

"We both had the idea there was an unknown drug which broke down his own medication, and we got the idea that the most efficient was rifampicin," he said. "I wrote a report about this in January, which was sent to the court."

"In late February," he said, "I was asked to check a blood sample for rifampicin and found it," he said, adding that he was told only later that it belonged to Mr. Milosevic.

Dr. Uges said it was an unusual test. "Normally when you screen for toxic drugs you never screen for rifampicin because it is specific for tuberculosis and leprosy, so unless you have a reason, you don't look for it," he said.

The side effect of the antibiotic, he said, is that it activates the enzymes in the liver, so his blood pressure drugs would be quickly broken down, keeping his pressure high.

As he tried to make sense of the drug's use, he said, he learned that Mr. Milosevic had been insisting on going to Moscow for treatment.

Discussing the case with colleagues, Dr. Uges said he had concluded: "There was one escape for Milosevic out of prison, and that was to Moscow where his wife and son, and friends were. He wanted to go to Moscow on a one-way trip.

"The only way he could do that was to accuse us, to say that Dutch doctors were not treating him well."

Once in Moscow, all Mr. Milosevic would have to do was to stop the rifampicin.

Dr. Uges continued: "The only reason he could have taken it was to keep his blood pressure high, so he could say, 'I have to stay in Moscow because The Hague is too dangerous for me.'"

He said Mr. Milosevic was getting sophisticated advice.

"The provider had to know what the effect of rifampicin was on other drugs, that it is not normally detected in toxic screenings, unless you look for it," he said. "He had to know what dose to give, sufficient for it to be effective, but not too high because you get a so-called red sweat: your saliva becomes red."

And someone would have to know how to get it to the patient, he continued, "because you have to take a capsule of it every day to keep your blood pressure high."

"It's like a James Bond story," Dr. Uges said.

According to the court records, Mr. Milosevic had high blood pressure readings for months, but the condition did not respond to medication. He was apparently preparing his ploy as far back as October, court officials said Tuesday, asking not to be identified because the investigations are still under way.

In November, at his request, he was examined by three doctors, from France, Russia and Serbia, who recommended a minimum rest of six weeks because his condition was "unstable" and further complications might arise.

to Tomanovic, one of his lawyers, said at the time that Mr. Milosevic was already taking a dozen different medicines, and that he had had a brain scan, but that he had wanted an independent opinion because he was suffering increasing pains in his ears and head from high blood pressure.

In mid-December, Mr. Milosevic asked to be released temporarily to visit Moscow, but prosecutors argued against that, saying it was far from certain he would return. The judges delayed a decision, but in January, he renewed his requests to go to Moscow. He repeatedly refused permission for his doctors' reports to be disclosed.

When prosecutors again asked for his medical reports in January, they said they had information that he was manipulating his health through medicines. He shot back in court that the information was private.

Dr. Uges said he believed that the antibiotic taken by Mr. Milosevic had not been acquired in the Netherlands. He said it was hard to obtain, because in the Netherlands it was prescribed exclusively for tuberculosis and every tuberculosis case here had to be reported to the authorities, for such patients were isolated in separate clinics.

He said it was possible that the antibiotic would not be found in Mr. Milosevic's autopsy because the drug typically disappears after one or two days. Mr. Milosevic may well have stopped taking it in the end, because on March 7 he learned the drug had been found in his blood sample, Dr. Uges said.

Mr. Milosevic wrote a letter, dated March 8, to the Russian government, saying that on March 7, he received a report that "an extremely strong drug" was found in his blood and that doctors were treating him wrongly to silence him. His lawyer, Mr. Tomanovic, said Mr. Milosevic feared that he was being poisoned.

Mr. Tomanovic said he had delivered this letter, accompanied by a handwritten note from Mr. Milosevic, to the Russian Embassy in The Hague on Friday morning. He was found dead the next morning.

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No virus found in this incoming message.

Checked by AVG Free Edition.

Version: 7.1.375 / Virus Database: 268.2.1/279 - Release Date: 10-3-2006

**Sagittarius**

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**Van:** "Vladimir Krsljanin"  
**Aan:** "sagitar" <sagitar@hetnet.nl>  
**Verzonden:** woensdag 15 maart 2006 23:06  
**Onderwerp:** FUNERAL OF PRESIDENT MILOSEVIC

**FUNERAL OF PRESIDENT MILOSEVIC**

Wednesday, 15 March 2006

Remains of President Milosevic arrived to Belgrade

Thursday, 16 March

Casket with remains of President Milosevic will be from 12:00 pm placed in the Museum "25 May" (Bulevar Mira, Belgrade) where the people will be able to pay their respect

Friday, 17 March

Casket with remains of President Milosevic will be whole day in the Museum "25 May" (Bulevar Mira, Belgrade) where the people will be able to pay their respect

Saturday, 18 March

Casket with remains of President Milosevic will be in the morning in the Museum "25 May" (Bulevar Mira, Belgrade) where the people will be able to pay their respect and then the casket will be moved to

12:00 Central commemoration - farewell rally  
in front of the Federal Parliament in Belgrade

and finally to his home town Pozarevac for burial.

All people, all friends, supporters, ICDSM members, parties, organizations and officials from Serbia and abroad are welcome to attend all parts of the funeral.

Last minute changes of the above schedule are possible due to obstruction by the Belgrade puppet authorities.

To announce the arrival of the foreign guests or for any further inquiry that can ease their stay in Serbia on this sad occasion, please contact:

Vladimir Krsljanin of Sloboda/Freedom Association at  
+381 63 8862 301

or  
Branislav Popovic of SPS International Department at  
+381 64 170 2869

## Sagittarius

Van: "Visser, Anna"  
 Aan: <sagitar@hetnet.nl>  
 Verzonden: woensdag 15 maart 2006 13:09

Geachte Mr. Steijnen, Hierbij de geredigeerde en wat strakker gemaakte versie van uw bijdrage. Een en ander moest bekort want, zoals u weet, pagina's zijn niet van elastiek. Zoals ik u zei: svp geen nieuwe versie terugsturen, maar gaarne telefonisch contact: 010 - 40 66 334 (vandaag) of morgenochtend 020 - 535 23 51. Met vriendelijke groet, Anna Visser, redacteur Opinie NRC/H.

In gesprekken die ik de afgelopen dagen met allerlei mensen had over de dood van Milosevic, overheerste de opinie dat het hier ging om een man tegen wie in een jarenlang proces het bewijs zich steeds verder had opgestapeld, en die, nu het proces zijn einde begon te naderen, de grond steeds verder onder zijn voeten voelde wegzakken. En die dus rijp was voor de één of andere wanhoopsdaad. Een zorgvuldig gekoesterde beeldvorming lokt aldus zijn eigen psychologismen uit.

De werkelijkheid was anders, namelijk niet Milosevic maar het tribunaal stond er in zijn proces beroerd voor. Jarenlang waren door de aanklagers honderden getuigen tegen hem in stelling gebracht, en waren bergen documenten over hem uitgestort, maar nog steeds onbrak tegen hem een zogeheten sound case.

Het werd er voor het tribunaal nog slechter op toen Milosevic eindelijk aan de beurt kwam om zijn verdediging te presenteren. Verslaggevers, vermomd als tribunaal-aanbidders, hebben het grote publiek vakkundig onwetend gelaten over het feit dat Milosevic aan de hand van getuigen een ongelooflijke ravage heeft aangericht onder wat nog van de aanklachten over was.

Op 25 augustus 2005 zag aanklager Nice zich genoodzaakt om te verklaren dat Milosevic niet langer werd vervolgd vanwege de beschuldiging dat hij met geweld naar een Groot-Servië had gestreefd. Daarmee lagen de grondslagen van de aanklachten tegen hem definitief aan duigen. Die waren immers allemaal gebaseerd op, en onderling verbonden door de centrale beschuldiging dat Milosevic, als leider van een criminele organisatie, de vestiging van een Groot-Servië voor ogen had gehad.

Maar de ravage werd al snel nog groter en begon zich als een boemerang tegen zijn westerse beschuldigers zelf te keren. Milosevic leverde, opnieuw aan de hand van veelal westerse getuigen, krachtige bewijzen dat van een humanitaire noodsituatie in Kosovo, aan de vooravond van de NAVO-oorlog van 1999 tegen Joegoslavië, geen sprake was geweest; dat de KLA destijds in Kosovo bezig was met een grootscheepse terroristische campagne; dat het internationale terrorisme in Bosnië een stevige positie had dankzij jarenlange steun door het Westen; dat de Twin Towers zelfmoord-terrorist Hatta in de jaren '90, over een reeks van jaren in Bosnië verblijf had gehouden, en dat Osama bin Laden in november 1994 door de Bosnische president Izetbegovic werd ontvangen.

Tekenend voor de positie van de tribunaal-rechters is dat deze laatste getuigenissen altijd, in een onmiddellijke reflex, als 'irrelevant' werden afgehamerd in een kennelijke poging om dergelijke explosieve verklaringen in de kiem te smoren.

Alsof dit allemaal nog niet rampspoedig genoeg was voor de zaak van het tribunaal leverden de getuigen van Milosevic ook nog het bewijs van het feit dat niet het optreden van het Servische leger in Kosovo de Albanezen op de vlucht dreef, maar dat dit voornamelijk een gevolg was van de intensieve NAVO-bombardementen en intimidatie van de KLA. Toen Alice Mahon, die indertijd optrad als lid van de NAVO Parlementaire Assemblée, tenslotte ook nog getuigde dat met de NAVO-bombardementen in de oorlog van 1999 de burgerbevolking werd geterroriseerd, werd Milosevic enkele dagen later dood gevonden.

Niet Milosevic had dus een motief voor zelfmoord, maar de voor de NAVO werkende tribunaal-entourage had een duidelijk motief voor moord. De zaak dreigde, voor de NAVO(-landen), de instigators en financiers van het tribunaal, volkomen uit de hand te lopen. Eerdere pogingen om Milosevic het zwijgen op te leggen door hem een advocaat op te dringen waardoor hij werd verplicht 'bijzitter' te worden in zijn eigen proces waren gestrand vanwege de massale weigering van de aangezegde getuigen om onder dergelijke condities überhaupt nog als getuige te verschijnen.

Als één van de weinige Nederlanders heb ik diverse malen uitvoerig met Milosevic gesproken. Ik heb zelden iemand ontmoet die zo overtuigd was van zijn zaak en van zijn mogelijkheden om te bewijzen dat het tribunaal fout zat. Als iets niet in zijn hoofd opkwam, dan waren dat laag-bij-de-grondse intriges om het vege lijf te kunnen bergen. Hij had een missie, en daar stond hij voor.

Hebben 'ze' Milosevic niet gedood, waartoe overigens, in een setting als de gevangenis alle gelegenheid bestond, dan hebben ze hem in elk geval de dood ingejaagd. Het dossier van de waarschuwingen, appels en smeekbeden van organisaties die hem vriendelijk gezind waren, om op te houden met zijn leven en gezondheid in de waagschaal te stellen, omvat, over de jaren heen, meer dan 200 pagina's.

In de afgelopen jaren ben ik herhaaldelijk voor Milosevic opgetreden. Zijn dood brengt daar geen verandering in, integendeel. Er zullen juridische stappen volgen tegen de betrokken tribunaal-functionarissen, rechters zowel als aanklagers, wegens van het aan hem opleggen van een wrede en onmenselijke behandeling in het kader van het Anti-Folterverdrag.

Een wrede en onmenselijke behandeling door Milosevic, een ziek man die al jaren in acuut levensgevaar verkeerde, de noodzakelijke medische zorg te onthouden. Het tribunaal-circuit heeft zich voorzien van immuniteit van strafvervolgning. Maar handelingen in strijd met het Anti-Folterverdrag gaan daaraan voorbij.

Mr. N. M. P. Steijnen is

**Sagittarius**

**Van:** "R Despotovic" <despot@tiscali.nl>  
**Aan:** "Hans Hupkes" <hans.hupkes@planet.nl>; "Jan Beentjes" <jbeentjes@mac.com>; "Nico Varkevisser" <nico.v@slobodan-milosevic.org>; "Nico en Neeltje" <nico.s@slobodan-milosevic.org>  
**Verzonden:** donderdag 16 maart 2006 1:12  
**Onderwerp:** Fw: Bissett's last meeting with Slobodan

—— Original Message ——

**Subject:** H.E. JAMES BISSETT ON HIS LAST MEETING  
**Date:** Sun, 12 Mar 2006 18:18:39 -0500  
**From:** Boba <petar@cyberus.ca>  
**To:** (Recipient list suppressed)

To be published in the Voice of Canadian Serbs:

**H.E. JAMES BISSETT ON HIS LAST MEETING  
 WITH THE FORMER YUGOSLAV PRESIDENT SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC**

March 11, 2006 - Former Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic has died in captivity, in his cell in The Hague on March 11. H.E. James Bissett, former Canada's Ambassador to Yugoslavia from 1990 to 1992, took the stand at the ICTY in The Hague, on February 23 - 24, as a defense witness in the trial of the former Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic.

Bissett was the last high-ranking Western diplomat to meet and speak with president Milosevic. In his interview to CKCU's "Monday's Encounter", Bissett talks about his reaction to the news on Milosevic's death and about their last meeting.

"I was shocked and very sorry to hear the news on Milosevic's death," said Bissett. "It means that he will not be able to continue with his testimony and therefore the historical record that he would like very much to have set down during his trial will be incomplete. I am sorry that he died before he could get all the evidence out. Unfortunately now we are not going to hear the Milosevic's story. Anything that is said in his favor we don't hear about. The consequence of that we will only have the legacy that we hear today on BBC or through the Associated Press. The legacy that the US led NATO countries would like to have us believe was the legacy of the beast of the Balkans. We have had a news blackout on all of the evidence in his favor that has been disclosed at The Hague."

Bissett described the former Yugoslav president as quite relaxed and absorbed with his trial, when he last saw Milosevic at The Hague. .

"When I went to see him in the penitentiary in The Hague, said Bissett, "Milosevic was dressed very casually. When I walked into the open area of the prison he was mingling with other prisoners and they were joking and laughing. Actually Seselj was there. His wife and children were visiting him at this time. Milosevic broke away from that group and we carried out our interview in a private room. He was dressed in a simple white tee shirt covered by a plaid shirt, wearing soft slacks, a pair of slippers. He was perfectly relaxed and seemed to be in a good health. In fact during the visit a nurse came in to take his blood pressure. He took his blood pressure and it was 140 over 85. So there was no indication at the first meeting that he was suffering from ill health. He looked good. He had good color. He was relaxed. He had a sense of humor. He was obviously busy trying to prepare for my testimony and he struck me as being reasonable content with the way the trial was going. The following day, however, it was in the afternoon around five o'clock after 2 or 3 hours with him, he suddenly became flushed in the face and clasped his hands to his head. I was startled and asked if he was all right. He answered that he was O.K. and explained that he suffered from a loud ringing sound in his ears that seemed as though he was

...ring into an empty pail. He told me that although his blood pressure was under control he had this constant ringing and echoing sounds in his head. This was caused, he said, by a problem with an artery in his ear. He complained about it before to the Dutch doctors who simply said it was psychological. But after increasing demands they gave him a MRI test and found that indeed he was right there was a problem with the artery in his ear. Artery had a 'loop' in it and to correct it surgery would be necessary. That is why he wanted to go to Moscow to a clinic that specializes in this type of operation. But, as you probably know, the Tribunal refused to allow that," said Bissett.

Bissett added that Milosevic "seemed quite relaxed and absorbed with his trial. He told me that he never had to do any of his cocking in the prison or make his own bed or press his cloths because when he would come back from the Tribunal hearings all of that would have been done for him by his fellow prisoners. So it seemed to me that even in prison he commanded a good deal of respect from his fellow prisoners. He certainly did not seem to me in a depressed mood and was in full command in all of his facilities. He was working very hard to set the historical record down in such a way that he would not be made a scapegoat for everything that had gone wrong in the Balkans in the 90's," Bissett said.

Mr. Milosevic chose to defend himself because he did not recognize the authority of the Hague Tribunal.

"Milosevic never referred to judge Robinson as "Your Honor" he always referred to him as Mr. Robinson. His decision to defend himself was based on the fact that he did have legal training and was very intelligent man," said Bissett. "He felt that if he accepted a defense council in the form of a lawyer that he could not really get across the message that he wanted to convey without expressing it personally. He knew his material. He has done a very good job of cross-examining the prosecution witnesses and destroying many of them who appeared before the Tribunal. He has discounted much of the case against him but the public hears none of this because there seems to be a deliberate news blackout on anything recorded before the Tribunal in his favor. On the other hand I believe it was probably a mistake for him to handle his own defense. He was a politician and not a lawyer and I think that in the court setting he might have been better to have had a first class criminal lawyer represent him. A lawyer who would know all the tricks of cross-examination and the experience of court procedures," opinioned Bissett.

"On the first day he asked me good and short questions, but in the second day, as the day went on, I could see that he was tiring. He was beginning to ask leading and quite long rambling questions. This irritated the judge and he cut him off very often. The Judges accused Milosevic of wasting time and of asking leading questions and not getting to the heart of the matter." said Bissett.

Mr. Bissett met with former president Milosevic in Belgrade several times in his capacity as Ambassador of Canada to Yugoslavia from 1990 -1992. Bissett was of the opinion that Milosevic was a very intelligent and shrewd politician.

"I have described him as someone who was not interested in "Greater Serbia", Bissett continues. "That [the notion that Milosvic worked on creating "Greater Serbia"] is a complete fantasy. He was not even particularly interested in the welfare of the Serbian people. He was a politician, an old apparatchik, and a communist party boss who had grown up during that period of Yugoslav history, when Tito was in power. He wanted to maintain his power, his prestige and his privileges for himself and his family. He was a very typical soviet- block, Eastern-European communist boss. The politics of those times were rough and not very democratic. There was lot of intrigue, a lot of back room maneuvering and a lot of corruption among the party faithful. Controlling the press and the media was taken for granted. Milosevic was a product of his time and place. He was an opportunist but in my view certainly not a strong Serb nationalist- not as nearly as much as some of his political opponents. Not nearly as much as Vuk Draskovic was at

time. He was a communist apparatchik, making the reluctant and painful attempt at transition from a communist system to a more democratic form of socialism," said Bissett.

Former Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic worked hand in hand with Holbrook, Albright and other Western politicians in brokering peace deals in the war torn former Yugoslav republics. Bissett believes that Milosevic had no desire to see Yugoslavia break apart and got caught up in circumstances.

"Once Slovenia seceded and Croatia started to break away and violence erupted, the federal army was sent in to try to put the rebellion down. Milosevic who was the president of Serbia at the time was kind of caught in the middle. He did not have a control of the federal Army in those early days. He had some influence, but he had no control over it. It was a federal institution," said Bissett. "The Army itself was very pro-Yugoslav and did not want to see Yugoslavia break up. It was the federal Prime Minister of Yugoslavia who happened to be a Croatian who ordered the army into Slovenia and Croatia. When the republics of Slovenia and Croatia did break away and Bosnia and Macedonia left the federation, Milosevic was left in the position as the leader of Serbia, of having to support the cause of the Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia. With the legacy that those people had experienced during the Second World War the genocide of the Serbs in Croatia particularly but also massacres of Serbs in Bosnia by Croat and Muslim fascist forces, Milosevic had no choice. In the final analysis, however, there are many Serbs who feel that Milosevic let them down and betrayed them," said Bissett.

Milosevic, right from the very beginning, was the key person in the former Yugoslavia who was striving for a peaceful solution to the problems there.

Bissett stated that "Milosevic fully supported the EU initiative to intervene to protect the Serbs in Croatia and to stop the fighting that was going on there. When Milan Babic, who committed suicide just couple a weeks ago, reneged on the agreement to let the EU in, Milosevic disowned him and published a front page article in Politika condemning Babic and in effect forcing him to sign the agreement permitting the EU forces to separate the two sides and to bring the fighting to an end in Croatia. Milosevic was key figure in the negotiation of Vance-Owen plan, the Vance - Stoltenberg plan, and finally the peace agreement at Dayton. Part of the reason for much of the confusion about Milosevic's role is because Holbrook and Americans refused to negotiate directly with the Bosnian or the Croatian Serbs. This forced Milosevic to be interlocutor for those Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia. This has caused many people to feel that it was Milosevic who started the war and was responsible for the actions of the Croatian and Bosnian Serbs," said Bissett.

Former Canada's Ambassador to Yugoslavia expressed his dissatisfaction with mainstream media and their reporting about the war in the Balkans.

"When you read Associated Press report on his [Milosevic's] death, it is full of factual errors," continued Bissett. "They say for example that Milosevic sent tanks into Slovenia to secure the borders. He did not. It was Croatian federal PM Ante Markovic, who ordered it. The AP said that Serbs in Croatia were encouraged by Milosevic to take up arms. That is absolute nonsense. He did everything to stop the Serbs in Croatia from fighting with the Croatian forces. The AP said Milosevic responded by sending the Yugoslav army to intervene in Croatia, which was not in accordance with the facts. Some reports say that he took away Kosovo independence but of course Kosovo never was independent. Many of the media representatives no longer do any research nor do they bother checking the facts. Most of them simply repeat what was said in the past and assume it was true," Bissett said.

At the end the West betrayed Milosevic.

"Holbrook and Albright championed him as the man of peace in 1995," continues Bissett. "There was no indictment against Milosevic until the bombing started over Kosovo (in 1999). I do not believe there was any intent to indict Milosevic, Tudjman or Izetbegovic for crimes committed in Bosnia.

When the bombing of Yugoslavia started and public opinion in some of the European countries began to turn against the bombing. The people realized that the whole infrastructure of Yugoslavia was being destroyed. Cluster bombs were dropped over the market place in the city of Nis, cigarette and automobile factories were destroyed, the electrical grid was knocked out, TV stations and passenger trains were targeted, the bridges on the Danube blown down. Public opinion, especially in Germany, began to turn away from the NATO bombing. The leaders of the NATO countries were desperate in trying to find the means of getting the public support back. That was why they persuaded Louise Arbour, the chief prosecutor of the Hague Tribunal to suddenly indict Milosevic for genocide in Kosovo and then later for crimes in Bosnia. It was a convenient thing to do because who could blame NATO for the bombing a country whose leader was a war criminal," Bissett said.

There is a sense of relief in Milosevic's death at The Hague, "because the Tribunal was having a very hard time bringing forth any hard evidence to prove that there was genocide in Kosovo or that Milosevic entered into the criminal conspiracy with Karadzic and Boban to establish a "Greater Serbia," said Bissett. " Nevertheless they would have found him guilty of something you may be sure. He was under no illusion that the Tribunal would find him guilty but he wanted to put the facts on the historical record. Unfortunately this is no longer possible and so it will be NATO's interpretation of events that the world will have." "Milosevic will leave a mixed legacy. A lot of Serbs feel that he was the cause of lot of their misery. Whether he made mistakes or not, the people who are paying for those mistakes are indeed the Serbian people," concluded Bissett.

Interviewer BOBA BOROJEVIC  
E-mail: ckcuboba@yahoo.ca  
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**Schedule of Slobodan Milosevic's funeral in Serbia**

Associated Press Worldstream - March 16, 2006 Thursday 9:13 AM GMT

The schedule for Slobodan Milosevic's funeral and burial as announced by his Socialist Party:

Thursday, March 16-Friday, March 17:

Body on public view in Belgrade, at Revolution Museum, blocks away from Milosevic's former villa in the plush Dedinje suburb, starting at 12 p.m. (1100GMT).

Saturday, March 18:

Farewell ceremony from front of parliament at noon (1100GMT).

Departure for Pozarevac, Milosevic's hometown, 50 kilometers (30 miles) east of Belgrade.

Public viewing of the body at Pozarevac City Hall at 2 p.m. (1300GMT).

Burial in grounds of family home at 3 p.m. (1400GMT).

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## **World - Milosevic 'would never killed have himself'**

Morning Star - March 16, 2006, Thursday

Ex-Yugoslav prime minister Momir Bulatovic said yesterday that Slobodan Milosevic had said the day before he died that he would "never dream of self-medicating or poisoning himself to take his own life."

Mr Bulatovic, who was one of the former Yugoslav president's closest friends, spent the three last days of Mr Milosevic's life with him at the international war crimes tribunal.

The two were preparing for Mr Bulatovic's upcoming testimony as a defence witness in the war crimes and genocide case against Mr Milosevic.

Mr Bulatovic said that Mr Milosevic had been confident that the testimony would "clinch his defence with irrefutable evidence" that the 1990s Yugoslav bloodletting was "not a criminal enterprise orchestrated by Milosevic but a chain of irreversible events" that tore apart the former federation.

A Dutch autopsy determined that Mr Milosevic had died from a massive heart attack.

A Dutch toxicologist later said that he had found traces of an unprescribed drug in Mr Milosevic's blood earlier this year which reduced the effectiveness of his other medications.

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11-3-2006

Milosevic lawyer provides text of letter sent to Russia

The text of a handwritten letter dated March 8, 2006, written by Slobodan Milosevic to Russia asking for its help. It was provided in an English translation by his lawyer Zdenko Tomanovic:

To the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation.

Dear ladies and gentlemen,

With my acknowledgment for the solidarity and understanding which you expressed by accepting to receive me to come for medical treatment and by giving guarantees, I would like to inform you about the following:

I think that the persistence, with which the medical treatment in Russia was denied, in the first place is motivated by the fear that through careful examination it would be discovered, that there were active, willful steps taken, to destroy my health, throughout the proceedings of the trial, which could not be hidden from Russian specialists.

In order to verify my allegations, I'm presenting you a simple example which you can find in the attachment. This document, which I received on March 7, shows that on January 12th (i.e. two months ago), an extremely strong drug was found in my blood, which is used, as they themselves say, for the treatment of tuberculosis and leprosy, although I never used any kind of antibiotic during this 5 years that I'm in their prison.

Throughout this whole period, neither have I had any kind of infectious illness (apart from flu).

Also the fact that doctors needed 2 months (to report to me), can't have any other explanation than we are facing manipulation. In any case, those who foist on me a drug against leprosy surely can't treat my illness; likewise those from which I defended my country in times of war and who have an interest to silence me.

Dear Sirs, it is known to you that Russian physicians, who rank among the most respected physicians in the world, came to the conclusion that the examination and treatment of the vascular problems in my head are inevitable and urgent. I know very well that this is true, as I feel very bad.

I'm addressing you in expectation that you help me defend my health from the criminal activities in this institution, working under the sign of the U.N., and that I be enabled as soon as possible to get adequate treatment in your hospital, in whose physicians, as well as in Russia, I have absolute confidence.

Yours sincerely,

Slobodan Milosevic

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**Sagittarius**

**Van:** "R Despotovic" <despot@tiscali.nl>  
**Aan:** "Nico en Neeltje" <nico.s@slobodan-milosevic.org>; "Jenny Ligtenberg"  
**Verzonden:** donderdag 16 maart 2006 23:28  
**Onderwerp:** Fw: Ko je umro od srca - Milosevic ili Timothy McFaden?

Timothy McFadden, the British prison governor responsible for Milosevic, who reportedly died of a heart attack What!!! Timothy McFadden died of a heart attack too???

## Drugs smuggled into Milosevic's cell

Correspondents in Brussels and The Hague  
 The Australian, March 16, 2006

SLOBODAN Milosevic had unprescribed drugs and alcohol regularly smuggled into his prison cell, the UN war crimes tribunal said yesterday, as preparations were made for the former Serbian leader to be buried in Belgrade.

Timothy McFadden, the British prison governor responsible for Milosevic, who reportedly died of a heart attack in The Hague jail on Saturday, is said to have complained in December and January that he could no longer monitor the drugs taken by the former Yugoslav president. His warnings went unheeded.

At The Hague prison, Milosevic, who faced 66 charges of war crimes, had the key to his own office, which had a fax machine, a computer and a telephone, and access to a private room for visits by his wife. He was allowed to receive guests, including his lawyers, who were frisked and put through metal detectors but were not body-searched.

A source close to the tribunal said: "He was not in prison - he was in touch with the world. It is very difficult to avoid this when someone has not been sentenced, is on trial and has to have access to lawyers. You can't stop that."

Meanwhile, after a day of confusion and negotiations, the Milosevic family and Serb authorities agreed the former president would be buried in Belgrade.

Milosevic's son Marko arrived in The Hague from his home in exile in Moscow to collect his father's body with a team of Russian doctors, claiming his father had been murdered. "He didn't die - he was killed," he said. "There is a murder."

Milosevic's body was taken from The Hague, where an autopsy was conducted on Sunday, to the morgue at Amsterdam's Schiphol airport before being flown out to Serbia.

In Belgrade, the vice-president of the Socialist Party of Serbia, Milorad Vucelic, said: "A decision has been reached to organise a dignified funeral for our late president." After talks with Milosevic's wife and son, it was agreed the burial would take place in the Serb capital.

Mr Vucelic said the funeral would be held today or Friday.

Milosevic's widow, Mirjana Markovic, known as Mira, who lives in exile in Russia, will attend even though she is the target of an arrest warrant in Serbia.

Considered the power behind the scenes during Milosevic's rule in the 1990s, Ms Markovic faces charges of abuse of power laid by the present Serbian authorities.

A Belgrade court said the warrant for Ms Markovic's arrest would be suspended, but she would be required to surrender her passport when she came to Serbia for the funeral. The court said she would "remain free and will not be taken into custody" after her lawyers deposited a bond of \$US17,000 (\$23,000) as a guarantee she would attend a court hearing, although one has not yet been scheduled.

The family wants the former Serb leader to be buried in his native country, where he is still widely considered a national hero. More than 30 people from the former Yugoslavia detained as war crimes suspects published a tribute

in Serbian newspapers to Milosevic, but others saw him as a man who started four Balkan wars that resulted in hundreds of thousands of deaths.

The post-mortem examination carried out at The Hague concluded that Milosevic died of a heart attack, but the results of the toxicology tests have not been released. Many Serbs claim he was poisoned.

However, Russian medical experts who came to The Netherlands to examine the autopsy results said they were satisfied with the Dutch findings.

Last Friday, Milosevic wrote to the Russian Foreign Minister, complaining he was being poisoned by rifampicin, and appealing for help. He died the next day.

Two weeks earlier, a Dutch toxicologist confirmed the presence of the unprescribed drug rifampicin, normally used to treat leprosy and tuberculosis, in the blood of the former Yugoslav leader. The trial judges were informed last Tuesday, and on Wednesday they demanded that Milosevic's lawyers should explain what was happening.

Authorities have ruled out poisoning by a third party. They claim Milosevic was taking the rifampicin to neutralise the effects of the heart medicine he was required to take, as part of his campaign to persuade the judges his health was so poor he should be allowed to travel to Moscow for medical treatment.

Doctors at The Hague prison said in 2004 they had established that Milosevic was taking drugs.

The tribunal judges concluded the four-year trial at a two-minute hearing on Tuesday. The verdict against Milosevic, who was facing 66 charges of war crimes, had not been due for some months.

A source close to the tribunal said: "I don't believe he ever intended to serve a conventional prison sentence. The strategy he took was very clever. It is perfectly possible he was told, 'Take these drugs. They won't kill you but they will extend the trial'.

"But he was never going to be worried that he might die of a heart attack."

AP, The Times

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**Public Prosecutor's Office The Hague**

Mailing address:  
20302, 2500 EH The Hague

Visiting address:  
Paleis van Justitie  
Prins Clauslaan 60  
2595 AJ The Hague  
Mr. H. Holthuis  
Mr. Z. Tomanovic

Please refer to section, contact person, Public Prosecutor's Office number / our reference and date in your reply:

Section: ZWACRY team

Contact person: Ms. J.S. de Vries/Ms. M.G.T. Kramer

Date: 17 March 2006

Subject: Provisional findings concerning the death of S. Milosevic

Dear Mr. Holthuis and Mr. Tomanovic

Further to the provisional autopsy findings of 12 March, that were sent to you earlier, with the provisional conclusion that Mr. Milosevic apparently died from a heart infarction, I state the following:

A toxicological examination was carried out after the autopsy, resulting in the following provisional findings:

- so far, no indications of poisoning have been found;
- a number of medicines prescribed for Mr. Milosevic were found in the body material, but not in toxic concentration;
- so far, no traces of rifampicine were found.

The NFI /Dutch Forensic Institute/ has informed us that rifampicine disappears from the body quickly, and the fact that no traces were found implies only that it is not likely that rifampicine had been ingested or administered in the last few days before death.

In view of all the speculation in the media, it seems appropriate that I should inform you in the meantime of these results. However, the examination has not yet been concluded, and it will be continued in the coming week, among other things on the basis of medical data provided by the ICTY.

I would like to stress that these are provisional results. We hope to be able to provide you with additional information at the end of next week.

The above information will be made available in the form of a press release by The Hague District Public Prosecutor's Office.

Yours sincerely,  
H.J. Moraal  
Senior Public Prosecutor

## **World - Milosevic 'would never killed have himself**

Morning Star - March 16, 2006, Thursday

Ex-Yugoslav prime minister Momir Bulatovic said yesterday that Slobodan Milosevic had said the day before he died that he would "never dream of self-medicating or poisoning himself to take his own life."

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## State Duma takes on the Hague tribunal

RusData Dialine (Russian Press Digest) Gazeta, No 45, p.3 - March 16, 2006 Thursday

*Russian lawmakers called for closure of the International Criminal Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia*

The lower house of the Russian parliament harshly criticized the UN War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague Wednesday, blaming it for Slobodan Milosevic's death and calling for its quick closure.

The State Duma voted unanimously to approve a statement that accused the tribunal of being "extremely politicized and biased" in its inquiries and said that its failure to provide Milosevic with adequate medical care led to the former Yugoslav president's death on Saturday.

"Russia had been ready to accept Slobodan Milosevic for treatment and provide the International Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia with the guarantees of his return to The Hague, but the tribunal had ignored these appeals, undertaking full responsibility for Milosevic's life," the lower house said.

It said the tribunal's failure to provide qualified medical care to Milosevic amounted to "flagrant violation of human rights." The statement adopted by the lower house called for a quick end of the tribunal's inquiries and said that its "further activities will be unfeasible."

Milosevic was arrested in 2001 and put on trial in February 2002 on 66 counts for war crimes and genocide in Croatia, Bosnia and Kosovo during Yugoslavia's violent break-up in the 1990s. He was the first sitting head of state indicted for war crimes. He was the sixth war crimes suspect from the Balkans to die at The Hague.

A week earlier, convicted former Croatian Serb leader Milan Babic, a star prosecution witness against Milosevic, killed himself in the same prison. The Russian parliament alluded to the deaths, saying that "such a tragic chain of events is in clear discord with European calls for observing human rights."

During the Wednesday debates, some MPs angrily recalled the Western criticism of Russia's rights record, saying that Milosevic's death shows the West doesn't have the moral right to judge Russia. "We must immediately end all European Union inspections of Russian prison facilities," said nationalist MP Sergei Abeltsev.

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"Jan Johnson" <ljohnson@lineone.net>

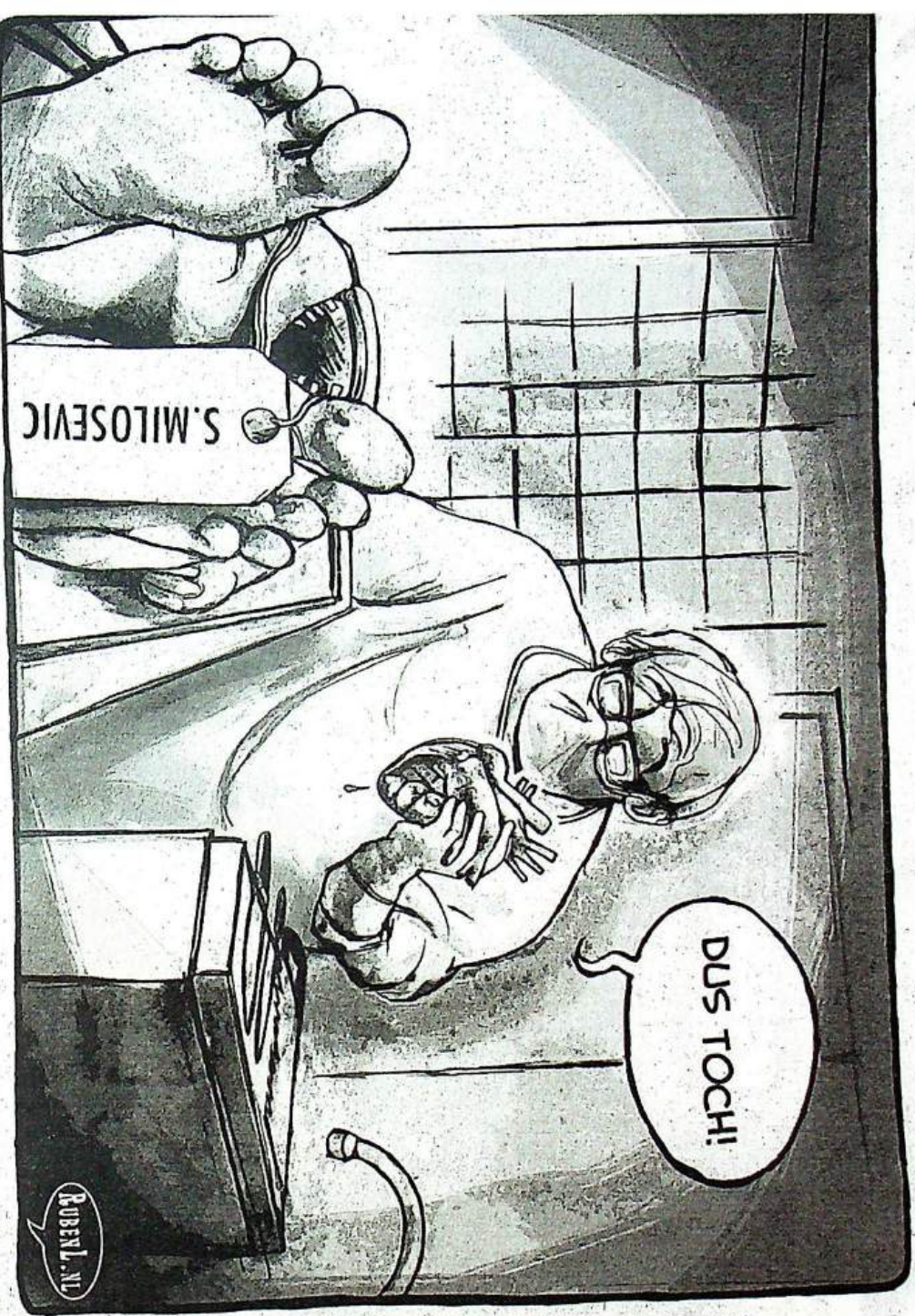
Van:

Niet Milosevic stond er in zijn proces  
beroord voor, maar het tribunaal

Mr. N.M.P. Steijnen

Dr. Gelasse LINDNER  
16-3-2006

RUBEN L. OPPENHEIMER



Proces dreigde voor de NAVO (landen), de instigators en financiers van het tribunaal, volkomen uit de hand te lopen

# NAVO had motief voor moord op Milosevic

Slobodan Milosevic had geen enkele reden zelfmoord te plegen. Niet hij, maar de aanklagers van het tribunaal waren steeds verder in het nauw gedreven. De NAVO had een motief voor moord. Hij is de dood in gejaagd, aldus mr. N. Steijnen.

In gesprekken die ik de afgelopen dagen met allerlei mensen had over de dood van Slobodan Milosevic, overheerste de opinie dat het hier ging om een man waartegen, in een jarenlang proces, ondanks zijn manhaftig, dan wel, naar believen, brutaal tegenspartelen, in een jarenlang proces het bewijs zich steeds verder had opgestapeld, en die, nu het proces zijn einde begon te naderen, de grond steeds verder onder zijn voeten voelde wegzakken. En die dus rijp was voor de een of andere wanhoopsdaad.

De realiteit omtrent het verloop van het proces Milosevic was daaraan tegenovergesteld. Een werkelijkheid die, als zodanig, bovendien voor iedereen direct verifieerbaar is. En wel door de moeite te nemen om zelf de transcripts van de zittingen te lezen.

Niet Milosevic stond er in zijn proces beroord voor, maar het tribunaal. Dat was niet alleen vandaag zo. Toen de aanklagers, na jaren, hun bewijsoverring moesten afronden, kopte de Volkskrant 'Geen sluitend bewijs tegen Slobodan Milosevic' (26 februari 2004), en kwam de NRC zelfs met de kop: 'Zaak tegen Milosevic valt uit elkaar' (28 februari 2004). Klaarlijklijk is dit - als gevolg van de door de tribunaalverdedigers in de media steeds verder opgeblazen stereotyping dat het tribunaal genadeloos bezig was de schurk Milosevic op te rollen - inmiddels diep in het collectieve bewustzijn weggzak.

Jarenlang waren door de aanklagers, in een onafzienbare reeks, honderden getuigen tegen hem in stelling gebracht, en waren tonnen documenten over hem uitgestort, maar nog steeds on-

**Milosevic had in de afgelopen tijd, aan de hand van getuigen, een ongelooflijke ravage aangericht onder de resterende aanklachten**

vertoestend, maar ook voor de NAVO demate desastreus, dat dit alle alarmseinen op rood moet hebben gezet.

Onder invloed van wat Milosevic voor het tribunaal systematisch boven water haalde, dreigden in het westen gewestigde opinies over de grondslagen voor de NAVO-oorlog van 1999 tegen Joegoslavië rijp te worden voor de sloop.

Op 25 augustus 2005 zag aankla-Milosevic-oorlog-bombardementen en inder Nica zich genoodzaakt om te verklaren dat Milosevic niet langer werd vervolgd vanwege de beschuldiging dat hij, met gestreefd. Daarmee lagen de grondslagen van de aanklachten tegen hem definitief aan den gen. Die waren immers allemaal

log van 1999 tegen Joegosi geen sprake was geweest. Alsof dit allemaal nog niet spoedig genoeg was voor de zaak van het tribunaal, leverde de getuigen van Milosevic nog breed bewijs van het dat niet het optreden van de Servische legers in Kosovo de banen op de vlucht dreef maar dat dit voornamelijk gevolg was van de intensieve

het NAVO-bombardementen en inder Nica, datte van de Kosovarse opdeling. Niet Milosevic had dus een motief voor zelfmoord, maar voor de NAVO werkende naalontourage had een dus motief voor moord. De dreigde, voor de NAVO-law instigators en financiers van het tribunaal, volkomen v

het tribunaal. Berdere pgen om Milosevic rigoreus aangewezen advocaat op Enorme belangen staan op

Abu Graib en Guantanamo. Voor haivret over westerse ptes als het gaat om me de rechten geen plaats meer, het wemelt in de tribunaal van de functionarissen hechte banden met de hebben.

Mr. N.M.P. Steijnen heeft als caat gewerkt voor Slobodan

# Wie heeft schuld aan overlijden Milosevic?

## Tribunaal heeft Milosevic de dood ingejaagd

N.M.P. Steijnen

In gesprekken die ik de afgelopen dagen met allerlei mensen had over de dood van Milosevic, overheerste de opinie dat het hier ging om een man tegen wie in een jarenlang proces het bewijs zich steeds verder had opgestapeld, en die, nu het proces zijn einde begon te naderen, de grond steeds verder onder zijn voeten voelde wegzakken. En die dus tijd was voor de een of andere wanhoopdad. Een zorgvuldig gekoesterde beeldvorming lokt aldus haar eigen psychologis-

'irrelevant' werden afgeha-  
merd in een kennelijke poging  
om zulke explosieve verklarin-  
gen in de kiem te smoren.

Als of dit allemaal nog niet  
rampspoedig genoeg was voor  
de zaak van het Tribunaal, le-  
verden de getuigen van Milose-  
vic ook nog het bewijs van het  
feit dat niet het optreden van  
het Servische leger in Kosovo de  
Albanezen op de vlucht dreef,  
maar dat dit voornamelijk een  
gevolg was van de intensieve  
NAVO-bombardementen en in-  
timidatie van de KLA.

Toen Alice Mahon, die inder-  
tijd oprtrad als lid van de NAVO  
Parlementaire Assemblee, ten  
slotte ook nog getuigde dat niet  
de NAVO-bombardementen in  
de oorlog van 1999 de burger-  
bevolking werd geterroriseerd,  
werd Milosevic enkele dagen la-  
ter dood gevonden.

Niet Milosevic had dus een  
motief voor zelfmoord, maar de  
voet de NAVO werkende Tribu-  
naal-entourage had een duidel-  
lijk motief voor moord. De zaak  
dreigde, voor de NAVO-lan-  
den, de instigators en finan-  
ciers van het Tribunaal, volko-  
men uit de hand te lopen.

Eerdere pogingen om Milo-  
sevic het zwingen op te leggen  
door hem een advocaat op te  
dringen waardoor hij werd ver-  
plicht 'bijzitter' te worden in  
zijn eigen proces, waren  
gestrand vanwege de massale  
weigering van de aangezette  
getuigen om onder dergelijke  
condities überhaupt nog als ge-  
tuige te verschijnen.

Als een van de weinige Ne-  
derlanders heb ik diverse malen  
uitvoerig met Milosevic gespro-  
ken. Ik heb zelden iemand ont-  
moet die zo overtuigd was van  
zijn zaak en van zijn mogelijk-  
heden om te bewijzen dat het  
Tribunaal fout zat.

Als iets niet in zijn hoofd op-  
kwam, dan waren dat laag-bij-  
de-grondse intriges om het ve-  
lge lijf te kunnen reddden. Hij  
had een missie, en daar stond  
hij voor.

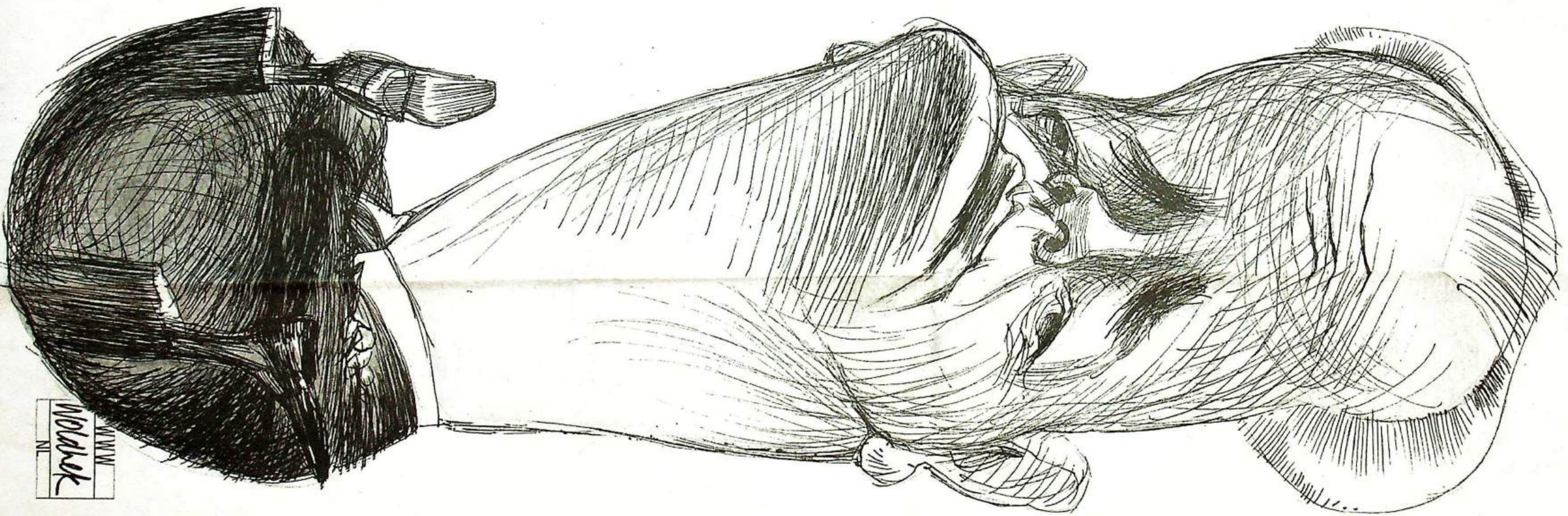
Hebben 'ze' Milosevic niet  
gedood, waartoe overigens, in  
een setting als de gevangenis al-  
le gelegenheid bestond, dan  
hebben ze hem in elk geval de  
dood ingejaagd. Het dossier van  
de waarschuwingen, appèls en  
smekbeden van organisaties  
die hem vriendelijk gezind wa-  
ren, om op te houden met zijn  
leven en gezondheid in de  
waagschaal te stellen, meer dan  
200 pagina's.

In de afgelopen jaren ben ik  
herhaaldelijk voor Milosevic  
opgetreden. Zijn dood brengt  
daar geen verandering in, in-  
tegenwoordig. Er zullen juridische  
stappen volgen tegen de be-  
trokken Tribunaal-functiona-  
rissen, rechters zowel als aan-  
klagers, wegens het aan hem  
opleggen van een wrede en on-  
menselijke behandeling in het  
kader van het Anti-Folterver-  
drag.

Een wrede en onmenselijke  
behandeling door Milosevic,  
een ziek man die al jaren in  
acuut levensgevaar verkeerde,  
de noodzakelijke medische  
zorg te onthouden. Het Tribu-  
naal-erfgoed heeft zich voorzien  
van immuniteit van strafvervol-  
ging. Maar handelingen in  
strijd met het Anti-Folterver-  
drag gaan daaraan voorbij.

Mr. N. M. P. Steijnen is advocaat.

Milosevic' dood noopt tot juridische stappen tegen betrokken  
Tribunaal-functionarissen wegens het aan hem opleggen van een  
wrede en onmenselijke behandeling, betoogt N.M.P. Steijnen.  
Milosevic was niet alleen een onwillige verdachte, hij was ook een  
onwillige patiënt, meent Göran Sluiter.



Woldhek  
NI

TEKENING SIEGFRIED WOLDHEK

## Tribunaal valt niets te verwijten

Göran Sluiter

Het Joegoslavië-tribunaal maakt moeilijke tijden door na het overlijden van Milosevic. De kritiek is niet van de lucht, maar is vooralsnog ongefun-  
deerd en onredelijk.

In de eerste plaats is er de kwestie van de zorgplicht van het Tribunaal jegens Milosevic als zieke verdachte. Is men daarin tekortgeschoten?

Milosevic heeft vanaf het begin van zijn derentoe constant toegang gehad tot medische zorg; er is geen enkele reden om te twijfelen aan de inzet van de diverse Nederlandse artsen voor de gezondheid van hun patiënt. Argumenten van Milosevic dat deze 'NAVO-artsen' niet vertrouwd zouden kunnen worden, zijn onzinnig.

Ook het Tribunaal heeft naar redelijkheid meegewerkt aan het herstel van de verdachte, door het zittingsprogramma aan te passen en steeds (lange) onderbrekingen in te lassen indien nodig. Maar het Tribunaal vermag niet alles. Men kan ook een gedetineerde patiënt niet dwingen tot volledige medewerking aan het eigen herstel. Dat dit aan de orde was, blijkt uit twee omstandigheden.

Reeds eind 2004 kan men in een beslissing van de rechters lezen dat de behandelende artsen zich verbaasden over een kalmteingsmedicijn dat zij in het bloed van verdachte aanroffen en dat de werking van andere medicijnen reduceerde. In de beslissing van december 2005 over de toekomst van het proces is het andere probleem aan de orde, het nemen van voldoende rust. De rechters van het Tribunaal adviseerden daarin nadrukkelijk Milosevic de zittingsvrije dagen te gebruiken voor het nemen van voldoende rust. Het kan het Tribunaal niet verweten worden dat de verdachte door zijn eigen keuze - het zelf voeren van de verdediging - onvoldoende aan rust toekwam.

De combinatie van de aange-troffen niet-voorgescreven medicijnen en het nemen van onvoldoende rust als gevolg van het voeren van de eigen verdediging geeft bijk van niet alleen een onwillige verdachte, maar ook een onwillige patiënt. Het Tribunaal kan daar weinig aan doen, en dat betreft ook de vraag hoe deze medicijnen bij Milosevic terecht zijn gekomen. Het argument dat het Tribunaal de toegang tot de verdachte en de verdachte zelf betref in de gaten had moeten houden, is weinig overtuigend. Immers, in elke penitentiaire inrichting valt wel wat binnen te smokkelen - zeker kleine pillen. Belangrijker acht ik het dat het milde detentieregime in Scheveningen juist in het voordeel van de verdachten is. De ontspannen sfeer en interne vrijheden staan in dienst van een optimaal herstel en optimale procesvoering door Milosevic. Het is dan ook wrang en onrecht dat het Tribunaal nu daarop wordt aangesproken.

De lange duur van processen bij het Tribunaal is uiteraard een bron van zorg en brengt onder andere het risico met zich dat processen niet afgerond kunnen worden. Het is makkelijk gezegd dat de processen korter moeten, maar we moeten rekel zijn wat betreft de ge-

volgen daarvan, ook voor de rechten van de verdachte en de positie van de slachtoffers. Ten eerste geven de lange processen bij het Tribunaal blijk van aanzienlijke zorgvuldigheid bij de procesdeelnemers als het gaat om de bewijsvoering; dat is veel waard. Daarnaast vergen de misdrijven naar hun aard - het gaat om 'systeemcrimineliteit' - veel bewijs om tot een goed oordeel te kunnen komen. Dat dit bewijs in de vorm van getuigen ter zitting wordt gepresenteerd kost bijzonder veel tijd, maar is in het belang van de verdachte die de getuigen kan onderwerpen aan een kruisverhoor. In dit verband moet worden opgemerkt dat Milosevic zich altijd heftig heeft verzet tegen het gebruik van geschreven getuigenverklaringen. Aan een andere veelgehoorde 'oplossing' - het beperken van de aanklacht - kleven eveneens bezwaren. Hiermee zou de indruk gewekt kunnen worden dat bewijs ontbrekt en wordt ook te kortgedaan aan de slachtoffers van misdrijven die niet vervolgd worden.

Tot slot wil ik er op wijzen dat verplichte rechtsbijstand voor Milosevic geen aanzienlijke verkorting van het proces zou hebben opgeleverd, omdat ook dan bij ziekte het proces onderbroken zou moeten worden. Elke verdachte heeft nu eenmaal het recht om bij zijn eigen proces aanwezig te zijn.

### Kritiek op 'NAVO-artsen' is onzinnig

Erkend moet worden dat het Tribunaal ook ten aanzien van de lengte van het proces weinig te verwijten valt, zeker indien men bedenkt dat de lengte van het proces juist de belangen van de verdachte heeft gediend (ondervergaan getuigen in het nemen van voldoende rust). Kijk men verder naar de getelde duur van de detentie van de verdachte, dan is de situatie zo slecht nog niet: in vergelijk met andere zaken is de duur van het voorarrest in de Milosevic-zaak bijzonder kort.

Het stoort mij dat ten aanzien van het overlijden van Milosevic niet alleen een reële analyse van de gang van zaken ontbreekt, maar ook voorbij wordt gegaan aan de grote verworvenheden van het Joegoslavië-tribunaal.

Het Tribunaal is van revolutionaire betekenis als het gaat om het aanspreken van een ieder, ongeacht rang of functie, voor de meest ernstige misdrijven die wij kennen. Het draagt daar zorg voor met grote zorgvuldigheid en heeft nationale en internationale verwolgingen voor dergelijke misdrijven in belangrijke mate geïnspireerd. Uiteraard moet men het werk van het Tribunaal kritisch volgen, maar op redelijke gronden en we moeten er voor waken dat we in de heetste het kind met het badwater wegspeelen.

Göran Sluiter is verbonden aan de rechtsofficialiteit van de Universiteit van Amsterdam.

Kleine groepen aanhangers hebben gisteren de doodkist van hun leider Slobodan Milosevic in Belgrado opgewacht. Waar men met de kist heen moest bleef nog lang onduidelijk.

# 'Den Haag heeft Slobodan vermoord - God straffe hen'

2006

Door onze correspondent TIJN SADÉE

BELGRADO, 16 MAART. In de namiddag staan in Belgrado ruim vijfhonderd betogers voor het gebouw van de Socialistische Partij (SPS), de partij van wijlen Slobodan Milosevic. Het vliegtuig met het lichaam van hun geliefde oud-president hangt dan nog in de lucht, ergens tussen Nederland en Servië. Maar de natte sneeuw en een koude wind worden getrotseerd, want een historisch moment nadert: straks komt de lijkwagen met 'Slobodan' rechtstreeks van het vliegveld naar deze plek.

morrend en klagend in beweging komt, om vervolgens in colonne verder te trekken, richting ziekenhuis.

Bij Hotel Moskva is er een mogelijkheid om via de Balkanskastraat af te snijden, maar er wordt besloten om toch recht door, over de drukke trambaan, te gaan. Men wil per se langs het kantoor van de huidige, anti-Milosevic gezinde president Boris Tadic. Want die mag gerust weten wie er vandaag allemaal op de been zijn, zegt een oudere man. Dat ze maar met vijfhonderd zijn - in tegenstelling tot

## 'Als onze leiders hun hersens weer hebben opgestart wordt dit de Milosevic-straat'

de tienduizenden betogers die werden voorspeld - lijkt hem niet te deren.

Voor het ziekenhuis, een half uur later, wordt rond de gaten in het asfalt positie ingenomen. Wachten. Weer een half uur. En nóg geen lijkwagen. Waarop sommige aanhangers politieke leuzen beginnen te schreeuwen, pal voor de camera's van Westerse televisieploegen. „Waarom hebben jullie Bill Clinton en al die andere leiders die Servië kapot hebben gemaakt niet meegebracht?”

Leden van de radicale partij SRS, vanuit de grootste politieke beweging in Servië, houden demonstratief hun lidmaatschaps-

kaart omhoog met daarop de foto van hun leider Vojislav Seselj, die door het Joegoslavië-tribunaal verdachte oorlogsmisdadiger die vastzit in de Scheveningse gevangenis. „De grootste straat in Belgrado zal worden omgedoopt in de Slobodan Milosevic-straat”, roept een vrouw. „Zodra onze huidige politici hun hersens weer hebben opgestart.”

En dan draait plots een stoet auto's de hoek om en is de chaos compleet. De tweede wagen stopt voor de ingang van het ziekenhuis. De doodkist wordt uitgeladen en vier

dragers brengen de kist snel naar binnen. „Herrijs, Slobodan! Sta op!” scanderen de radicalen in koor. Een paar vrouwen rennen achter de kist aan, maar worden door een haag politiemannen tegengehouden.

En weg is Milosevic. De lift in, naar een onbekende etage waar hij voorlopig zal blijven, alvorens er zekerheid is over wat er verder met de kist gaat gebeuren. Wordt hij nog opgebaard? Kan de Milosevic-aanhang nog fatsoenlijk afscheid nemen? Zaterdag, in Pozarevac - dan is in ieder geval de begrafenis. Daar moeten ze het voorlopig mee doen.

„Herrijs? Wat wil men nou?”

zegt een vrouw die zich voor de ingang van het ziekenhuis heeft opgesteld. „Den Haag heeft 'Slobodan' vermoord. God zal ze straffen.” „De geest van Slobodan zal een grote rol blijven spelen in de toekomst van onze partij”, zegt Igor Beciric, een jonge activist in de SPS. „Milosevic was de man die ons leerde dat er een alternatief is voor de Amerikaanse dominantie in deze wereld.”

Uit een taxi stapt een camera-ploeg van B92, het Servische televisiestation dat vanaf de oprichting een duidelijke anti-Milosevic toon heeft gevoerd. De cameraman en presentator worden meteen belaagd, een groep radicalen vliegt op ze af. Maar politiemannen die toesnellen voorkomen een pak slaag, waarna de B92-ploeg weer afdruipt.

„Morgen kunt u afscheid nemen van Milosevic, op het plein voor het federale parlement”, stelt een woordvoerder van Milosevic's partij de aanhang gerust. Maar later op de avond wordt duidelijk dat de burgemeester van Belgrado daar helemaal niet van gediend is. Het wordt het Sava World Trade Center, is tegen middernacht het laatste gerucht. Maar ook die lokatie valt af, want de directrice wil er niks van weten en als de regering haar wil ontslaan, ligt de raad van bestuur dwars. Het laatste nieuws komt, voor wie dan nog wakker is, per sms: Milosevic wordt vandaag opgebaard bij het Museum van de Revolutie, vlak bij het graf van Tito. Om twee uur 's nachts heet het evenwel dat hij ook bij het museum niet welkom is, al houdt men ook dan nog een slag om de arm. Tegen die tijd is in de Belgradose kroegen meligheid troef over het gezeul met de doodkist.

Niemand in Servië die zich nog raad weet met Milosevic. Behalve in zijn geboorteplaats Pozarevac - daar wordt de sneeuw geruimd bij zijn geboortehuis. Daar wordt gezegd dat hij wordt begraven onder de linde in de tuin die voor hem en zijn vrouw - zo zegt zijn partij - „sentimentele betekenis heeft”.

MILOSEVIC

# Russen eisen opheffing van tribunaal

16-3-2006

Door onze redactie buitenland

**MOSKOU • Het Joegoslavië-tribunaal dient zo snel mogelijk de deuren te sluiten. Het instituut is te politiek geworden en bevooroordeeld geraakt.**

Het Russische parlement, de Doema, heeft dat gisteren luitgesproken. Aanleiding vormt de dood van Slobodan Milosevic.

Het is niet de eerste keer dat de Russen het functioneren van het tribunaal op de korrel nemen. De VN-Veiligheidsraad nam in 2003 een Russisch voorstel aan waarin staat dat het tribunaal in 2008 alle procedures moet afronden en in 2010 de deuren moet sluiten. Tevens werd besloten dat het tribunaal zich moest richten op 'grote vissen'.

Met de dood van Milosevic is er in de ogen van de Russen geen andere grote vis meer voor het tribunaal om te berechten. Het oppakken en uitleveren van bijvoorbeeld Radovan Karadzic en Ratko Mladic - de Bosnisch-Servische leider en zijn generaal die beiden gezocht worden wegens volkerenmoord - achten de Russen onwaarschijnlijk.

De hoofd aanklaagster bij het Joegoslavië-tribunaal, Carla del Ponte, reist kort na de begrafenis

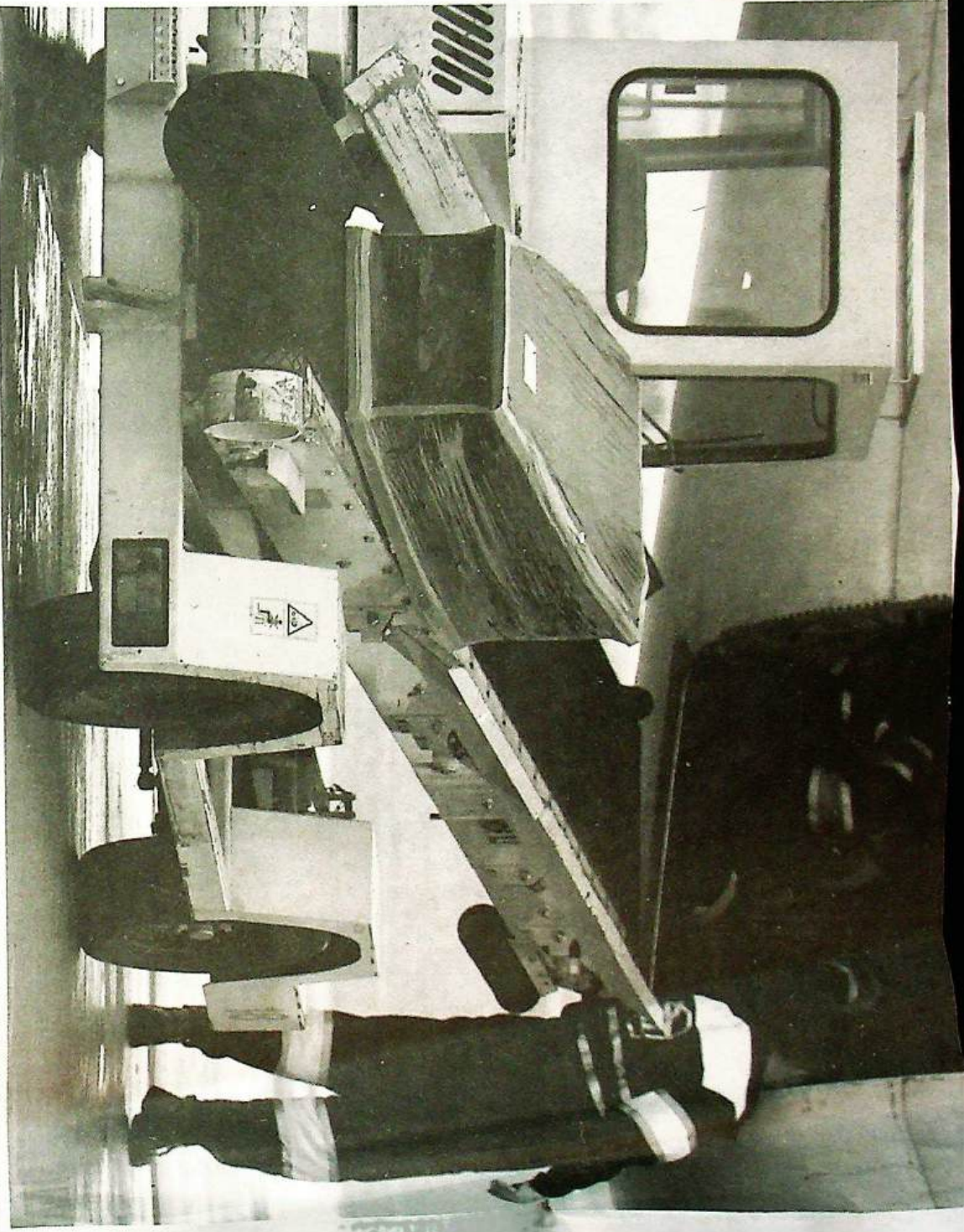
van Milosevic naar Belgrado. Zij wil de druk op de Servische autoriteiten om haast te maken met het oppakken en uitleveren van Mladic en Karadzic verhogen.

Del Ponte maakt zich grote zorgen over het aanzien van het tribunaal na het overlijden van Milosevic. Een week voordat Milosevic stierf hing Milan Babic zich in het cellencomplex in Scheveningen op.

Del Ponte wil dat Mladic voor 5 april wordt opgepakt en uitgeleverd. De Europese Unie heeft de voortgang van onderhandelingen met Servië over een associatieverdrag afhankelijk gesteld van de samenwerking met het tribunaal. De VS hebben inmiddels een besluit over verdere financiële steun aan Servië tot 31 mei uitgesteld.

Het Russische parlement eist ook een onafhankelijk internationaal onderzoek naar de dood van Slobodan Milosevic. Het tribunaal wordt 'nalatigheid' en 'kwade opzet' toegedicht.

Vier Russische artsen hebben laten weten tevreden te zijn met de autopsie die door het Nederlandse forensisch instituut (NFI) op Milosevic is uitgevoerd. De conclusie, gestorven door een hartaanval, wordt onderschreven. Het NFI is volgens de Russen professioneel te werk gegaan.



Via de lopende band verlaat de kist met het stoffelijk overschot van Slobodan Milosevic het vliegtuig waarmee het gisteren van Schiphol naar Belgrado werd gebracht. Srdjan Suk/ANP

# Otpor overvallen door plotselinge dood

16-3-2006  
De Gijbe Linnaker

Enkele honderden aanhangers wachtten gisteren de aankomst van het stoffelijk overschot van de overleden voormalige Joegoslavische president Slobodan Milosevic op op het vliegveld. De mensen die vijfjaar geleden zijn val organiseerden beradden zich tegelijkertijd over een tegenbetoging.

Door onze correspondent  
MARLOES DE KONING

**D**insdagocht begonnen de mobiele telefoons te rinkelen. 'Mosskou' was definitief van de baan en het nieuws drong door dat Slobodan Milosevic toch een begrafenis in Servië zou krijgen. Deelnemers aan de demonstraties die in oktober 2000 tot zijn val leidden, hangen woensdag vol ongelooft met elkaar aan de telefoon. Ze zijn woedend op de regering, die de radicale nationalist in hun ogen vrij spel geeft voor eerbetoon aan Milosevic. "De regering heeft zwaktebod getoond door niet openlijk en hard afstrand van Milosevic te nemen," zegt Ivan Marovic, een van de leiders van Otpor, de protestbeweging die de val van Milosevic inluidde.

"Met deze nationale socialist is het net als met honden, ze ruiken zwaktebod en maken er gebruik van," Marovic zit in een café in het centrum van Belgrado en wordt voortdurend gebeld voor overleg over het organiseren van acties. De activisten van vijfjaar geleden voelen zich overvallen door de plotselinge dood van hun vijand van destijds. Otpor bestaat officieel al twee jaar niet

meer. Milosevic was naar Den Haag en Servië werd daarmee officieel een democratie. Zonder duidelijk gezamenlijk doel en buitenlandse subsidies bleef van de verzetbeweging weinig over. De leden met politieke ambities maakten de overstap naar de Democratische Partij van president Boris Tadic, de rest trok zich terug of kreeg vaak een baan in het buitenland. De Otpor-leden voelen zich nu verraden door de huidige Servische regering. Ooit streed premier Vojislav Kostunica net als zij tegen Milosevic. Nu spreekt hij zijn medelieven uit met de nabestaanden en houdt zich verder opvallend stil, om de radicalen niet voor het hoofd te stoten.

## 'Geweld is het middel van de zwakkeren'

"Als Milosevic nog aan de macht was zouden de leden van deze regering nu dood zijn. En dan hadden ze geen eervolle begrafenis gehad, maar een graf zonder kruis, ergens in de bossen, zoals de voorganger van Milosevic, Ivan Stambolic," zegt Marovic, kwaad. Hoewel het nooit is bewezen, gaan de meeste Serviers ervan uit dat Milosevic of zijn vrouw Mira Markovic achter de moord op Stambolic zitten.

Het gezamenlijk front tegen dictator Milosevic is na zijn uitlevering snel verdwenen. "Niet iedereen is even vastberaden om te vechten. Dat heeft tot apathie bij de stemmers geleid," zegt Marovic. Hoewel uitpeilingen blijkt dat de meerderheid van de Ser-

viërs niet voor extreme partijen kiest, winnen de radicalen terrein, doordat hun kiezers trouwer naar de stembus gaan.

De democratische krachten ontbreekt het volgens Marovic sinds de moord op premier Zoran Djindjic in 2003, aan een charismatische leider. Voor zichzelf ziet hij geen rol in de politiek. Hij wil op korte termijn actie en dan verder met zijn studie in de Verenigde Staten.

Na een eerste overleg met inderhaast opgetrommelde collega-activisten is de conclusie dat een fysieke confrontatie tussen tegenstanders en supporters van Milosevic de komende dagen moet worden voorkomen. "Dat is precies wat onze tegenstanders graag zouden willen, maar daar staan we boven," zegt Marovic. "Geweld is het middel van de zwakkeren, en dat zijn zij." In 2000 protesteerde Otpor onder meer door op parnemen te slaan, met belLEN te rinkelen en met straatoptredens. De gedachten gaan uit naar soortgelijke vormen van protest. Dat de begrafenis zaterdag in Pozarevac is en niet in de hoofdstad, maakt de rol van 'Otpor 2' volgens Marovic makkelijker. "Dan hebben wij Belgrado."

## Begrafenis

• Voordat Milosevic zaterdag wordt begraven wordt hij eerst opgebaard in het communistisch museum in Belgrado. Milorad Vucevic, vice-voorzitter van de SPS, coördineert de begrafenis. Voor de begrafenis worden vermoedelijk tienduizenden fanatieke aanhangers per bus naar Pozarevac gebracht. Zakenman Bogoljub Karadzic aangeboden de begrafenis te betwordt begraven in de tuin van zijn, naast een lindendoom.

Niet Milosevic stond er in zijn proces  
beroerd voor, maar het tribunaal

Mr. N.M.P. Steijnen

De gelovende  
16-3-2006

RUBEN L. OPPENHEIMER



Proces dreigde voor de NAVO-landen), de instigators en financiers van het tribunaal, volkomen uit de hand te lopen

## NAVO had motief voor moord op Milosevic

Slobodan Milosevic had  
geen enkele reden zelf-  
moord te plegen. Niet hij,  
maar de aanklagers van  
het tribunaal waren  
steeds verder in het nauw  
gedreven. De NAVO had  
een motief voor moord.  
Hij is de dood in gejaagd,  
aldus mr. N. Steijnen.

In gesprekken die ik de af-  
gelopen dagen met allerlei  
mensen had over de dood  
van Slobodan Milosevic,  
overheerste de opinie dat

het hier ging om een man waar-  
tegen, in een jarenlang proces,  
ondanks zijn manhartig, dan  
wel, naar believen, brutaal te-  
genspartelen, in een jarenlang  
genspartelen, in een jarenlang  
proces het bewijs zich steeds ver-  
der had opgestapeld, en die, nu  
het proces zijn einde begon te  
naderen, de grond steeds verder  
onder zijn voeten voelde weg-  
zakken. En die dus rijp was voor  
de een of andere wanhoops-  
daad.

De realiteit omtrent het verloop  
van het proces-Milosevic was  
daaraan tegenovergesteld. Een  
werkelijkheid die, als zodanig,  
bovendien voor iedereen direct  
verifieerbaar is. En wel door de  
moeste te nemen om zelf de  
transcripts van de zittingen te le-  
zen.

gers, na jaren, hun bewijsvoe-  
ring moesten afronden, kopte  
de Volkskrant 'Geen sluitend be-  
wijs tegen Slobodan Milosevic'  
(26 februari 2004), en kwam de  
NRC zelfs met de kop: 'Zaak te-  
gen Milosevic valt uit elkaar' (28  
februari 2004). Klarbijkelijk is  
dit - als gevolg van de door de  
tribunaalverdedigers in de me-  
dia steeds verder opgeblazen site-  
reotypering dat het tribunaal ge-  
nadeels bezig was de schurk  
Milosevic op te rollen - inmid-  
dels diep in het collectieve be-  
wustzijn weggezaakt.

verwoestend, maar ook voor de  
NAVO dermate desastreus, dat  
dit alle alarmseinen op rood  
moet hebben gezet.  
Onder invloed van wat Milose-  
vic voor het tribunaal systema-  
tisch boven water haalde, dreig-  
den in het westen gevestigde  
opinites over de grondslagen  
voor de NAVO-oorlog van 1999  
tegen Joegoslavië rijp te worden  
voor de sloop.

log van 1999 tegen Joegoslavië,  
geen sprake was geweest.  
Alsof dit allemaal nog niet ramp  
spoedig genoeg was voor de  
zaak van het tribunaal, leverden  
de getuigen van Milosevic ook  
nog breed bewijs van het feit  
dat niet het optreden van het  
Servische leger in Kosovo de Al-  
banenzen op de vlucht dreef.  
maar dat dit voornamelijk een  
gevolg was van de intensieve NA-  
VO-bombardementen en intimi-  
datie van de Kosovoarse opstan-  
delingen.

### Milosevic had in de afgelopen tijd, aan de hand van getuigen, een ongelooftelijke ravage aangericht onder de resterende aanklachten

brak tegen hem een *sound case*.  
Dat werd er, voor het tribunaal,  
alleen nog maar veel slechter op  
toen Milosevic eindelijk aan de  
beurt kwam om zijn verdedi-  
ging te presenteren. Wat als ver-  
slaggevers vermomde tribunaal-  
aanhouders zorgvuldig voor het  
grote publiek hebben weten af  
te schermen, is dat Milosevic in  
de afgelopen tijd, aan de hand  
van getuigen, een ongelooftelijke  
ravage heeft aangericht onder  
wat nog van de aanklachten

gebaseerd op, en onderling ver-  
bonden door, de centrale be-  
schuldiging dat Milosevic, als lei-  
der van een criminele organisa-  
tie, bij alles een streven naar de  
vestiging van een Groot-Servie  
voor ogen had gehad.  
Maar de ravage werd al snel nog  
groter. En begon zich nu, als  
een boemerang, tegen zijn wes-  
terse beschuldigers zelf te ke-  
ren. Zo leverde Milosevic, op-  
nieuw aan de hand van veelal  
westerse getuigen, krachtige be-  
wijzen dat er van een humanitari-  
stijf 'an-tax' 'lisa' 'kago' aan

Hebben 'ze' Milosevic niet ge-  
dood, dan hebben ze hem in elk  
geval de dood ingejaagd. Straf-  
klachten tegen de verantwoordel-  
ijke tribunaalfunctionarissen  
zullen dan ook niet uitblijven

Mr. N.M.P. Steijnen heeft als advo-  
caat

## Milosevic's coffin on display in Serbian capital

BBC Monitoring Europe (Political) - March 16, 2006, Thursday

*Excerpt from report by Belgrade-based private BKTV on 16 March*

[Presenter] The coffin with the body of Slobodan Milosevic will be on display at the Museum of the Revolution from midday [1100 gmt] today.

[Passage omitted]

[Reporter] Well, the museum door will open in a few minutes and some 200 people who have gathered here to pay their respects to former Yugoslav and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic will be able to enter the museum. One of the members of the organizing committee, Aleksandar Vulin, is here with me. Mr Vulin, could you tell us how this procession will look and for how much longer will citizens be able to see our president?

[Vulin] Well, President Milosevic's coffin will be on display, on a podium, state flags will be there, of course. He is a president [changes thought]; he was the president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Serbia for 13 years. Anything less than this would be dishonourable, would be a shame, it would not be worthy of him and us whose president he was and is. Citizens will march past the coffin, of course, in silence and with respect, visit their president and pay their last respects to him in that way. His body will be on display for two days here, at the Museum of the Revolution, which, of course, is not a coincidence, and, of course, the symbolism is of the right kind he is the continuation of the great and glorious revolution, and above all, this nations' desire for freedom.

[Passage omitted]

[Vulin] A big, massive and public farewell will be organized outside the federal parliament building [at 1100 gmt on Saturday 18 March]. We believe that citizens have the right to pay their respects, and the funeral will be held in Pozarevac not because there was no other venue, nor have we sought any favours from petty and miserable people such as [Belgrade Mayor Nenad] Bogdanovic and [Serbian President Boris] Tadic, people whose names will not go down in history, certainly not as the name of Slobodan Milosevic. This was his wish, and this is a wish his family respects, that he be buried in the place he liked the most.

[Reporter] Will his family members attend the funeral?

[Vulin] We expect them, we expect them and let us hope they will be able to come and we hope they will [words indistinct].

---

Source: BKTV, Belgrade, in Serbian 1155 gmt 16 Mar 06

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## **Serbian town consents to Milosevic burial in family front yard**

BBC Monitoring Europe (Political) - March 16, 2006, Thursday

*Excerpt from report by Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA*

Pozarevac, 16 March: The Municipal Assembly [MA] of Pozarevac today approved the request that former Serbian and SRJ [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, FRY] President Milosevic be buried in the front yard of his family home in 41 Nemanjina Street in [his hometown of] Pozarevac.

It was also decided that the day of Milosevic's funeral, 18 March, be declared a day of mourning for the municipality of Pozarevac area.

A 32-member funeral committee has been formed and will be headed by the president of the Pozarevac Socialists, Miomir Ilic.

Milosevic's body will be placed on public display in the Pozarevac MA building, for citizens who wish to do so to bid him last farewell.

[Passage omitted: already covered]

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Source: SRNA news agency, Bijeljina, in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian 1040 gmt 16 Mar 06

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**Sagittarius**

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**Van:** "Ian Johnson" <i-  
**Aan:** <Undisclosed-Recipient;>  
**Verzonden:** donderdag 16 maart 2006 21:15  
**Onderwerp:** CDSM: Hague Prisoners in Protest.

**Hague detainees "do not feel safe" after Milosevic's death - Serbian paper**

BBC Monitoring Europe (Political) - March 15, 2006, Wednesday

*Text of report by Montenegrin Mina news agency on 15 March*

The Hague: Yesterday, the Hague [tribunal] detainees of all nationalities began a protest in the Scheveningen detention unit. They want a special commission to check the conditions in which they live and the level of health care.

According to the Glas Javnosti paper [from Serbia], they want the United Nations Security Council, which set up the international court for war crimes, to form an independent commission which will supervise the conditions in Scheveningen.

Following Slobodan Milosevic's death, the Hague detainees do not feel safe, the paper's sources say.

"The detainees have doubts about the circumstances in which Milosevic died and they fear for their safety. They are all under stress and in shock due to his death."

"Many of them suspect that they are being poisoned," a well-informed source said, not excluding the possibility of the detainees starting a hunger strike.

[Former Croatian Serb leader] Milan Martić requested two days ago that his trial be postponed. He said that he was under stress and that he was not well enough for the trial.

"I am ill. I want a doctor to examine me and I want my food to be tested," Martić said.

---

Source: Mina news agency, Podgorica, in Serbian 0849 gmt 15 Mar 06

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Sagittarius

**Van:** "Sagittarius" <sagitar@hetnet.nl>  
**Aan:** "NRC Opinie" <opinie@nrc.nl>  
**Verzonden:** donderdag 16 maart 2006 16:23  
**Onderwerp:** Re: kan je deze namens mij doorsturen, heb gegevens  
 Geachte heer Leijendekker,

Indien u vindt dat u OF het alleenrecht toekomt over een opiniestuk, OF van verdere aandacht daarvoor in de NRC geen sprake kan zijn, dan moge dat uw opvatting zijn.

Mijn ervaring is overigens dat lang niet alle krantenredacties er zo over denken.

Laat ik het zo stellen, voor mensen die een geschreven opinie hier te lande te berde willen brengen over een actueel thema heerst er onverbiddelijke schaarste omtrent mogelijkheden daartoe. Talloos zijn de keren dat ikzelf, dan wel mensen in mijn omgeving die op dat moment toch heus belangwekkende opinies te berde hadden te brengen over een belangwekkend actueel onderwerp, en die ook overigens zeer wel in staat zijn om die opinie in een lezenswaardige vorm te gieten, een artikel aanboden aan de een of andere courant - en u weet dat met het schrijven van een goed onderbouwd artikel een hoop tijd gemoeid kan zijn -, waarvan het uiteindelijke resultaat alleen maar een afwijzing was. Na zo'n afwijzingsbericht was dan ook vaak inmiddels al zo ongeveer de actualiteitswaarde verstreken, zodat het weinig zin had om het dan vervolgens ook nog aan andere kranten aan te bieden. Veel verloren moeite dus, gelet op de beperkte houdbaarheidsdatum.

Ik heb dan ook ook De Gelderlander benaderd met het betrokken stuk. Uw vermeende belang staat hier tegenover het mijne. Vermeend, want ik zie niet in hoe de NRC hierdoor geschaad zou zijn.

Ik begrijp dat u hieraan bepaalde sancties wenst te verbinden door mij, vooralsnog, verder uit te bannen uit de opiniekolommen.

Die aankondiging brengt mij ertoe om u aan te zeggen dat ik, van mijn kant, vooralsnog, voortaan uw krant zal weten te mijden als het op nieuwsvoorziening aankomt.

hoogachtend,

N.M.P. Steijnen

— Original Message —

**From:** NRC Opinie  
**To:** Sagittarius  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 16, 2006 10:58 AM  
**Subject:** FW: kan je deze namens mij doorsturen, heb gegevens niet

Geachte heer Steijnen,

Met verbazing en ergernis heb ik gemerkt dat u het stuk over Milosevic dat u ons had aangeboden, ook naar De Gelderlander heeft gestuurd. U heeft ons daarvan niet op de hoogte gesteld, hoewel we gisteren rond 12 uur u hebben verteld dat we uw artikel de volgende dag zouden plaatsen. Ik vind dat onbehoorlijk.

Om praktische redenen is het helaas niet meer mogelijk om van onze plannen af te wijken. Wij zullen echter vooalsnog geen nieuwe artikelen van u plaatsen.

Hoogachtend,

Marc Leijendekker  
 chef Opinie NRC Handelsblad

**Van:** "Ian Johnson" <i-  
**Aan:** <Undisclosed-Recipient:>  
**Verzonden:** donderdag 16 maart 2006 3:01  
**Onderwerp:** CDSM: Quiz  
\*\*Please note the website of CDSM-UK is [www.free-slobo-uk.org](http://www.free-slobo-uk.org)

Here are two items courtesy of journalist Neil Clark's blog.

## QUIZ

Here's three quotes from Yugoslav politicians.

1. 'Socialism, in particular, being a progressive and just society, should not allow people to be divided by national or religious identity'.

2. 'I would never allow a Serb, Jew or gypsy to marry into my family'

3. 'The first and most important lesson from the Koran is the impossibility of any connection between Islamic and non-Islamic systems'

Which one of those statements do you agree with ? Yes, I thought so. Me too. It's by Milosevic.  
Which two leaders did the West side with? Yes, the ones who came out with Quotes Two and Three.

---

## Who was the liar, Paddy?

Paddy Ashdown accusing someone else of being a liar is rather like Jose Mourinho accusing someone of being a bad loser. Yet incredibly, the former Imperial Consul of Bosnia did just that, in the Indie on Monday. The lies that Ashdown told when he testified at The Hague against Milosevic are on the public record- in the transcripts of the trial . He must obviously be banking, as all the other reptiles who have been queuing up to kick a dead man this week are, that no-one will ever bother to read them.

Here's my letter of response.

Dear Sir/Madam,

'His biggest advantage was the ability to lie straight into your face' says Paddy Ashdown of the late Slobodan Milosevic (Independent, 13th March 2006). But if readers would care to read the transcript of Ashdown's testimony to the Hague Tribunal, ([url: hague.bard.edu/past\\_video?09-2005.html](http://url:hague.bard.edu/past_video?09-2005.html)) they can come to their own conclusions as to who was doing the lying. Not long before his death, Milosevic showed a video in court in which Ashdown could be seen inspecting a Kosovan Liberation Army weapons cache. Ashdown could be heard promising he would 'do his best' to get the terrorist group assistance. 'The kind of closure' which Milosevic's death provides is extremely convenient for many people- not least Ashdown himself.

Yours faithfully,  
Neil Clark,

**Van:** "Sagittarius" <sagitar@hetnet.nl>  
**Aan:** "Ruza" <despot@tiscali.nl>; "Jan Cleton" <jancupido@hetnet.nl>; "redactie Targets" <redactie@targets.org>; <jbeentjes@mac.com>  
**Verzonden:** donderdag 16 maart 2006 18:24  
**Onderwerp:** WIJ EISEN EEN ONDERZOEK BIJ HET TRIBUNAAL DOOR DE NEDERLANDSE STAAT  
Beste mensen,

Zoals het er nu uitziet, lijkt het er niet op dat de Nederlandse Staat van plan is om een onderzoek in te stellen naar een eventuele moord op Milosevic door/vanwege het tribunaal.

Zoals jullie weten zal ik een aanklacht indienen tegen de tribunaal-functionarissen, maar niet vanwege moord. Ik zal ze aanklagen wegens het onderwerpen van Milosevic aan een wrede en onmenselijke behandeling in de zin van het Anti-Folterverdrag. Dit door Milosevic jarenlang een juiste medische bejegening te onthouden. Die aanklacht zal ik indienen als gemachtigde van Milosevic, met de specifieke opdracht om zijn mensenrechten hier in Nederland te verdedigen.

**MAAR LOS DAARVAN** moet er **IN ELK GEVAL** ook een officieel onderzoek komen naar zijn dood door de Nederlandse justitiële autoriteiten.

Om met kracht op zo'n onderzoek te kunnen aandringen, lijkt het me nodig dat zo'n officieel onderzoek in elk geval geëist wordt door een aantal organisaties/personen, die met mensenrechten en/of de verdediging van Joegoslavische belangen te maken hebben.

Zou het niet mogelijk zijn om, teneinde zo'n gemeenschappelijk front te vormen een comite op te richten dat, bijvoorbeeld, zou kunnen heten het **COMITE GERECHTIGHEID SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC** ?

Zo'n comité zou dan gevormd kunnen worden door mensen van Nedaist, die als persoon kenbaar kunnen maken dat ze aan zo'n comite hun naam verbinden (en de organisatie van Nedaist zelf, als het een rechtspersoon is), andere personen die achter Milosevic stonden in binnen- en buitenland, alsmede organisaties die achter hem stonden.

Roza zou, als ze daartoe tenminste nog de energie heeft na alle enerverende en uitputtende ontwikkelingen, het initiatief kunnen nemen om een oproep te doen uitgaan aan mensen van Nedaist en anderen om zich hier (als persoon/organisatie) achter te scharen.

Verder zou dan in het **COMITE GERECHTIGHEID SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC** kunnen deelnemen de Vereniging van Anti-Fascistische Oud-Verzetsstrijders/ Bond van Anti-Fascisten. Mankracht hoeven zij hier niet voor te leveren, alleen de naam van hun organisatie hoeven ze hieraan dan te verbinden.

Dat geldt ook voor de Stichting Joegoslavië die met Global Reflexion is verbonden. Nico V. zou hen kunnen vragen om aan dit comite eveneens hun naam te verbinden.

We kunnen dan op korte termijn allerlei mensenrechtenorganisaties in binnenland en buitenland per e-mail vragen om zich bij de eis van het comite aan te sluiten.

Ik stel dan ook voor dat de volgende brief verzonden wordt naar zoveel mogelijk organisaties en mensen die Milosevic ondersteunden:

**BESTE MENSEN,**

**ER MOETEN ONMIDDELIJK OFFICIELE ONDERZOEKEN KOMEN, MET WAARBORGEN VAN ONAFHANKELIJKHEID, NAAR DE DOOD VAN SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC IN DE CELLEN VAN HET JOEGOSLAVIE TRIBUNAAL. DERGELIJKE ONDERZOEKEN ZULLEN MOETEN WORDEN UITGEVOERD DOOR DE NEDERLANDSE JUSTITIELE AUTORITEITEN EN DE VERENIGDE NATIES.**

**HET ZIET ER THANS NAAR UIT DAT ZOWEL DE VN ALS DE NEDERLANDSE REGERING EROP UIT ZIJN OM IEDER DEUGDELIJK ONDERZOEK NAAR ZIJN DOOD ACHTERWEGE TE LATEN EN DAT ZE, BRUTAALWEG, GEWOON OVER WILLEN GAAN TOT DE ORDE VAN DE DAG.**

**DIE GELEGENHEID MOGEN ZE NIET KRIJGEN !**

DAAROM ROEPEN WIJ U OP, U PERSOONLIJK ZOWEL ALS UW ORGANISATIE, OM UW NAAM TE VERBINDEN AAN EEN OP TE RICHTEN COMITE DAT ZAL HETEN : "HET COMITE GERECHTIGHEID SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC".  
EEN COMITE DAT ZICH TOT TAAK ZAL STELLEN OM HET UITVOEREN VAN ONAFHANKELIJKE ONDERZOEKEN DOOR DE NEDERLANDSE REGERING EN DOOR DE VN NAAR ZIJN DOOD AF TE DWINGEN.  
SLUIT U AAN BIJ HET COMITE - ROEP ANDEREN OP OM HUN NAAM DAARAAN TE VERBINDEN.

De eis is simpel: de hier bedoelde officiële onderzoeken moeten er komen.

Hoe meer mensen/organisaties we weten te verenigen, hoe krachtiger ons geluid zal zijn.

Blijft de Nederlandse regering weigeren, dan kan mijn kantoor, op zeker moment, namens het comité ook een kort geding aanspannen tegen de Nederlandse Staat om ze een handje op weg te helpen.

Zullen we hier maar mee beginnen ?

Of moeten we eerst even op adem komen en weer moed verzamelen ?

Jullie moeten vandaag ook vooral de NRC kopen. Of De Gelderlander. Het artikel dat ik jullie al toestuurde over de tribunaal-moord op Milosevic staat daarin.

hartelijke groeten voor iedereen,

Nico Steijnen



Hoe goed  
ben jij  
ingeburgerd?  
Doe de test!



Vrouw  
de ma  
Goede

Auto's  
Banen  
Kleintjesmarkt

### NIEUWS

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Buitenland  
Economie  
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### SPECIALS

Uit  
Mijn Geld  
Diagnose  
Zorgstelsel  
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Aflankservice  
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vrijdag 17 maart 2006

## Vertrouwelijk dossier gaat open

DEN HAAG/BELGRADO - De Nederlandse autoriteiten die de dood van Slobodan Milosevic onderzoeken, krijgen toegang...



Een aanhanger van Milosevic kust het portret van de voormalige Joegoslavische leider. FOTO AP

... tot vertrouwelijke delen uit het dossier van het Joegoslavië-Tribunaal.

Hun verzoek daartoe werd gisteren ingewilligd door de strafkamer van het tribunaal. Onduidelijk is wie de Nederlandse autoriteiten zijn die inzage krijgen in het vertrouwelijke VN-dossier.

Het Openbaar Ministerie in Den Haag begeleidt het Nederlandse onderzoek naar de dood van de

ex-president van Servië en Joegoslavië. Daartoe behoort een toxicologische studie in het Nederlands Forensisch Instituut (NFI). De vraag of daarvoor vertrouwelijke delen uit het dossier-Milosevic nodig zijn, bleef gisteren onbeantwoord. Over eventuele andere aspecten van het Nederlandse onderzoek wilde een woordvoester geen mededelingen doen. Ook het tribunaal hulde zich in stilzwijgen.

Naast het Nederlandse onderzoek is er een intern tribunaalonderzoek naar de dood van Milosevic. Dat wordt geleid door de Australische rechter Kevin Parker.

In de Servische hoofdstad Belgrado stonden gisteren lange rijen voor het Museum van de Revolutie waar het lichaam van Milosevic ligt opgebaard. De kist waarin de voormalige leider ligt, is gesloten. Een Servische vlag bedekt de kist, die is versierd met rode rozen. Mensen krijgen twee dagen de tijd om afscheid te nemen van hun vroegere leider. Daarna wordt Milosevic naar zijn geboorteplaats Pozarevac vervoerd, waar hij morgen in besloten kring wordt begraven onder een honderd jaar oude linde. Volgens vrienden van Milosevic bracht hij onder die boom veel tijd door met zijn vrouw, Mira Markovic. Nog steeds is onduidelijk of zij bij de begrafenis zal zijn. Een functionaris van Milosevic' partij zei gisteren tegen persbureau Beta dat Markovic, die in Moskou woont, wel komt. In Servië wordt zij gezocht voor fraude.

PRINT

REAGEER

SEND A FRIEND

### REACTIES

ik hoe het dossier niet in te zien hij heeft het zelf opgelost, prima  
rommens - raamsdonksveer - 19/03/06 - 16:43:44

J.a. van Marion, wat zeg je nou eigenlijk. Ik kan er geen touw aan vast knopen. Is dit belgisch of kan je gewoon niet typen?

N. - O. - 18/03/06 - 18:14:12

### MEEST G

- 1 'Fat Man v
- 2 Geldgebre
- 3 Protest in
- 4 'Groot resj
- 5 Leven tot l

### Hoe goed ben test!

Bent jij eigenlijk v de proef op de s officiële test.

LEES MEER

### Ondertussen



### AD TV

#### Buitenland Ni



13:15 7 Dode  
Brazilië

13:00 Oproer  
schoon

09:23 Franse  
de stra.

### AD RADIO

#### BUITENLAND

12:03 Twijfels  
24-3-06

07:38 Paus ir

05:16 Staakt-

het joegoslavie tribinaal heeft de brief op internet gezet dan kan ik inderdaad z'n link maakt kantonrechter scheel mulder maar voor de pres ben ik nog even pretig gestort onbegrijpelijk ect want er staat milosevic heeft op bevel van rechter privilege gekreegen in de gevangins dat is moei prachtig maar ook zeer gevaarlijk dat tot zijn dood kan lijden van je moet strafloos toe dien dus ik zoek de rechter crimeel krijgen bijna geen toegang om zo iets de doen dus ik kijk naar een rechter die ten onrechte eens vriendelijk is geeft milosovic eens een privilege dus ik wacht onder zoek af maar die brief van het joegoslavie tribinaal denk ik toch link te leggen maar zo zoe iet heb je echt een rechter nodig dus de rechter die privilege geeft

**j.a.van marion** - antwerpen - 18/03/06 - 10:40:50

Doei, Milosevic, je moet op voorhand de groeten hebben van Jomanda. En ohja, u heeft er alleen voor gezorgd dat mijn kleinkinderen weer worden geëxamineerd in een extra paragraafje in hun geschiedenisboekje. En ik maar overhoren, straks. Waarvoor dank...

**Albertsma** - Weesp - 17/03/06 - 17:07:50

#### MEER BUITENLAND

13:22 **VS akkoord met Bulgarije over militaire bases**

Grand  
Manag  
2006

Schrij  
nu in  
win

17 maart  
Holthuisda pers-  
courier-  
Sagittarius TIE  
RAPPOR MET SCHAKELUR STOTTEK  
RIFAMPICINE IN ZYV BLOED. TER KENNISGE  
WAS "NO REASON FOR ALARM" 2195 Holthuis  
"BECAUSE WHE  
KNEW THE  
EFFECTS RIFAMPICINE"  
TER KENNIS GE BRACHT VAN  
HET TRIBUNAAL  
→ DAT HEEFT NIETS  
GEDAAN.  
→ VOLGENS HOLT HUIS  
DOORS IN NUTIK KON EN NIET JA ENIGETJD

Van: "Jan Beentjes" <jbeentjes@mac.com>  
Aan: "Nico Steijnen" <sagitar@hetnet.nl>  
Verzonden: vrijdag 17 maart 2006 11:03  
Onderwerp: Fwd: [Free\_iraq] Fw: MILOSEVIC'S DEATH: A Political Assassination Blamed on the  
Nico,  
Misschien goed voor je zaak tegen de moordenaars van Milosevic  
Jan

Begin doorgestuurd bericht:

REASON FOR  
CONCERN

Van: ILPS Info Bureau <info@ilps2001.com>  
Datum: 16 maart 2006 6:24:14 GMT+01:00  
Aan: free\_iraq@lists.ilps-news.com, ILPS European discussion list <euro-discuss@lists.ilps-news.com>, ILPS Info Bureau List <info-bureau@lists.ilps-news.com>, mr2004 <mr2004@lists.ilps-news.com>, no2us\_bascs-discussion@lists.ilps-news.com  
Onderwerp: [Free\_iraq] Fw: MILOSEVIC'S DEATH: A Political Assassination Blamed on the Victim  
Antwoord aan: ILPS Info Bureau <info@ilps2001.com>

From: "Sara Flounders" <sara@wwpublish.com>  
MILOSEVIC'S DEATH: A POLITICAL ASSASSINATION BLAMED ON THE VICTIM

By Sara Flounders  
Co-Director, International Action Center

In the summer of 2004 I met with former Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic in Scheveningen prison when I was approved as a defense witness. Before I could get in, I had to pass four totally separate check points, unable to take in anything but papers. Each level of security was more rigid than the one before.

No one who has met with President Milosevic over the past four years would believe he would risk killing himself rather than finishing his trial. And no one who visited Scheveningen in The Hague would believe the outlandish claims that somehow he was able to smuggle in un-prescribed medications on a regular basis. They would instead suspect that the authorities were desperately trying to cover up their own crimes.

My role as witness was based on my trip to Yugoslavia in the spring of 1999, during the 78-day U.S./NATO bombing. I visited bombed schools, hospitals, heating plants and market places, recording the harm done to civilians. In addition, I had written since 1993 on the behind-the-scenes U.S. role in the strangulation and forced dismemberment of Yugoslavia.

Even after my name was accepted as a defense witness, it was a complicated and lengthy procedure to make the visit. Though all was approved on the day of the visit, it still took four hours to get through the checkpoints into the special unit inside the prison where the defendants for the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) were kept totally segregated from general population and closely monitored.

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taking to control his high blood pressure. How did this medicine, rifampicin, get into Milosevic's system? He was held in a maximum security prison in triple lock down in a special contained unit within a larger Dutch prison once used by the Nazis to detain Dutch resistance fighters.

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Each time Milosevic was too sick to continue in court, the prosecution moved to impose counsel and to take away the prisoner's right to present his own defense. Milosevic was determined to use the trial as a platform to defend not only himself but the people of Yugoslavia, and to indict the U.S., Germany and the NATO powers for their role in the criminal destruction of his country. He welcomed the trial as the only platform where he could make the historical record. In his words to the court he constantly described why, despite his bad health, he was determined to continue.

When I met Milosevic it was in the special room that was the only place where the ICTY allowed him to work or have the court papers to prepare for his defense. Whenever his blood pressure rose and he was unable to continue the court sessions, he was also barred from any access to his defense materials.

During each step of the trial Milosevic's cardiovascular problems, especially his high blood pressure had resulted in several delays in the trial. At each step the ICTY officials tried to use the issue of his health in constant efforts to deny him the right to conduct his own defense. Neither the illness nor the delays helped his defense.

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Despite the life-threatening cardiovascular risk raised in every dispute with the prosecution, tribunal officials refused even to secure regular check-ups of the president's health condition. They also denied access for months to specialists who were willing to come to Scheveningen, delaying his care.

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The ICTY's handling of President Milosevic's death has been like its handling of the entire trial: an attempt to blame the victim for the crime.

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When Milosevic discussed the trial with me, his scope of historical knowledge, his energy despite his illness, cut through my own jet-lag and fatigue from the four-hour entrance hurdle and allowed us to finish the interview with enthusiasm for the next step of the tribunal.

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**Sagittarius**

**Van:** "Ian Johnson" <i-johnson@lineone.net>  
**Aan:** <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>  
**Verzonden:** vrijdag 17 maart 2006 20:05  
**Bijlage:** Transcript of SKY News Interview by Misha Gavrilovic.doc  
**Onderwerp:** CDSM: Transcript of SKY News Interview by Misha Gavrilovic - Saturday, 12 March

Subject: FW: Transcript of SKY News Interview by Misha Gavrilovic - Saturday, 12 March 2006

Prilazem transkripciju mog nastupa na Skaj Njuzu, neposredno posle objavljivanja vesti da Predsednik SR Jugoslavije nije vise sa nama. Neka mu je laka Srpska zemlja.

Misa

Transcript of SKY News Interview by Misha Gavrilovic - Saturday, 12 March 2006

SKY

We are now joined by Misha Gavrilovic, a Serb exile, who is in fact from the Serbian Information Office here in London. Good afternoon to you. Your reaction please.

MG:

I don't think that Mr Milosevic has simply died - in my view he has been murdered. He has not been given appropriate care and he has died in detention and in the condition of a convict in what is to me clearly a NATO court. By the way I was there last week with the British parliamentarian Alice Mahon, who actually testified. It now turns out that she was the last person to testify in his defence.

SKY

According to Lord Ashdown to whom I have spoken earlier, he would have been given every possible medical care in The Hague and we are aware that his condition is very well known.

MG:

Every possible care by Nato countries that have dropped the equivalent of three Hiroshima bombs on his own country. Yes indeed. Mr Milosevic wanted medical care from his own doctor he - he does have one - he wanted medical care and attention from doctors outside NATO countries because this has been a political trial right from the beginning to the end. And now he is dead, murdered in a NATO country, the Netherlands, where he has been charged by Nato countries and tried by NATO countries.

SKY

Let me just give you if I may the reaction of the Albanian Prime Minister, that of Mr Milosevic, in his words: "God gives his verdict to the Balkan butcher".

MG:

... there we are. He is entitled to his opinion. Tied to his own statement. The man has not been sentenced in any way but everybody knows that he is already a convict. Wonderful, wonderful Western Justice. Shall I just say that in my view, I followed the trial very carefully - you and other Western media have not shown it - but he has won his case in the first two days of appearance. It is quite clear who has aggressed against Yugoslavia - it was an inter-continental aggression led by the United States, in much the same way as they have now aggressed against Iraq. Mr Milosevic was simply defending his country against the NATO aggression.

SKY

Defending his country by ethnic cleansing?

MG:

The largest number of people cleansed have been Serbs. They have been cleansed by NATO action in Kosovo and the United States action in the Krajina. It is something the Western media have unfortunately managed not to report on. The largest number of ethnically cleansed (people in Europe are Serbs)

(note: the last part of the sentence partially drowned out by presenter trying to interrupt)

SKY

I will stop you here. Western media, particularly SKY news, was given access to all sides during the Balkan conflict because we were taken to be independent, fair and unbiased in the way we were reporting.

MG:

That is what I have been hearing for the last 15 years, but I have a different view and I have appeared on many occasions on your program. You may merely have been somewhat better than other Western agencies like CNN notably. That sort of credit I will give you. But no, you cannot be independent and neutral when actually you operate in a country which is clearly an aggressor. Can we be clear - The United Kingdom has now been at war, for the first time since 1945, and it has been at war with Serbia and it has together with others dropped three Hiroshima bombs.

SKY

The war with Serbia was of course NATO's sanction was it not? Therefore you are, I assume, by your words condemning the entirety of NATO.

MG:

Absolutely. The biggest war crime that can be carried out under International Law is aggression against another country and that is precisely what NATO countries, acting against NATO's own laws and the laws of the United Nations - breaking its Charter, have actually committed back in 1999 and since then.

SKY

Your view is obviously very much at variance with many that we have had to day but you will I am sure give us credit for giving you the opportunity to place in public domain here on SKY news. Misha Gavrilovic, thank you very much for joining us.

MG:

<Undisclosed-Recipient:>  
Verzonden: vrijdag 17 maart 2006 20:10  
Onderwerp: CDSM: Milosevic's Death: A Political Assassination - Sara

International Action Center

## **MILOSEVIC'S DEATH: A POLITICAL ASSASSINATION BLAMED ON THE VICTIM**

By Sara Flounders  
Co-Director, International Action Center, NYC

March 16, 2006—In the summer of 2004 I met with former Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic in Scheveningen prison when I was approved as a defense witness. Before I could get in, I had to pass four totally separate check points, unable to take in anything but papers. Each level of security was more rigid than the one before.

No one who has met with President Milosevic over the past four years would believe he would risk killing himself rather than finishing his trial. And no one who visited Scheveningen in The Hague would believe the outlandish claims that somehow he was able to smuggle in un-prescribed medications on a regular basis. They would instead suspect that the authorities were desperately trying to cover up their own crimes.

My role as witness was based on my trip to Yugoslavia in the spring of 1999, during the 78-day U.S./NATO bombing. I visited bombed schools, hospitals, heating plants and market places, recording the harm done to civilians. In addition, I had written since 1993 on the behind-the-scenes U.S. role in the strangulation and forced dismemberment of Yugoslavia.

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### **WHERE DID RIFAMPICIN COME FROM?**

Now the Dutch authorities claim that Milosevic was taking a rare, difficult-to-acquire antibiotic used to treat leprosy or tuberculosis that has the unique ability to counteract the medicine he was taking to control his high blood pressure. How did this medicine, rifampicin, get into Milosevic's system? He was held in a maximum security prison in triple lock down in a special contained unit within a larger Dutch prison once used by the Nazis to detain Dutch resistance fighters.

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18-3-06

At a time Milosevic was too sick to continue in court, the prosecution moved to impose counsel and to take away the prisoner's right to present his own defense. Milosevic was determined to use the trial as a platform to defend not only himself but the people of Yugoslavia, and to indict the U.S., Germany and the NATO powers for their role in the criminal destruction of his country. He welcomed the trial as the only platform where he could make the historical record. In his words to the court he constantly described why, despite his bad health, he was determined to continue.

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*The Defense Speaks – For History and the Future* can be ordered directly from [Leftbooks.com](http://Leftbooks.com)

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## OVER DE DOOD VAN MILOSEVIC

17 maart 2006

Aan een aantal vrienden en andere mogelijke belangstellenden.

Beste mensen,

Na de dood van Milosevic is het weer een en al de bekende anti-Servische rethoriek die de klok slaat. Die alle westerse media-vertegenwoordigers en politici elkaar na-papegaaien. Ondertussen vooral de feiten negerend.

Over die, voor iedereen kenbare feiten, heb ik een artikel geschreven dat, ingekort en bijgeschoren, een aantal kranten heeft gehaald. Zie bijgaand.

Een passage die daarbij in alle kranten systematisch is weggelaten, is de passage waarin ik een vergelijking trok tussen de oorlog tegen Irak en de 1999 NAVO-oorlog tegen Joegoslavië. En waarin ik stelde dat IEDEREEN (99.9%) hier in het Westen indertijd, op het verkeerde been gezet door de westerse media en politici, vast geloofde dat Saddam Hoessein massavernietigingswapens had, die een oorlog tegen Irak moesten rechtvaardigen. Een leugen die toen zichzelf heeft ontmaskerd. Terwijl de NAVO-oorlog tegen het Joegoslavië van Milosevic net zozeer op leugens was gebaseerd. Alleen worden DIE leugens, tot de dag van vandaag, hier in het Westen met kracht overeind gehouden.

Het Joegoslavië tribunaal was opgericht als een westers instrument om die leugens verder een 'juridische' basis te geven. En het proces tegen Milosevic moest dienen om die leugens hun definitieve beslag te doen krijgen.

Alleen had men, met de persoon van Milosevic, buiten de waard gerekend. Hij nam het, op zijn eentje, op tegen het hele tribunaal. En hij KON dat ook doen, omdat hij de waarheid aan zijn kant had.

Over het 'proces van de eeuw' daalde dan ook al snel een grote media-stilte neer. Want het ging er NIET goed mee, vanuit westers perspectief gezien. In feite stond niet Milosevic, op de duur, meer daar terecht, maar de NAVO en de westerse leugens.

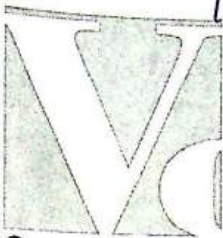
Met het definitief tot zwijgen brengen van Milosevic, die zelf absoluut nog niet 'uitverteld' was, waren dan ook grote westerse (NAVO-) belangen gemoeid.

hartelijke groeten,

Nico

# Tribunaal schiet tekort

17-3-2006



## Commentaar

Zes dagen geleden overleed Slobodan Milosevic, morgen wordt hij begraven in zijn geboorteplaats Pozarevac. Helaas is het Joegoslavië-Tribunaal er nog niet in geslaagd volledige helderheid te verschaffen over de omstandigheden waaronder hij de dood heeft gevonden. Het wachten is nog steeds op de resultaten van het toxicologisch onderzoek. En wat het pijnlijkst is: het VN-hof wekt vooralsnog niet de indruk met de onverkwikkelijke gang van zaken in zijn maag te zitten en een serieuze doorlichting van de detentiepraktijk in Scheveningen als een urgente opdracht te zien.

Tekenend is het optreden van hoofdaanklaagster Carla Del Ponte. Na het overlijden van Milosevic noemde ze het voor het gezag en de taakvervulling van het Joegoslavië-Tribunaal gewichtiger dan ooit dat Radovan Karadzic en Ratko Mladic worden gearresteerd en met een enkele reis naar Den Haag komen. Natuurlijk is en blijft berechting geboden van de twee Bosnisch-Servische leiders, die in het bijzonder verantwoordelijk waren voor de slachting in Srebrenica. Maar voor het aanzien van het Tribunaal is thans een bezinning op het eigen functioneren evenzeer van belang.

Een gebaar in die richting had Del Ponte, wier jachtinstinct duidelijk sterker is ontwikkeld dan haar leidinggevende kwaliteiten en wier herbenoeming in 2003 niet geheel probleemloos was, bepaald niet mistaan. Zij heeft bij uitstek de beslissing doorgedreven om geen gerichte, maar een alomvattende aanklacht tegen Milosevic in te dienen. Dit gebrek aan maatvoering is er mede de oorzaak van dat het proces zich zo lang heeft voortgesleept en het aanzien van het Tribunaal schade heeft opgelopen.

Uit wat inmiddels bekend is geworden over het gevangenisregime in Scheveningen, kan worden afgeleid dat het toezicht op Milosevic en zijn bezoekers allesbehalve strikt was. Er stonden geen camera's opgesteld in het kantoor waar hij zich voorbereidde op zijn verdediging, en wie hem daar bezocht, werd slechts oppervlakkig gefouilleerd. Dat veranderde ook niet toen in zijn bloed stoffen werden aangetroffen die er niet hoorden en die het vermoeden wekten dat hij al dan niet bewust iets slikte dat de medicijnen tegen zijn hoge bloeddruk neutraliseerde. Ook de zelfmoord van Milan Babic, een week voor de dood van Milosevic, was kennelijk geen reden voor verscherpt toezicht. Evenmin werd de medische controle opgevoerd.

Dit alles maakt een weinig solide indruk. En het wordt er niet beter op wanneer functionarissen op de relativiserende toer gaan en erop wijzen dat het binnensmokkelen van verboden middelen nu eenmaal veel voorkomt. Milosevic was de superbeklaagde van het tribunaal. Er hing veel af van een succesvolle afhandeling van zijn zaak, ook voor de politieke toekomst van de Balkan. Dit had moeten aanzetten tot uiterste zorgvuldigheid in de detentiepraktijk. Het is te hopen dat het tribunaal die les alsnog trekt en zich vanwege het VN-embleem niet boven kritiek verheven acht.

**Sagittarius**

**Van:** "Ilan Johnson" <i-johnson@lineone.net>  
**Aan:** <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>  
**Verzonden:** vrijdag 17 maart 2006 19:56  
**Onderwerp:** CDSM:Statement from ICDSM Prsss Conference 14th March

**STATEMENT OF TIPHAINE DICKSON, LEGAL SPOKESPERSON OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE TO DEFEND SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC, AT THE ICDSM PRESS CONFERENCE HELD AT THE BELAIR TULIP IN THE HAGUE, NETHERLANDS, MARCH 14th, 2006.**

This press conference was initially planned last week, to present a request signed by well-known jurists, including the former Attorney General of the United States, Mr. Ramsey Clark, and prominent political figures, including a member of the Russian Duma, the Czech Parliament as well as the European Parliament, which was filed last Friday with the Security Council of the United Nations as well as the Appeals Chamber of the ICTY, to direct the latter institution to permit President Milosevic to receive the specialized medical treatment his well-known and longstanding medical condition required at the Bakoulev Center in Moscow.

It obviously pains me to have made this last trip to The Hague without any hope that Slobodan Milosevic's health will ever be stabilized.

What an indecent end to a disgraceful process, starting on day one, when in a blaze of astonishing irony, the president of Yugoslavia was indicted by this body for allegations of crimes against Humanity in Kosovo, a claim backed by evidence so slender and biased that it was inversely proportional to its political and indeed its military charge.

The bombing itself—all 78 days of it—was executed in violation of international law, a classic case of aggression, held by the Nuremberg Tribunal to be the supreme international crime in that it holds within it the accumulated evil of all other war crimes.

That the NATO bombing was a violation of international law was acknowledged by Wesley Clark, to the US weekly The New Yorker, but that admission was deemed inadmissible before this Security Council institution, the ICTY. Mr Milosevic was prevented from raising General Clark's candid admission before this body, although it was so obviously germane to his defense.

NATO short-circuited the Security Council to bomb, yet instrumentalized a Security Council body to indict President Milosevic and kept bombing, as the Prosecutor announced that because of the indictment of the President of the country being bombed in violation of international law, the president, the representative of his people, was no longer a suitable guarantor in any peace negotiations.

Disgraceful from the start.

And so it went, with President Milosevic's removal from then Yugoslavia, without as much as a court order to the director of the Belgrade jail in which he was being held, and in violation of a decision by Yugoslavia's constitutional court.

And it ground on, with every single request for provisional release, based on his ill-health, denied.

Was the presumption that President Milosevic would abscond? Such a conclusion is preposterous, as in four years, he made clear his tireless commitment to defending himself, and above all he demonstrated his unrelenting passion for setting out the facts about the dismemberment of Yugoslavia.

His commitment to presenting his case, that there were no Balkan wars but indeed one war, waged against Yugoslavia, was evident for all to observe.

This was most obvious when President Milosevic was poised to begin his defense in late August 2004. His health was better than it became in recent months, yet, incredibly, Dr. Falke, the ICTY prison doctor, reported that Slobodan Milosevic would not have the ability to represent himself in the proceedings against him.

Contrast this finding—a matter of law, which in any event, a medical practitioner is not entitled to determine—with the trial Chamber's subsequent findings questioning the necessity of specialized medical care in Moscow.

Contradictory positions with a common thread: the violation of the rights of an accused person.

That Pavle Strugar, accused before the ICTY, may receive hip replacement surgery—a minor procedure—based on the guarantees of Montenegro, seems absurdly inconsistent with the denial of complex vascular and cardiac care in a renowned specialized facility in Russia, a permanent member of the Security Council.

I can tell you that President Milosevic was hoping that our letter to the Security Council and to the Trial Chamber would be persuasive, and that this press conference could help him receive treatment so that he could finish his defense without fear of a hypertensive crisis or constant ringing in his ears.

But that is not to be.

Our hope is that the confidentiality of all medical records, doctors' notes, prescription protocols and records, as well as test results be waived and be available for scrutiny and for discussion, without exception.

We will shortly be requesting that the Secretary-General of the UN, Kofi Annan, waive the civil and criminal immunity of certain individuals who by systematic neglect, potential medical malpractice, or worse, precipitated the death of a man, who even in death, stands wrongfully accused of having been its cause.

We hope, and are fully confident that the truth will emerge.

## **Slobodan Milosevic to be buried in his hometown**

ITAR Tass - 18.03.2006, 06.09

BELGRADE, March 18 (Itar-Tass) – Slobodan Milosevic will be buried in his hometown of Pozarevac, 50 kilometers southeast of Belgrade, on Saturday.

The Socialist Party of Serbia has called on the country's people to pay the last respects to their late leader. The Socialists say some 200,000 local residents and 40 foreign delegations may be present at the ceremony in Belgrade. The funeral in Pozarevac may gather 70,000 to 80,000, the town's authorities have said.

At noon Moscow time Milosevic's body will be taken out of the Revolution Museum building, where it has lain in state for the past few days, and brought to the square in front of the Serbia-Montenegro parliament. The official farewell ceremony will begin at 14:00 Moscow time. The funeral motorcade will proceed to Pozarevac. At about 17:00 Moscow time the former Yugoslav leader will be buried in front of his home on a plot of land that belongs to his family.

None of Milosevic's close relatives will be able to attend.

"The security guarantees the Serb authorities have given to the relatives of the late leader are so uncertain that the presence of any of them at the funeral is impossible," the deputy leader of the Socialist Party of Serbia, Milorad Vucelic, appointed responsible for organizing the funeral, has told the media.

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Collignon  
18-3-2006



Laatste groet aan Slobodan Milosevic

BELGRADO, 18 MAART. Servische kinderen brachten gisteren bij het Museum van de Revolutie een groet aan de overleden ex-president Slobodan Milosevic, die vandaag in Belgrado wordt begraven. Het was tot het laatste moment twijfelachtig of iemand van de naaste familie de begrafenis zou bijwonen. Tegen de naar het buitenland uitgeweken weduwe en dochter lopen in Servië aanklachten. (Foto Reuters) Pagina 5

# Milosevic sterft aan hartinfarct

## Weinig rouw om Servische ex-president, wel om einde van zijn proces

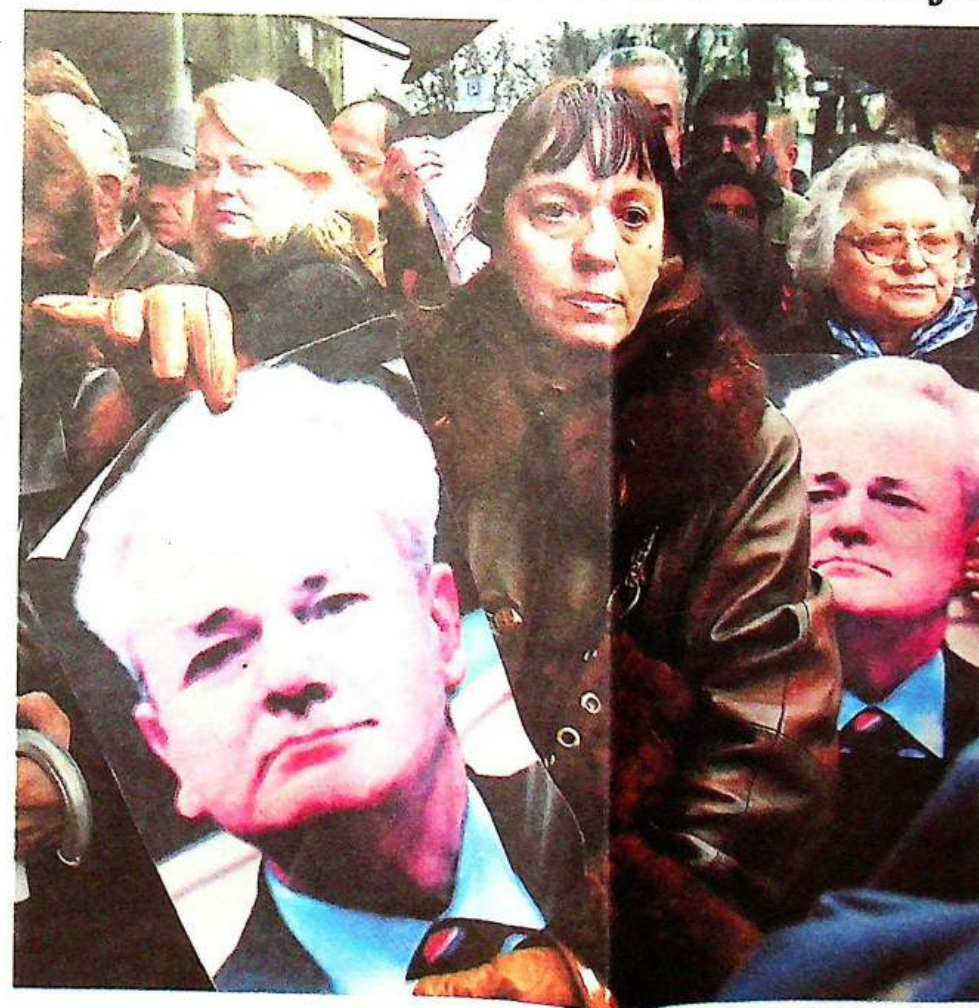
Van onze redactie buitenland

De Joegoslavische ex-president Slobodan Milosevic is zaterdag overleden aan een hartinfarct. Dat is de 'voorlopige uitkomst' van de autopsie die gisteren is verricht.

Milosevic werd zaterdagochtend kort na negen uur dood aangetroffen in zijn cel in Scheveningen. Hij stond terecht voor het Joegoslavië-Tribunaal op verdenking van genocide en oorlogsmisdaden. Gisteravond hielden artsen in in het Nederlands Forensisch Instituut (NFI) in Den Haag een lijkschouwing om de doodsoorzaak vast te stellen, in aanwezigheid van onder anderen twee pathologen uit Servië-Montenegro. De hele procedure werd bovendien gefilmd om vast te leggen dat er niet werd gemanipuleerd.

De autopsie werd met spanning afgewacht, want het hele weekeinde gonsde het al van de geruchten over een mogelijk 'onnatuurlijke dood' van de ex-president. Hoewel Milosevic al jaren hartklachten en een hoge bloeddruk had, stelde gisteren met name de advocaat van Milosevic, Zdenko Tomanovic, dat de voormalige president van Joegoslavië bang was geweest voor vergiftiging. Uit onderzoek in januari, zo had Milosevic geschreven aan de Russische ambassade, zou zijn gebleken dat hij stoffen in zijn bloed had die afkomstig waren van medicijnen tegen lepra of tuberculose. Die zouden zijn medicijnen tegen hartklachten tegenwerken.

Gelijk deden ook speculaties de ronde dat Milosevic de gewraakte medicijnen zelf had ingenomen om langzaam zelfmoord te plegen, nu



Enkele aanhangers van Slobodan Milosevic houden in Belgrado diens portret omhoog. Hoewel er bij het hoofdkantoor van Milosevic' partij wel mensen kwamen opdagen om het condoleance-register te tekenen, bleek het merendeel van de Serviërs weinig begaan met het lot van de voormalige president. De herdenking van de moord op Zoran Djindjic, zaterdag drie jaar geleden, trok een grotere menigte. Internationaal was er vooral treurnis over het vroegtijdig afbreken van het proces tegen Milosevic, dat verhindert dat er een vonnis komt dat slachtoffers van de Balkanoorlogen had kunnen helpen met de verwerking. FOTO AFP

een vonnis in zijn rechtszaak steeds dichterbij kwam. Het proces, dat mede vanwege de slechte gezondheid van Milosevic als vier jaar duurde, naderde nu toch zijn einde. Onlangs weigerde het tribunaal hem voor medisch onderzoek naar Rusland te laten vertrekken.

De complottheorieën zijn vermoedelijk nog niet helemaal van de

baan, omdat de toxicologische resultaten van de lijkschouwing nog bekend moeten worden. Dat gebeurt de komende dagen.

De hoofdaanklagster van het Tribunaal, Carla del Ponte, vindt het zeer te betreuren dat het proces tegen Milosevic niet kan worden afge maakt. Ook de Nederlandse minister Bot noemde het ..treurig dat het

proces niet kan worden afgerond en dat is ook treurig voor de nabestaanden van de slachtoffers. Het was beter geweest als het recht zijn loop had gehad en vanuit historisch perspectief alles op tafel was gekomen." Waar Milosevic begraven wordt is onbekend.

Meer nieuws op pagina 2 en 3  
De Verdieping: necrologie Milosevic

ZAK

18-3-2006

ALS ZYN SLACHTOFFERS 'N BEETJE WILLEN OPSCHUIVEN KAN MILOSEVIC ER NOG NET BIJ



# Stelling | Dood Milosevic doet geen afbreuk aan waarde Tribunaal

Elke zaterdag schrijven Nausicaa Marbe en Oscar van den Boogaard een reactie op een actuele stelling. Deze week over de dood, vorige week zaterdag, van oud-president Milosevic in zijn Scheveningse VN-cel.

18-3-2006



Nausicaa Marbe (1963) is journalist en schrijver. FOTO STEFANA CARAMANICA

## Gevangenis VN heeft softe mores

Het went nooit, een misdadiger die zijn straf ontloopt. In een rechtsstaat is de verwachting van gerechtigheid vanzelfsprekend. Dat een verdachte als Milosevic – een staatshoofd beschuldigd van genocide – voor het Joegoslavië Tribunaal belandde, was al een triomf. Een historische kans. Die kans is met zijn dood verdwenen. Maar niet verspeeld.

Aanklager Del Ponte kan worden verweten dat ze het proces ondoorzichtig maakte en vertraagde. Maar was het Tribunaal gebaat bij haast en slordigheid? Uit de hallucinerende films van Emir Kusturica kunnen we opmaken dat Ser-

viërs kettingrokend en straalbezopen door het leven gaan. Geen toonbeelden van gezondheid. Maar is het Tribunaal ongeloofwaardig, omdat het de houdbaarheidsdatum van deze Serviër niet heeft berekend?

De Scheveningse gevangenis mag wel worden aangesproken op haar softe mores, waardoor Milosevic daar riant hof kon houden, voorzien van drank en dubieuze medicamenten. De vraag blijft overigens of kneveling van de lijvige Sloba in een potdichte bezemkast de rechtszaak had bevorderd.

Interessant is ook de complottheorie dat Milosevic vermoord is, omdat hij overtuigend bewijsmateriaal bezat over infiltratie door islamitische terroristen in voormalig Joegoslavië. Ook Bill Clinton, een door Milosevic begeerde getuige, verklaart in zijn autobiografie dat Bosnië op het nippertje ontsnapte aan een coup door de mujahedin.

Een geloofwaardig Tribunaal moet dat verder uitzoeken. Alle waarheidsvinding moet doorgaan. Het zal leiden tot vonnissen voor de andere oorlogsmisdadigers. Het is moeilijk een kersverse oorlog in een rechtszaak te persen, maar de ervaringen die zijn opgedaan, maken de noodzaak van het Tribunaal alleen maar duidelijker.

Tegelijkertijd worden de grenzen van de wet zichtbaar. Dictators zijn *larger than life*. Hun daden wekken gruwel én adoratie op. Ze zijn bedreven in het verduisteren of manipuleren van feiten – en van mensen. Zelfs Milosevic met zijn permanent slaapdronken kop had een charisma dat hem wellicht res-pijt opleverde.

Het recht heeft het zwaar te verduren tegenover zulke reuzen. Maar een alternatief bestaat niet.



Oscar van den Boogaard (1964) is schrijver. FOTO BART MICHIELSEN

## Milosevic misbruikte gezondheid

Een verdachte die voor zijn veroordeling sterft, blijft juridisch onschuldig. Voor de een is Milosevic een beul, voor de ander een held. Samenzwerings-theorieën bloeien. Milosevic is het slachtoffer van Den Haag. Zonder veroordeling kan hij als martelaar, die voor volk en vaderland zijn leven offerde, zijn ereplaats in de Servische mythologie verwerven.

In Den Haag deed de ex-president jarenlang alsof hij voor een gehele natie in het beklaagdenbankje zat. Hoewel er van zo'n collectieve schuld geen sprake kan zijn, wordt het met de dood van Milosevic wel moeilijk de schuld

aan de massamoorden en etnische zuiveringen te individualiseren.

Dat een veroordeling voor zijn dood niet tot stand kwam, is te wijten aan het Tribunaal in Den Haag. Waarom moesten 66 aanklachten (genocide, oorlogsmisdaden en misdaden tegen de menselijkheid) worden besproken? Wat is belangrijker, een veroordeling of de geschiedenis van de hele oorlog gedocumenteerd? Milosevic kon het proces gebruiken om propaganda voor zichzelf te maken. Zijn gezondheidstoestand misbruikte hij om zijn proces te vertragen.

Gezegd kan worden dat het VN-tribunaal nauwelijks ervaring had met zulke processen. En lovenswaardig is dat het het Tribunaal niet alleen om de veroordeling van de oud-president ging, maar ook om de waarheid van de gebeurtenissen in ex-Joegoslavië. Maar de waarheid van de Balkan hangt niet alleen van dit ene proces af. Er zijn nog meer Milosevicen. In plaats van zo veel energie voor die ene te gebruiken, zou het nog feller andere oorlogsmisdadigers hebben moeten zoeken. Het Tribunaal kan het goedmaken door Ratko Mladic en Radovan Karadzic nu zo snel mogelijk in Den Haag te krijgen.

Milosevic mocht sterven. Het Tribunaal was niet verantwoordelijk voor zijn leven. Wel voor zijn berechting. In naam van de mensheid. Het is nu aan de historici om het verhaal van de Balkanoorlog over te dragen. Aan ouders die het hun kinderen vertellen. Maar hoe goed beschreven ook, over een paar generaties zal de afschuif zijn uitgewerkt. Dan zullen andere dictators en beulen de mens herinneren aan de gruwel waartoe hij in staat is. Maar ook, dat vroeg of laat een gelouterd Tribunaal wacht.

18-3-2006

Milosevic

# Milosevic' grafsteen markeert ook zijn eerste kus

**Achtergrond** | Begrafenis van Joegoslavische oud-president in Pozarevac vormt de laatste aflevering van een familie-soap

De begrafenis van Slobodan Milosevic, vandaag in Pozarevac, is de slotaflevering van een familiesoap. Van geen der gezinsleden is zeker dat zij acte de présence zullen geven.

Milorad Vucelic, de oude trouweling van de familie Milosevic, die er eerst een staatsbegrafenis uit probeerde te slepen maar daarna uitweek naar Pozarevac, verklaarde goede hoop te hebben alle gezinsleden te kunnen verwelkomen in de tuin waar Slobodan en Mirjana elkaar in 1958 voor het eerst op de mond zoenden. Maar of hij gelijk krijgt?

De begrafenis is ook de slotaflevering van een tragische familiesoap. Geen van de gezinsleden heeft de afgelopen jaren voet gezet op Servische bodem. Er zijn diverse redenen waarom zij vandaag zouden kunnen wegblijven: angst voor de Servische justitie, angst voor criminele afrekeningen en - niet in de laatste plaats - angst elkaar tegen het lijf te lopen.

Weduwe Mirjana Markovic vloog in 2003, vlak voor de moord

op de Servische premier Zoran Djindjic (de man die haar echtgenoot op een enkele reis Den Haag had gezet), naar Moskou en keerde niet meer naar Servië terug. Zij is door de Servische justitie aangeklaagd in een relatief bescheiden corruptieschandaal. Omdat zij geen gehoor gaf aan oproepen voor de Belgradose districtsbank te verschijnen, vaardigde de Servische justitie een arrestatiebevel tegen haar uit via Interpol.

Dinsdag is dat ingetrokken, op voorwaarde dat Markovic bij de eerste hoorzitting wél verschijnt. Zodra de weduwe in Belgrado landt, wordt haar paspoort in beslag genomen. Of Markovic, die uitentreuren heeft herhaald zich door de Servische autoriteiten gekrenkt en verraden te voelen, zich aan een dergelijke 'vernedering' zal blootstellen, wordt betwijfeld.

Hier speelt ook mee dat 'de zwarte weduwe' er in brede kring van wordt verdacht meer op haar kerfstok te hebben dan alleen het rommelen met wat appartementen. Velen geloven dat zij betrokken is geweest bij de moord op premier Djindjic en bij de ontvoering en executie van Milosevic' oude beschermheer Ivan Stambolic, in september 2000.

Een andere reden waarom zij van de begrafenis zou kunnen wegblijven, is haar dochter Marija. Sinds de arrestatie van Slobodan Milosevic in maart 2001 leven Mirjana Markovic en Marija Milosevic - beiden dominante, emotionele persoonlijkheden - met elkaar in onmin. Marija Milosevic wil niets meer te maken hebben met haar moeder, die er 'idiote, wereldvreemde denkbeelden' op na houdt.

Ook Marija Milosevic, die sinds 2002 in Montenegro woont, riskeert een nieuwe oproep van de Servische justitie. Net als haar moeder heeft zij verstek laten gaan bij een aantal dagvaardingen. Die vloeiden voort uit het dramatische weekende van 31 maart 2001, toen zij vlak voor de arrestatie van haar vader met een niet-geregistreerd pistool een aantal schoten loste op de auto van Cedimir Jovanovic, de onderhandelaar van premier Djindjic. Kort daarvoor had zij haar vader opgeroepen zelfmoord te plegen. Marija Milosevic verklaarde in december 2001 voor de rechtbank te hebben gehandeld onder invloed van emoties, drank en medicijnen.

Marko Milosevic, elf jaar jonger dan zijn zus, is het enige gezinslid tegen wie op dit moment geen strafzaken lopen in Servië. Dat

mag curieus worden genoemd. Marko was als enige lid van het gezin openlijk verwickeld in talloze criminele praktijken, vooral de smokkel van olie en sigaretten. Als gevolg van een politieke deal tussen de Servische regering en Milosevic' oude Socialistische Partij werden de aanklachten tegen Marko onlangs ingetrokken.

In de tweede helft van de jaren negentig heerste Marko Milosevic als een mini-dictator over Pozarevac, waar hij een discotheek en een pretpark runde, en waar hij tegenstanders liet aftuigen. Al tijdens zijn vaders regime durfde hij zich alleen nog zwaar bewaakt te verplaatsen. Onmiddellijk na zijn vaders val nam hij het vliegtuig naar Moskou. Of hij vandaag naar Pozarevac komt, waar hij gehaat is en zo kan worden neergeschoten, is onderwerp van felle speculatie.

## Geen gifsporen bij Milosevic

Reuters, AP  
DEN HAAG

**De dood van Slobodan Milosevic is niet veroorzaakt door vergiftiging. Ook zat er geen rifampicine in zijn bloed ten tijde van zijn fatale hartaanval.**

Dit blijkt uit de voorlopige uitslag van het bloedonderzoek door het Nederlands Forensisch Instituut, die vrijdag werd gepresenteerd. De voormalige president van Joegoslavië werd afgelopen zaterdag gevonden in zijn Scheveningse cel.

'Tot dusverre zijn er geen indicaties gevonden van vergiftiging', aldus rechter Fausto Pocar, de president van het Joegoslavië-Tribunaal. In het bloed dat is afgenomen na zijn dood, zijn wel sporen gevonden van de voorgeschreven medicatie, maar niet in giftige doses. Meteen na zijn dood werd door zijn naaste omgeving en bij politieke medestanders gespeculeerd over vergiftiging.

'Als zij zeggen dat er geen (bewijs voor vergiftiging) is, dan is dat er niet', reageerde zijn broer Borislav Milosevic vrijdag.

Het tribunaal benadrukte vrijdag dat Milosevic de best mogelijke zorg had gekregen. Maar daar denkt niet iedereen hetzelfde over. Een Mexicaanse rechter bij het Internationaal Gerechtshof in Den Haag, Bernardo Sepulveda, sprak

gisteren van 'onvergeeflijke nalatigheid' in het toezicht op de medicijnen die Milosevic slikte.

Milosevic had een hoge bloeddruk en hartkwalen. In een eerder bloedonderzoek, op 12 januari, zijn sporen gevonden van rifampicine, een medicijn tegen lepra en tuberculose dat de werking van zijn medicatie nadelig kon beïnvloeden. In de dagen voor zijn dood heeft hij dit middel hoogstwaarschijnlijk niet geslikt, zei Pocar vrijdag.

Mogelijk probeerde Milosevic door rifampicine te slikken toestemming te krijgen voor behandeling in Rusland. Dit veronderstelt de Groningse toxicoloog Uges, die op verzoek van het tribunaal onderzocht waarom de medicijnen tegen hoge bloeddruk niet aansloegen bij Milosevic.

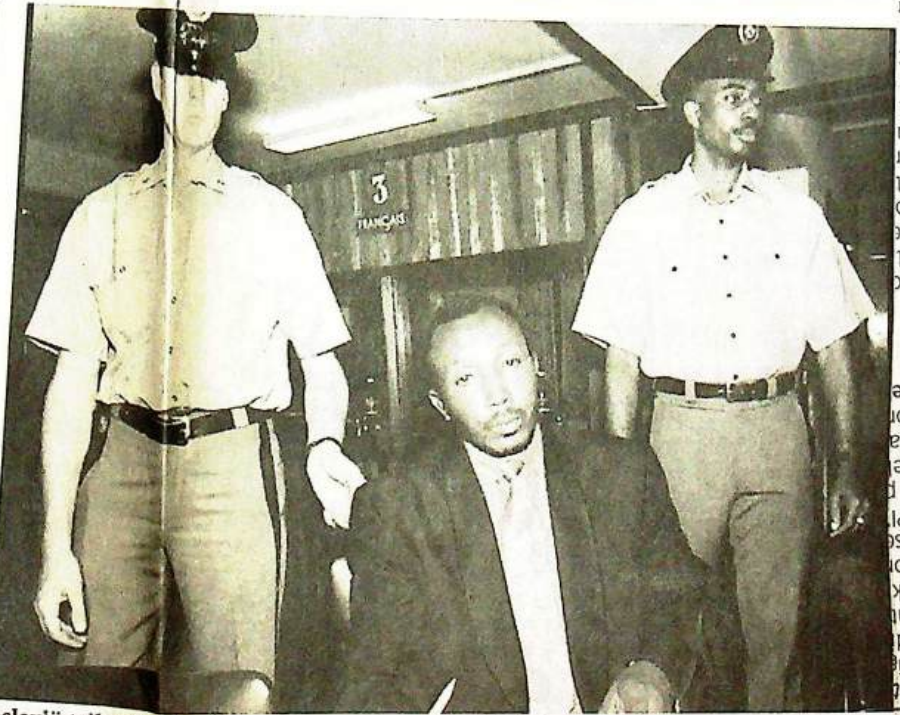
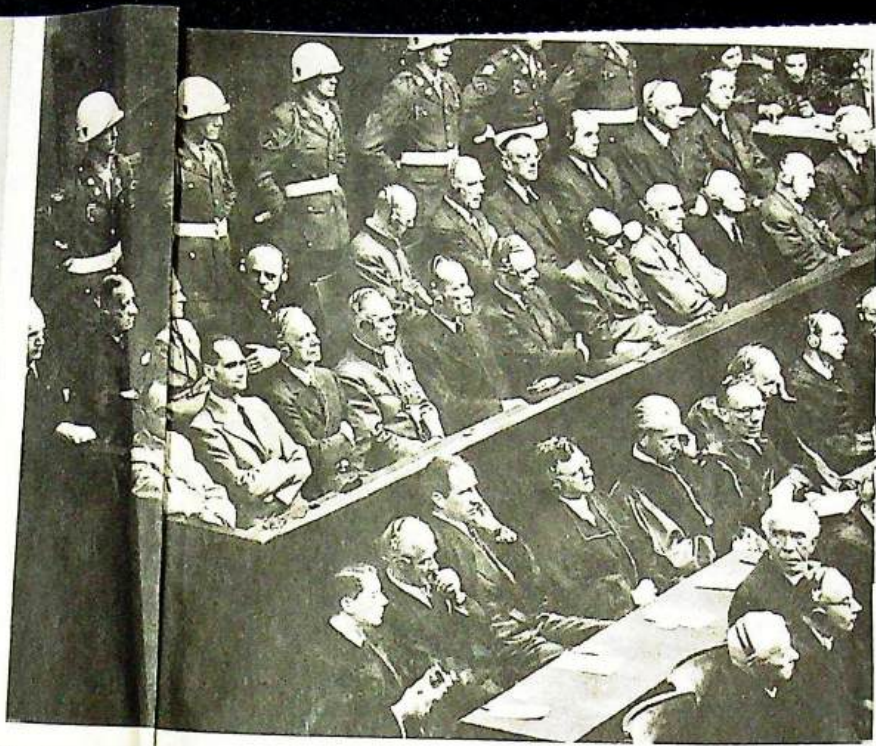
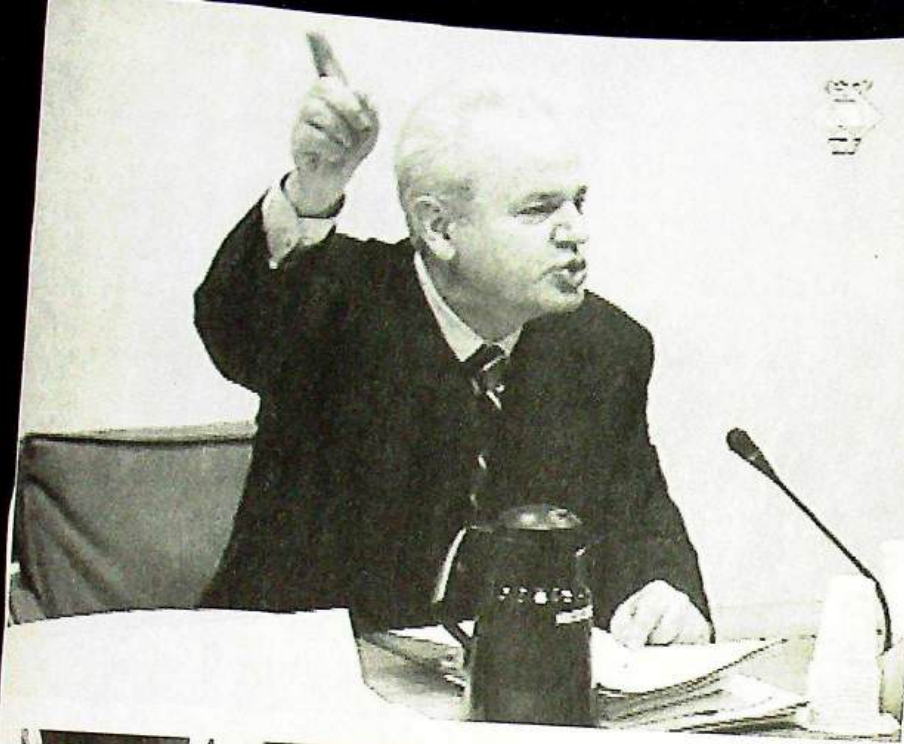
Dat dit het gevolg kan zijn van rifampicine was al lang bekend, aldus biochemicus Van den Broek. 'Als twee weken geleden bekend was dat Milosevic rifampicine in zijn bloed had, dan moeten de behandelende artsen onmiddellijk hebben begrepen waarom ze zijn bloeddruk niet naar beneden kregen. Dan moeten ze hebben kunnen ingrijpen.'

De Russische ex-kolonel Ivasjov heeft van de week tegen de Russische radio gezegd dat hij en andere bezoekers medicijnen meebrachten voor Milosevic.



Slobodan Milosevic na zijn beëdiging tot president van Joegoslavië (1997). Naast hem Mirjana Markovic, tussen hen in Marija, rechts Marko.

FOTO REUTERS



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Connexion is marktleider in het collectief personenvervoer over voor de diensten van Connexion, met bus, trein, tram, trolley, L organisatie, resultaatgericht en kosteneffectief. De Divisie OV lope breiden met een Account Manager voor de regio Midden- en No delijk voor het managen van de commerciële contracten met is verantwoordelijk voor het monitoren van afspraken, de nalevings klant. Voert onderhandelingen en zorgt voor het commercieel uitbouw regio te realiseren. Werkt samen met het tendersteam, verantwoord de Directeur Commerce. De kandidaat heeft een HBOWO-opple (accountmanagement) van grote complexe klanten, t Kennis van/ervaring met de lokale overheid is een Consultant (Amsterdam)

CONNEXION  
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Enkele oorlogstribunalen. Met de klok mee van linksboven: Slobodan Milosevic voor het Joegoslavië-tribunaal, het Neurenberg-tribunaal in 1946, Jean-Paul Akayesu voor het Rwanda-tribunaal en het Tokio-tribunaal in 1947. (Foto's respectievelijk AP, AFP, AFP, AP)

# Tribunalen brengen rechtvaardigheid, niet altijd vrede

De dood van Milosevic voedt de vraag of landen in conflict wel het beste af zijn met een tribunaal voor oorlogsmisdaden. Een niet-juridisch middel heeft soms meer resultaat.

doen. Ze zouden de wederopbouw in (voormalige) oorlogsgebieden in de weg staan, en bovendien politiek gemotiveerd zijn, veel te traag opereren en ook nog eens handen vol geld kosten. "De dood van Milosevic dwingt ons nog eens de vraag onder ogen te zien: wat willen we eigenlijk met dit soort processen bereiken?", zegt Helena Cobban, Amerikaans schrijfster over de

gedefinieerd als een zorgvuldig verloop van het proces. Terwijl een betere toekomst van het door oorlog getroffen land en het bouwen van een stevige politieke orde minstens zo belangrijk zijn voor het bereiken van rechtvaardigheid. Een commissie voor waarheid en verzoening, zoals die bijvoorbeeld in Zuid-Afrika heeft gefunctioneerd, kan daar vaak meer aan bijdragen dan een tribu-

Niet alleen kan dan de schuld niet meer worden vastgesteld, ook de waarheidsvinding schiet erbij in." Sinds de oprichting van het Joegoslavië-tribunaal in 1993, in opdracht van de Veiligheidsraad van de Verenigde Na-

bodja is in oprichting. En in 2002 is het Internationale Strafhof in Den Haag opgezet, een permanent tribunaal voor oorlogsmisdaden. "Het Joegoslavië-tribunaal is een pionier geweest", zegt Gary Bass van de Amerikaanse Princeton universiteit, auteur van het boek *Stay the Hand of Vengeance, The Politics of War Crimes Tribunals*.

"Ik had graag gezien dat het sneller was verlopen. Maar dit proces heeft enorm veel informatie opgeleverd, en dat is ook veel waard. Zo'n tribunaal is er niet alleen om vonnissen te wijzen, maar ook om vast te leggen wat er gebeurd is. Dat kan belangrijk zijn voor andere processen, maar ook voor volgende generaties."

alleen al de symbolische waarde van de arrestaties en de processen is enorm - ook voor de toekomst. De hele wereld kon zien dat zelfs een voormalig staats-hoofd zich moest verantwoorden voor zijn daden." De Nederlandse emeritus-hoogleraar volkenrecht P. de Waart vindt dat het

'Het Joegoslavië-



# + SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC (1941. - 2006.)

By NEBOJSA MALIC

In the morning hours of March 11, news came from the Scheveningen prison near The Hague: Slobodan Milosevic, former president of Serbia and Yugoslavia, was found dead in his cell. It was the second death in Scheveningen in a week; on March 5, Milan Babic, once a leader of the Serb rebellion in what is today Croatia, had allegedly committed suicide while waiting to testify in another trial. Babic had plea-bargained with the Inquisition and received a sentence of "only" 13 years.



Serbia 18. III 2006.

News of Milosevic's death prompted an outpour of vitriol in the mainstream Imperial media. Milosevic was the man it wasn't only politically correct to hate, it was dangerous for one's political credentials in the West not to. AP, AFP, Reuters, BBC, CNN, all the major newspapers in the UK, France, Germany, the U.S., and just about everyone else raced to see who could publish the most venomous denunciation of the man they blamed for everything that happened in the Balkans over the past 15 years.

In producing this stream of abuse, everyone was governed by the assumption that all the charges against Milosevic had been proven, if not in the court of law, then in the "court of public opinion" – in which they, of course, have been the judge, jury, and executioner all along.

## "Sole Culprit"

Consider, for a moment, this editorial that appeared in the Washington Post on Tuesday:

"Ethnic and sectarian rivalry was real in a cobbled-together state, but few people expected, much less wanted, a civil war. Mr. Milosevic, a Communist Party apparatchik in Serbia, deliberately and methodically nursed this latent tension from a flicker to a conflagration and used it to consolidate a criminal regime in Belgrade. He bombarded Serbs with lies and hateful demagoguery about their supposed victimization at the hands of Croats, Bosnian Muslims, and Kosovo Albanians, and he convinced them that the only solution was a Greater Serbia created through war and ethnic cleansing. ...

"More than is generally recognized, at least in his own country, he was personally responsible for the most destructive conflict, and most terrible atrocities, recorded in Europe since World War II. There were other protagonists and other criminals, some of them Croatian, Bosnian, and Albanian. But without Mr. Milosevic the Yugoslav wars wouldn't have happened."

Just about everything here is false. Milosevic never called for war – unlike, for example, Izetbegovic or Tudjman. His famous 1989 speech in Kosovo, often said to be a call for conflict, actually called for coexistence. That is why it is never actually quoted. By describing the very real atrocities of Croats, Muslims, and Albanians allied with Hitler as the fruit of Milosevic's malicious imagination, the Post simply engages in Holocaust denial.



Pozarevac 18. III 2006.

Another popular claim made in the press is that Milosevic had "started four wars." Again, it's pure fiction. The only war he could have started was the one in Kosovo – and the blame for that one lies squarely on the shoulders of NATO and its allies, the terrorist UCK. Though he claimed he was defending Yugoslavia, in truth Milosevic was all too willing to yield to separatists. He was the driving force behind the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, established by Serbia and Montenegro in April 1992, implicitly recognizing the secession of everyone else. It was the United States that refused to recognize the FRY, insisting on a fiction that Belgrade was claiming other territories.

## Out With the Old

Milosevic's rise to power in the late 1980s was just one of the stories in post-Tito Yugoslavia, which had functioned for decades as a Communist dictatorship where expressions of ethnic identity were approved only when they benefited the Party agenda. After the death of Tito in 1980, the Communists, unable to choose a successor, governed by committee; between economic woes caused by decades of central planning and bad debts, and political problems stemming from inter-ethnic rivalries Tito had exploited to secure his power, Yugoslavs were getting increasingly frustrated. A bad constitution (1974) complicated the already complex system of governance – especially in Serbia, the only Yugoslav republic with additional provinces (Vojvodina and Kosovo). When Milosevic emerged from the ranks of bland Communist apparatchiks to supplant the inept, dogmatic leadership in Belgrade, moved to amend the 1974 division of Serbia in line with the other republics, and declared that after decades of Communist suppression that being a Serb was not a fountainhead of "bourgeois reactionary evil," he became an overnight hero to millions.

Imperial "official history" tries to paint the triumph of nationalism among the Slovenians, Croats, Muslims, Albanians, and Macedonians as a reaction to Milosevic's rise. To do that, however, one would have to deny the historical roots of such nationalisms, or the convictions of their champions. Leaders of Slovenian and Macedonian separatists were former Communist officials, whose peoples had profited handsomely from the Yugoslav arrangement. Croatia's Tudjman, a Holocaust-denier with a soft spot for the WWII Croatian regime allied with Hitler, and the Bosnian Muslims' Alija Izetbegovic, an unrepentant Islamic revolutionary, were not responses to Milosevic – they had worked on their programs long before he ever appeared on the political scene. Separatist political parties had already been elected in Ljubljana, Zagreb, and Sarajevo before Milosevic won the first election in Serbia in the fall of 1990.

## Demonized

To secure independence, Slovenia, Croatia, and later on Izetbegovic's Bosnian government claimed they were victims of "aggression" by the Federal Army and/or Serbia. Yet it was Milosevic who never disputed the Croats', Slovenes', and Muslims' right to secede from Yugoslavia; he only supported the right of 2-odd million Serbs living in Croatia and Bosnia to secede themselves. Zagreb and Sarajevo chose to resolve that dispute violently; both Tudjman and Izetbegovic made statements to that effect, and they are publicly available.

It was during the 1991 conflict in Croatia that PR agents in the West started demonizing Milosevic as the president of Serbia, which was labeled the "aggressor" in what was actually an ethnic war. As clashes started in Bosnia in 1992, flaring up into full-scale war upon Izetbegovic's declaration of independence in April, demonization of Serbs and Milosevic in particular became a staple of war reporting from the Balkans.

## "Peacemaker" to "Hitler"

Throughout the conflict in Bosnia, the U.S., Europe, and the UN acted as if Milosevic was controlling the Bosnian Serbs, and blamed him every time the peace talks failed – even when the Muslims were responsible. Serbia remained under a crippling UN blockade from April 1992 to 1996, imposed as punishment for the alleged Serb massacre of a breadline in Sarajevo. Milosevic got no credit for his blockade of the Bosnian Serbs in 1994, or for standing by while U.S.-backed Croatian forces ethnically cleansed hundreds of thousands of Serbs from zones nominally under UN protection. He was maneuvered into heading the Serb delegation to the Dayton peace talks by Washington, with the "coincidentally" timed indictments of Bosnian Serb leaders by the nascent (and U.S.-sponsored) Hague Inquisition.

In Dayton, Milosevic had to deal with treachery, deceit, and bad faith on behalf of not the Muslim or Croat delegations, but the American "mediators." Richard Holbrooke proudly described in his memoir how he tried to cheat Milosevic, and only regretted getting caught. And it is Holbrooke who credits Milosevic with saving the talks, which Izetbegovic threatened to sink at the very last moment. It may have been pretentious of Milosevic to claim himself as the "key factor of peace in the Balkans," but he had at least partially earned that designation in Dayton, and from his most bitter enemy.

Three years later, however, it was the very same Holbrooke spearheading Washington's effort to force Milosevic into a war over Kosovo, where the terrorist Albanian "Kosovo Liberation Army" (with Washington's support) was fighting for secession.

Today Holbrooke claims Milosevic had broken every deal he'd signed; that's a lie. It was Holbrooke's employer who did so, from Dayton to Kumanovo, and it was Holbrooke's employer who was responsible for the 1999 Rambouillet "agreement" – a travesty of diplomacy not seen since the 1914 Austro-Hungarian ultimatum to Belgrade. Washington today accuses Milosevic of starting the 1999 war over Kosovo by "negotiating in bad faith," but it is hard to imagine diplomacy in worse faith than the American

"peace effort" in Rambouillet, the frame job in Racak, and the subsequent naked aggression disguised as "humanitarian intervention."

It was 1999 when Milosevic was indicted by the Hague Inquisition, again "coincidentally" with the crisis of morale in NATO headquarters as Serbia refused to surrender and more and more images of NATO's civilian victims became available to the public. Armed with the indictment, the pro-NATO media went into high gear in their demonization of Milosevic, routinely comparing him to Hitler and the Serbs to Nazis. He had become the Emmanuel Goldstein of the new world order, whom everyone bellyfled as evil.

## Captive

Milosevic stepped down as president of Yugoslavia in the evening hours of Oct. 5, 2000, after the mob organized by the "Democratic Opposition of Serbia" had demonstrated claiming election victory, sacked the federal parliament, and stormed the state TV. Ballots documenting the alleged DOS victory conveniently perished in the fires set by protesters. The DOS, funded and organized by Washington in what would later become a pattern for "revolutions" in Georgia and Ukraine, soon established a new government under the leadership of Zoran Djindjic. In April 2001, Djindjic had Milosevic arrested. In June, he broke half a dozen Serbian and Yugoslav laws and handed Milosevic to the Hague Inquisition.

There was no trace of the once-accommodating, compromising Milosevic at The Hague. That man had probably perished with the first NATO bombs in 1999. Instead, the Inquisitors faced a proud and defiant man, who threw the accusations back into their faces and insisted not only on his innocence, but on the illegitimacy of the ICTY and the culpability of NATO and Washington for the bloodshed in Yugoslavia. The prosecutors took over two years to present their "kitchen sink" indictment charging him for war crimes in Croatia and Kosovo and genocide (!) in Bosnia. Milosevic systematically demolished their witnesses in cross-examinations and successfully challenged their "evidence," despite the hostility of the judges, who would often cut him off. In September 2004, Milosevic began his defense, after defeating the efforts of the "court" to impose counsel on him without consent.

But the trial had taken a toll on his health, and he'd been complaining of high blood pressure, headaches, and heart problems for months. Prosecutors and the media derisively claimed he was "faking it." Just last week, the Inquisition refused his request for medical treatment at a Russian hospital, despite Moscow's guarantees that he would return. Three days after he wrote to the Russian government, claiming he was being poisoned, Milosevic was found dead in his cell.

## Poison Plot

In the letter, sent on March 7 to the Russian Foreign Ministry, Milosevic claimed that a non-prescribed drug found in his system in January indicated that someone was poisoning him, and that he feared for his life. The Inquisition responded through one of their trusted reporters, Marlise Simons of the New York Times. Simons found a Dutch toxicologist who had formulated a "theory" – based on finding a rare drug in Milosevic's blood that could have interfered with his blood pressure medication – that Milosevic was poisoning himself so as to be transferred to Russia, where he would escape. "It's like a James Bond story," Dr. Donald Uges told Simons.

Though the Inquisition previously claimed that Milosevic was faking illness and not taking his medication, they suddenly rushed to confirm Uges' "James Bond story" – through unnamed sources, of course. But Uges himself noted that the drug was nearly impossible to obtain in the Netherlands, that it was near-impossible to smuggle things into Scheveningen, and that the dose would have to be very precisely calibrated to produce the exact symptoms Milosevic was showing – hardly something doable by an amateur. Milosevic knew nothing about medicine; his fields of expertise were banking, law, and politics.

## Propaganda Court

Although the "court of world opinion," composed of "judges" such as Richard Holbrooke and the Washington Post, had already found him guilty of being Hitler Reborn, Slobodan Milosevic was never convicted of any crime, in any court, even the kangaroo "Tribunal" in The Hague. His marathon trial was formally closed on Tuesday, without reaching a verdict.

Chief Inquisitor Carla Del Ponte told the press Milosevic's death robbed her of a chance to convict him, and that she considered it a defeat. But as John Laughland observed in The Guardian,

"[T]o say that Milosevic escaped justice by dying ... assumes that 'justice' means not due process but a guilty verdict. The day we start to believe that we will have abandoned the rule of law completely."

Neither the Imperial hegemony-mongers, nor the masses convinced by years of two-minute hates that Milosevic was the sole culprit for the ills that have befallen them, care a whit about the rule of law, due process, or the presumption of innocence. The majority of Croats, Muslims, and Albanians need to blame Milosevic in order to continue believing themselves to be purely innocent victims (Bosnian Muslims have gone the farthest in internalizing this sort of thinking). Even a great many Serbs find it easier to blame

Milosevic for the wars, sanctions, bombing, and postwar humiliations; conditioned gut-hatred is easier than soul-searching or critical thinking.

But to blame Milosevic for everything that happened in the Balkans since 1989 is to believe a malicious, irrational fiction.

## Free

A day before Milosevic passed away, the Hague Inquisition decided to allow KLA terrorist Ramush Haradinaj to return to politics, despite the indictment against him. Another KLA terrorist, Agim Ceku – whom the ICTY never investigated, much less indicted – became the "prime minister" of occupied Kosovo. The campaign to resolve the "Serbian question" by dismembering Serbia continues unabated; Milosevic's death provided a good pretext for more supporting propaganda.

At the time of his death, Milosevic was a prisoner. Unlike his country, however, he refused to accept his captivity and fought against it any way he could. Whatever one may think of the way he lived or governed, in his final four years, he stood alone against the Empire, embodied in the Inquisition: an overwhelming force seeking to dominate all of humanity, willing and able to twist history, facts, and logic into a sinister fiction. Milosevic did not have to resist it; he chose to. For years, the greatest coercive force in the world tried to break him, and failed. He died free...

**Sagittarius**

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**Van:** "Ian Johnson" <i-  
**Aan:** <Undisclosed-Recipient;>  
**Verzonden:** zondag 19 maart 2006 2:46  
**Onderwerp:** CDSM: Funeral Report

**More Than 500,000 People at Milosevic's Funeral**

FOCUS News Agency - 18 March 2006 (15:04)

**Belgrade.** Over 500,000 people are at official ceremony of mourning for ex Yugoslavian President Slobodan Milosevic in center of Serbian capital Belgrade, RIA Novosti informs citing Belgrade police. Up to now there have been no incidents.

About 40 people have looked for medical help and one man died during the funeral procession in memory of Milosevic in Belgrade, RTS announced. According to RTS about 100,000 people gathered in front of Serbia and Montenegro Parliament where Milosevic's remains are at the moment.

Russian Communist party leader Gennady Zyuganov and Vice Speaker of the Russian State Duma (Parliament) Sergey Baburin are taking part in the funeral procession which started around noon in Belgrade today, RIA Novosti informed earlier. Russian MPs were greeted by the people who shouted "Russia! Russia!", the agency adds.

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## **Slobodan Milosevic to be buried in his hometown**

ITAR Tass - 18.03.2006, 06.09

BELGRADE, March 18 (Itar-Tass) – Slobodan Milosevic will be buried in his hometown of Pozarevac, 50 kilometers southeast of Belgrade, on Saturday.

The Socialist Party of Serbia has called on the country's people to pay the last respects to their late leader. The Socialists say some 200,000 local residents and 40 foreign delegations may be present at the ceremony in Belgrade. The funeral in Pozarevac may gather 70,000 to 80,000, the town's authorities have said.

At noon Moscow time Milosevic's body will be taken out of the Revolution Museum building, where it has lain in state for the past few days, and brought to the square in front of the Serbia-Montenegro parliament. The official farewell ceremony will begin at 14:00 Moscow time. The funeral motorcade will proceed to Pozarevac. At about 17:00 Moscow time the former Yugoslav leader will be buried in front of his home on a plot of land that belongs to his family.

None of Milosevic's close relatives will be able to attend.

"The security guarantees the Serb authorities have given to the relatives of the late leader are so uncertain that the presence of any of them at the funeral is impossible," the deputy leader of the Socialist Party of Serbia, Milorad Vucelic, appointed responsible for organizing the funeral, has told the media.

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# DE DOOD VAN DE 'BEUL VAN DE BALKAN'

## 1 Milosevic manipuleerde zijn gezondheid en dat resulteerde in zijn dood

**D**e aanklagers van het Joegoslavië-tribunaal hadden de rechters begin dit jaar gewaarschuwd. Het proces tegen de Joegoslavische ex-president Slobodan Milosevic duurde al bijna vier jaar en nog steeds werd elke zitting live uitgezonden op de Servische televisie. Maar het proces was bijna klaar. In de zomer was de Milosevic-show afgelopen. Op 16 januari schreven de aanklagers aan de rechters: „De strategie van de verdachte zal zijn dat hij alle middelen die hij tot zijn beschikking heeft, zal aangrijpen om de afronding van zijn rechtszaak te voorkomen.”

De aanklagers zelf hadden er geen bewijs voor dat de verdachte „de komende weken zijn gezondheidstoestand zal manipuleren met als doel obstructie van het proces”. Maar ze wilden er zeker van zijn, schreven ze, dat de zittingen ook konden doorgaan als de verdachte er niet bij kon zijn — „klaarblijkelijk tegen zijn wil” — omdat hij ziek was. Ze vroegen de rechters om maatregelen. Milosevic wilde zichzelf verdedigen, hij ondervroeg zelf alle getuigen. Maar de rechters hadden hem een advocaat toegewezen die ook getuigen kon horen. De aanklagers vonden dat dat nu maar eens moest gebeuren, ook als Milosevic het er niet mee eens was. En als Milosevic de afgesproken zittingsdagen niet gebruikte omdat hij ziek was, dan zouden die dagen volgens de aanklagers moeten worden afgetrokken van de tijd die hij kreeg voor zijn verdediging — net zoveel tijd als de aanklagers hadden gekregen om in de rechtszaal hun bewijs te laten zien.

Begin deze week liep de Zwitserse hoofdaanklager Carla Del Ponte moppend door de gangen van het tribunaal. In het weekend, op 11 maart, was Milosevic doodgegaan. Jaren van onderzoek en getuigenverhoren waren voor niets geweest. En was er bij de VN-lidstaten nu nog politieke wil om de twee overgebleven belangrijkste verdachten te arresteren, de vroegere Bosnisch-Servische leiders Radovan Karadzic en Ratko Mladic?

**E**ind vorig jaar had Milosevic aan de rechters gevraagd of hij naar een kliniek in Rusland kon gaan voor medische behandeling. Hij leed al jaren aan hoge bloeddruk, hij was uitgeput. Hij had ook last gekregen van duizelingen en hij hoorde een voortdurend gebrom in zijn

paar weken geleden bloed van Milosevic had onderzocht. Er zaten sporen in van rifampicine, een middel dat wordt gebruikt tegen tuberculose. Een bijwerking ervan is dat medicijnen tegen hoge bloeddruk niet meer werken. Volgens Uges was het mogelijk dat Milosevic zelfmoord had gepleegd. „Als je stopt met rifampicine en je neemt een dubbele dosis van je bloeddrukverlagende medicijnen, dan knalt je bloeddruk zo omlaag dat je een hartaanval kunt krijgen.”

Uges zei ook dat Milosevic door dat middel misschien „een enkele reis Moskou” hoopte te krijgen. Het enige wat de Russische medisch specialisten hadden hoeven doen, was Milosevic laten stoppen met rifampicine. Dan hadden ze voor elkaar gekregen wat artsen in Nederland al jaren niet lukte: de bloeddruk van Milosevic zou omlaag zijn gegaan.

Uges en medewerkers van de rechters dachten dat het voor Milosevic geen pro-

bleem was om aan tabletten rifampicine te komen. In de gevangenis van het tribunaal had hij een eigen kantoorje waar hij met zijn juridische adviseurs kon overleggen. Daar waren niet altijd bewakers bij. En dat hij graag naar Rusland wilde, snapte iedereen. In Rusland woonden zijn broer Borislav, zijn vrouw Mira Markovic en zijn zoon Marko. Borislav Milosevic was in Moskou ambassadeur geweest voor Joegoslavië. Marko was in 2000 naar Rusland gegaan omdat hij in Servië was aangeklaagd voor bedreiging van een student. Zijn moeder Mira kwam in 2003. Tegen haar was in Servië een arrestatiebevel uitgevaardigd wegens fraude en machtsmisbruik. Mira Markovic en Slobodan Milosevic, die elkaar al kenden vanaf de middelbare school en geen dag zonder elkaar wilden zijn, hadden elkaar sinds die tijd niet meer gezien.

Rusland en Servië voelden zich broeders van elkaar — door het orthodoxe geloof. Tijdens de oorlogen op de Balkan, in de jaren negentig, had Rusland Milosevic gesteund, óók omdat Rusland door die houding internationaal een factor van betekenis bleef. Milosevic hield er goede vrienden aan over in de Russische politiek. De regering in Moskou gaf het tribunaal de garantie dat Milosevic na zijn medische behandeling zou terugkeren naar Den Haag.

De aanklagers vertrouwden die toezegging niet. Ze lieten de rechters weten dat het een slecht idee zou zijn om Milosevic tijdelijk vrij te laten.

**U**it medische rapporten over Milosevic van de afgelopen jaren bleek dat hij soms zijn medicijnen tegen hoge bloeddruk niet nam. De aanklagers en de amici curiae, die door de rechters waren benoemd om Milosevic bij te staan tijdens het proces, dachten dat hij daardoor een periode van rust probeerde af te dwingen. Ze vonden dat Milosevic opvallend vaak ziek werd als de aanklagers met getuigen waren gekomen die zwaar belastende verklaringen tegen hem aflegden.

Op 1 september 2004 citeerde de Britse aanklager Geoffrey Nice in de rechtszaal uit een rapport van de Nederlandse cardioloog Paul van Dijkman uit het Haagse Bronovo-ziekenhuis. Milosevic was volgens Van Dijkman niet erg therapietrouw. En er was in zijn bloed „een middel” en



## Onder de lindeboom

Vandaag wordt Slobodan Milosevic begraven in zijn geboortestadje Pozarevac, dat lange tijd in de greep was van zijn zoon Marko.

**D**e inwoners van het Servische stadje Pozarevac, Milosevic' geboorteplaats, hebben altijd heilig geloofd in de terugkeer van hun voormalige stadgenoot en president. In 2001 stuitte ik, als Balkan-correspondent, op dat onverzettelijke geloof. Op een dag toog ik naar Pozarevac voor een ontmoeting met de voorzitter van de lokale afdeling van de Socialistische Partij van Servië, Milosevic' partij. De president was net enige weken daarvoor afgevoerd naar de gevangenis in Scheveningen om terecht te staan voor het Joegoslavië-tribunaal.

De voorzitter had de secretaris en de woordvoerder meegenomen. Het drietal zat aan een lange, lege vergadertafel, onder een portret van hun leider, in verstelde colberts en met ernstige gezichten. Eén brok communistische onverzettelijkheid. Ze zongen een lofzang op Slobodan Milosevic, waren oprecht in hun liefde en bewondering voor hem.

Na een uur wilde ik het gesprek beëindigen, maar de voorzitter maande mij te blijven zitten. „U komt toch uit Nederland”, vroeg hij. Nederland, dat was Den Haag, dat was het Joegoslavië-tribunaal, dat was Slobodan Milosevic. Ik knikte. Daarop toverde de man een papertje uit zijn borstzak en begon hij op gedragen toon voor te lezen: „Dit is een boodschap voor onze president. Wij feliciteren hem met zijn standvastigheid voor het tribunaal. Hij geeft ons de kracht om door te vechten, zodat hij kan terugkeren naar zijn geboortestad.”

Vandaag wordt de wens van de voorzitter vervuld: Milosevic keert

...hadden hem in november onderzocht en gezegd dat hij misschien aan zijn hart geopereerd zou moeten worden. Hij zou in elk geval zes weken rust moeten hebben.

Na de dood van Milosevic zei toxicoloog Donald Uges uit Groningen dat hij een

Cees Banning  
Petra de Koning

## 2 Het Joegoslavië-tribunaal zorgde niet goed voor Milosevic en dat resulteerde in zijn dood

Op de dag dat Geoffrey Nice de rechters wees op het vreemde middel in het bloed van Milosevic, op 1 september 2004, kwam Milosevic zelf met een andere versie van het verhaal over zijn gezondheid. Hij nam de medicijnen die hem waren voorgeschreven door de arts in de gevangenis, zei hij. „Maar wat er precies gebeurt, weet ik niet. Ik kan iedereen van mijn verdieping als getuige oproepen voor wat er gebeurde toen ik een keer het eten kreeg dat voor mijn overbuurman was bedoeld. Er ontstond een enorm gedoe omdat het moest worden rechtgezet, maar het eten van mijn overbuurman zag er precies hetzelfde uit als het eten dat voor mij bedoeld was.” Misschien, zei hij, waren zijn vermoedens over kwade opzet niet juist. „Maar dat ik ze heb, is wel ergens op gebaseerd.”

De aanklagers en de rechters reageerden er niet op.

Voor de vrienden van Milosevic, die zich hebben verenigd in het Comité voor de Verdediging van Slobodan Milosevic, was de onrust over het verkeerde eten het bewijs dat Milosevic in de gevangenis langzaam werd vergiftigd. Milosevic zelf schreef er kort voor zijn dood een brief voor aan de Russische minister van Buitenlandse Zaken. Hij had een rapport gekregen waarin stond dat er sporen van een sterk medicijn waren gevonden in zijn bloed – een medicijn dat hij naar eigen zeggen niet zelf had ingenomen. Hij vroeg de Russische regering om hulp bij „de verdediging” van zijn gezondheid.

Het NOS-journaal kwam afgelopen week met het nieuws dat zelfs de directeur van de VN-gevangenis in Scheveningen, de Ier Tim McFadden, tegen de rechters had gezegd hoe makkelijk het was voor Milosevic om spullen van buiten in zijn cel te krijgen. Maar was dat echt zo makkelijk? De Canadese verslaggever Scott Taylor, die door Milosevic was opgeroepen als getuige, schreef later in *Behind Bars with Slobodan Milosevic* op internet over het gesprek dat hij in de gevangenis met Milosevic had voordat hij in de rechtszaal zou optreden. Hij mocht er van het tribunaal weinig over zeggen, en al helemaal niet over de veiligheidsmaatregelen in de gevangenis. „Maar ik adviseer iedereen die op bezoek gaat schoon ondergoed aan te trekken.”

Gisteren maakt het Nederlands Forensisch Instituut bekend dat uit toxicologisch onderzoek is gebleken dat het li-

chaam van Milosevic geen sporen van gif bevatte. Ook werd geen spoor meer aangetroffen van de stof rifampicine. Volgens de NFI-onderzoekers duidt dit erop dat Milosevic dit middel in elk geval de laatste dagen voor zijn dood niet had geslikt.

Er zijn medewerkers van het tribunaal die zich nauwelijks kunnen voorstellen dat Milosevic graag ziek wilde zijn om zijn proces te vertragen. Ze zeggen dat hij in de rechtszaal zijn best deed om fit over te komen. En dan zagen ze dat hij na de zitting soms trilde van vermoeidheid.

Milosevic klaagde wel. Hij had hoofdpijn, hij was duizelig. Hij kon zich niet goed concentreren in de rechtszaal. Soms zei hij dat hij een „donderend lawaai” hoorde in zijn hoofd.

Op 4 november werd hij in de kliniek van de gevangenis drie uur lang onderzocht door drie medisch specialisten: Vukashin Andric, een keel-, neus- en oorarts uit Servië, vaatspecialist Margarita Shumilina uit Rusland en de Franse cardioloog Florence Leclercq. Andric kende Milosevic van bijeenkomsten in Servië en hij was getuige geweest voor de verdediging van Milosevic. Shumilina kwam uit de kliniek in Moskou waar Milosevic graag behandeld wilde worden. Florence Leclercq, hoogleraar in Montpellier, was erbij gevraagd door een Franse collega die voor de VN had gewerkt en die een adviseur van Milosevic kende. Leclercq zelf kende Milosevic en zijn adviseurs niet.

Door de telefoon vanuit Montpellier zegt Leclercq: „Ik kan maar niet begrijpen hoe het komt dat Milosevic is doodgegaan.” Ze snapt de oorzaak wel: een hartinfarct. Maar ze snapt niet, zegt ze, waarom het tribunaal dat heeft laten gebeuren.

Leclercq dacht na haar onderzoek dat Milosevic aan vernauwing van de kransslagaders leed. Hij had geen symptomen die daarop wezen. Hij zei een paar keer tegen haar dat hij nooit pijn op zijn borst had gehad. Maar er was aanleiding genoeg, vond Leclercq, om onderzoek te laten doen naar zijn vaten. Ze wil niet zeggen wat die aanleiding precies was – dat hoort bij haar beroepsgeheim. Maar moeilijk te raden is het niet. Milosevic had al jaren last van hoge bloeddruk en dat is schadelijk voor bloedvaten. Hij had overgewicht, hij rookte.

Leclercq vond dat hij in een ziekenhuis testen moest ondergaan waaruit de vaat-

vernauwing zou kunnen blijken. Een scan bijvoorbeeld, of een fietsproef. Ze schreef haar bevindingen in een rapport voor de juridische adviseurs van Milosevic en het tribunaal. Afgelopen week hoorde ze van een van de adviseurs dat de testen niet waren uitgevoerd. Als dat wel was gebeurd, zegt ze, was de vernauwing aangetoond die vorig weekend tot een hartaanval leidde. Milosevic had volgens Leclercq gedotterd kunnen worden.

Leclercq vindt niet dat Milosevic door de Nederlandse artsen slecht behandeld is. Ze denkt dat de onderzoeken die zij had aanbevolen niet werden uitgevoerd omdat Milosevic geen symptomen had die op een vaatvernauwing wezen. „Hun evaluatie van de risico's was anders.” Ze zegt dat ze tijdens het onderzoek aan Milosevic had gevraagd of hij wel eens een scan had gehad. Milosevic zei nee. De Nederlandse huisarts die erbij was, zei ja, en op die scan was volgens hem niets bijzonders ontdekt. Maar in het medisch dossier, dat volgens Leclercq niet erg dik en niet erg precies was, stond er niets over.

Leclercq zegt dat ze niets wist van Milosevic' plan om in Rusland behandeld te worden. Ze weet ook niets van het middel tegen tuberculose dat in zijn bloed was ontdekt. Maar ze is ervan overtuigd, zegt ze, dat Milosevic niet dood wilde gaan. Ze vond hem „strijdbaar”, hij wilde zijn rechtszaak voor het tribunaal graag afmaken.

Ook de Servische KNO-arts Vukashin Andric is voorzichtig in zijn kritiek op de Nederlandse artsen die Milosevic behandelden. Hij noemt hen professioneel. Maar de klachten van Milosevic werden niet serieus genoeg genomen, vindt hij. „En op onze aanbevelingen is niet gereageerd.” Andric stelde vast dat Milosevic een beschadiging had aan zijn oren. Hij vond dat Milosevic rust nodig had. De zittingen waren een belasting voor Milosevic' oren omdat hij een koptelefoon op had voor de vertaling. Andric dacht dat hij de beschadiging had opgelopen door de koptelefoon. Hoge tonen kon Milosevic niet meer horen.

Andric zegt ook dat Milosevic volgens hem niet dood wilde. „Hij had de wereld nog veel te vertellen. Er was belangrijk materiaal waar hij nog mee wilde komen. Hij had het bewaard voor het eind van zijn proces.”

...dekt dat niet was voorgeschreven door de Nederlandse artsen die Milosevic behandelden. Van Dijkman: „Dat is vreemd als je bedenkt dat de patiënt in de gevangenis weigert de benzodiazepines (rustgevendende middelen, red.) te nemen die de VN-staf hem aanbiedt.”



Affiche van Milosevic op een muur in het centrum van Belgrado, april 2001 Foto AP

...terug om in zijn ge... worden begraven.

Pozarevac, slaperig provinciestadje met zo'n vijftigduizend inwoners. Slobodan Milosevic werd er op 20 augustus 1941 geboren. Zijn vrouw Mirjana kwam er een jaar later ter wereld, in een nabijgelegen veld. Ze trouwden en kregen twee kinderen, dochter Marija en zoon Marko.

Toen het gezin naar Belgrado verhuisde, bleef Marko achter. Hij liet een grote villa bouwen, van waaruit hij zijn criminele bende leidde. Ook bezat hij er een computerwinkel, een openluchtdisco, Madonna, en een pretpark, Bambiland.

Marko heerste over de stad. Als hij, een half-automatisch geweer in de handen, de klanten van een café met hun hoofd tussen hun knieën liet zitten, keek de politie de andere kant op. Als hij de hoofdredacteur van het plaatselijke radiostation een pistool tegen het hoofd zette, omdat deze verslag deed van de betogingen in Belgrado, was iedereen vol begrip.

Maar eigenlijk was iedereen bang. Dat gold ook voor de taxichauffeur, aan wie ik vroeg of hij mij langs Marko's bezittingen wilde rijden. Zijn handen begonnen te trillen en hij vloekte hartgrondig: „Picku materina”, wat zoveel betekent als je moeders kut.

„Bent u helemaal gek geworden? Weet u wel wie Marko Milosevic is? Mijn taxi uit!”, hijgde hij. Pas toen mijn Servische assistent met een biljet van tien mark voor zijn ogen wapperde, sloeg de twijfel toe. „En nog eens tien mark als we terug zijn”, zei de assistent. De taxichauffeur griste het biljet uit zijn handen en gaf gas. Tien minuten later waren we terug – we waren nergens gestopt.

Pozarevac, slaperig provinciestadje met 50.000 hielenlikkers en angsthazen. Terwijl Milosevic niet eens goed voor zijn geboortestad zorgde, in tegenstelling tot andere dictators in de wereld. Ook ten tijde van Milosevic' heerschappij ontbrak het Pozarevac aan veel, net als elders in Servië. Toch bleven ze hem trouw (vandaag de dag heeft zijn Socialistische Partij de meerderheid in de gemeenteraad), uit misplaatste loyaliteit en angst. Terwijl in Belgrado tweehonderdduizend Serviërs de straat opgingen om het aftreden van de 'Beul van de Balkan' te eisen, gingen de inwoners van Pozarevac naar bed om de volgende dag in een veranderd land wakker te worden.

Nu is hij terug. Ligt hij in de tuin van zijn oude woonhuis, onder de lindeboom. Geen staatsbegrafenis, geen militair ceremonieel. Zijn lijk wordt niet, zoals dat van zijn voorganger Tito, ten afscheid in een trein door het oude Joegoslavië gereden. De plantsoendienst van Pozarevac heeft de afgelopen dagen de straten geveegd en de parkjes aangeharkt.

YAËL VINCKX

**Sagittarius**

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**Van:** "Sagittarius" <sagitar@hetnet.nl>  
**Aan:** "Branko Rakic" <brankorakic@yahoo.com>  
**Verzonden:** zondag 19 maart 2006 16:12  
**Onderwerp:** criminal inquiry and prosecution directed at the  
Dear Mr. Rakic,

I would like to invite you to join forces in order to acquire criminal investigations and prosecution directed at the tribunal's officials.

Based upon a cruel and inhumane treatment in the sense of the Anti Torture Convention, which supersedes the immunity of the tribunal's officials.

best regards,

Nico Steijnen

**Sagittarius**

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**Van:** "Sagittarius" <sagitar@hetnet.nl>  
**Aan:** "Zdenko Tomanovic" <zdenkot@eunet.yu>  
**Verzonden:** zondag 19 maart 2006 16:07  
**Onderwerp:** criminal inquiry and prosecution directed at the tribunal  
Dear Zdenko,

I would like to invite you to join forces in order to acquire criminal investigations and prosecution directed at the tribunal's officials.

best regards,

Nico Steijnen

**Sagittarius**

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**Van:** "Sagittarius" <sagitar@hetnet.nl>  
**Aan:** <mishag1@ntlworld.com>  
**Verzonden:** zondag 19 maart 2006 16:28  
**Onderwerp:** criminal inquiry and prosecution directed at the  
Dear Misa,

I would like to invite you to join forces in order to acquire criminal investigations and prosecution directed at the tribunal's officials.

Based upon a cruel and inhumane treatment in the sense of the Anti Torture Convention, which supersedes the immunity of the tribunal's officials.

best regards,

Nico Steijnen

## DEBAT OVER JOEGOSLAVIE TRIBUNAAL



19-3-2006  
Den Haag heeft Milosevic vermoord.  
*Servische krant Press, 13 maart*

De dood kwam vóór zijn straf.  
*Servisch dagblad Blic, 13 maart*

Het tribunaal hoeft niet meer te rekenen op samenwerking met welke Serviër dan ook. Men heeft nu gezien hoe slecht het tribunaal Serviërs behandelt.  
*Voorzitter Servische Socialistische Partij*

*Ivica Dacic, NRC Handelsblad, 13 maart*

Zelfmoord zou makkelijker voor ons zijn, zelfmoord kun je niet tegenhouden.

*Aanklager van het Joegoslavië-tribunaal in Den Haag, NRC Handelsblad, 13 maart*

Wij zijn er ook voor waarheidsvinding. Als het alleen maar zou gaan om een veroordeling, hadden we er een paar zaken uit kunnen pikken. Dat hebben we bewust niet gedaan. En ik heb er geen spijt van.

*Hoofdaanklager van het Joegoslavië-tribunaal Carla del Ponte, 13 maart*

Nog een laatste keer heeft hij de rollen omgedraaid. Hij heeft altijd beweerd dat de Serviërs slachtoffers van de geschiedenis waren. Nu kunnen zijn aanhangers beweren dat ook hij een slachtoffer van de geschiedenis is.

*Hoofdartikel The Times, 13 maart*

Ik hoop dat het tribunaal in de nabije toekomst de veiligheid van aangeklaagden beter kan garanderen. Maar wat er gebeurd is, mag geen reden zijn om de samenwerking van Servië met het tribunaal te stoppen. Dat zou Servië terugwerpen in een internationaal isolement.

*Servische president Boris Tadic, nrc.next, 15 maart*

Hebben 'ze' Milosevic niet gedood, waartoe overigens in een setting als de gevangenis alle gelegenheid bestond, dan hebben ze hem in elk geval de dood ingejaagd.

*Advocaat mr. N. M. P. Steijnen, NRC Handelsblad, 16 maart*

Obbervium 19. 3. 2006.

Goede Heer Speijmen,  
Geluk gewenst met uw geweldige  
artikel m.a.w. het overtyden van  
oud-President Milosevic van Joego-  
Slavie - in mijn geval: gelezen in de  
Gelderlander van 16. 3. j. t.

M.a.w. dit artikel zult u waarschijnlijk  
per telefoon moeilyk te bereiken zijn,  
vandaar dit briefje. Mogelyker wyjs  
heeft te ook boze reacties ontvangen -  
voor te hoop ik, dat dere reacties in  
de minderheid blijven.

Goed, dat door u ook eindelijk een  
andere reactie te horen was, dan alleen  
dat van "de boze man" uit voormalig  
Joegoslavie. Komt er nu als vervolg  
een "Del Potke-tribunaal", waarin zij zich  
eindelijk ook eens moet verantwoorden?  
Voor de heer Milosevic lykt <sup>het</sup> me een zegen,  
dat hij verlost is van dit onrechtzaak-  
dege gedoe in den Haag. Alleen voor zijn  
familie lykt ik me afschuwelyk; wilde hij  
daarom naar Moskou, omdat hij zijn  
dood voelde aankomen - om in Moskou  
afscheid van zijn familie te kunnen nemen?  
Goed, dat u hem ook heeft kunnen bystaan!  
Went u naar de begrafenis ginds geweest?  
Goede wensen voor u en uw vrouw,  
Tot hoors,  
Pomnie Poppeijns.

# Kritiek grafrede van Milosevic

21-3-2006

## DE OOSTENRIJKSE

schrijver Peter Handke is in Oostenrijk en Duitsland fel bekritiseerd over zijn toespraak bij de begrafenis van de Joegoslavische oud-president Slo-



bodan Milosevic (foto). Handke hield zaterdag in Pozarevac een lofrede op de man die voor het Joegoslavië-Tribunaal in Den Haag terecht stond wegens oorlogsmisdaden en genocide.

"Het is een schandaal dat Handke de Joegoslavische ex-dictator eert", aldus het commentaar gisteren in de Weense krant *Heute*. In het Duitse blad *Der Spiegel* roept CDU-parlementariër Günter Nooke Handke op diens "handelswijze uit te leggen", omdat de aanwezigheid van de schrijver bij Milosevic' begrafenis kan worden uitgelegd als een "rechtvaardiging van schendingen van mensenrechten en genocide".

**Van:** "J.Ligtenberg" <jenny1@scarlet.nl>  
**Aan:** "nicoi steynen"  
**Verzonden:** zondag 19 maart 2006 14:26  
**Onderwerp:** Fw: reactie

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

**From:** J.Ligtenberg  
**To:** delponte  
**Sent:** Sunday, March 19, 2006 12:08 PM  
**Subject:** reactie

Orie, Holthuis, Delponte en Steward,  
Wanneer jullie een geweten hebben moet dat toch eens in werking gezet worden. Al die suggesties/vermoedens na de dood van Milosevic proberen in de mik van het publiek te proppen is niet alleen onzuiver maar oliedom voor een zogeheten geacht forum van, wat zich RECHTSPRAAK noemt. Steward maakte het dinsdag op TV wel erg bont: Met een verachtelijke grijnslach wist zij te vertellen dat het Tribunaal al vanaf het begin wist dat Milosevic rommelde met zijn medicatie en nu het zover is dat het toch met aangrenzende zekerheid op zelfmoord leek. Uit deze veronderstelling zou men iets anders gaan geloven want waarom werd dan niet ingegrepen door de Overheid die verantwoordelijk is/blijft voor gedetineerden op haar grondgebied? Of het Tribunaal verzaakt heeft om dit te melden? Roept bij mij een andere vraag op: Wat komen die 22 Amerikaanse personen doen die op een dag onaangekondigd op de stoep stonden, zelfs onze Regering NIET van op de hoogte was? Door het Tribunaal aangeduid werden als:"illegalen?" Zo gesloten als een bus waren en op vragen "wat zijn jullie aan het doen" als enig antwoord kregen: "dat is vertrouwelijk" en "uit veiligheids-overwegingen" zeggen wij niets! Het Tribunaal een vermoeden had dat CIA lui onder hen was? Een van hen de brutaliteit had botten uit lijken te halen en mee naar amerika nam? a) zonder toestemming van familie (die overigens niet op een visitekaartje stond) b) zelfs het Tribunaal op verzoek NIETS kreeg! Moet men dan zo'n tent niet sluiten want heeft met de VN niets meer te maken? En blijkt dan TOCH een Amerikaanse bende te zijn? Waar elk willekeurig mens het slachtoffer van kan zijn....OF niet. Zoals b.v. Plavzic die slechts elf jaren detentie kreeg???!! Een Tribunaal staat toch volkomen in zijn hemd, evenals Uges met zijn mooie praatjes, wanneer nu ook nog blijkt volgens Rijswijk, dat Milosevic niet vergiftigd is.  
De ethiek van zowel Rechtspraak als de Journalistiek hebben een flinke deuk opgelopen. Sorry, maar beleefd kan ik niet zijn t.o. mensen die ZO afzichtelijk knoeien met mensen. Bovendien zich ook nog "christelijk" noemen. Jenny Ligtenberg.

## FROM ACCUSER TO ACCUSED: NICO STEIJNEN PREPARES THE WAY FOR CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS AGAINST KWON, BONOMY, AND ROBINSON IN THE DUTCH COURTS

www.slobodan-milosevic.org – March 19, 2006 [Updated March 25, 2006]

Written by: Andy Wilcoxson

Slobodan Milosevic Freedom Center board member Nico Steijnen, Slobodan Milosevic's attorney before the Dutch and International Courts, is preparing the way for Dutch authorities to file criminal charges against the Hague Tribunal's judges in the aftermath of President Milosevic's death.

Steijnen holds that the judges willfully destroyed President Milosevic's health by ignoring medical advice, and that they caused his death by actively preventing him from obtaining vital medical care.

On February 4, 1985 the Kingdom of the Netherlands ratified the "Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment." The convention entered into effect on Dutch soil on December 21, 1988.

Article 1 of the convention bans "any act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted on a person for such purposes as obtaining from him or a third person information or a confession, punishing him for an act he or a third person has committed or is suspected of having committed, or intimidating or coercing him or a third person, or for any reason based on discrimination of any kind, when such pain or suffering is inflicted by or at the instigation of or with the consent or acquiescence of a public official or other person acting in an official capacity."

Steijnen claims that forcing Milosevic to suffer and die in prison, while life-saving medical care was being offered by Russian physicians, is tantamount to torture causing death. As such he argues that the tribunal, and specifically the trial judges, violated the convention.

Aside from direct torture as defined in Article 1 of the Convention, Article 16 defines "other forms of cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment" as a serious offense requiring criminal prosecution.

Steijnen says that there is abundant case law showing that the sort of treatment Milosevic was forced to endure in the Hague prison, treatment which systematically and deliberately deprived him of vital medical care, is a crime under Article 16.

Officers of the Hague Tribunal have diplomatic immunity which shields them from most criminal prosecution before the Dutch courts, but torture – especially torture causing death – is a unique case.

Under the convention, there is no diplomatic immunity for torturers. Steijnen cites the case of former Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet, who was arrested in Great Britain on charges of torture.

In 1998 the British authorities arrested Pinochet at the request of Spanish prosecutors who had charged him with torture under the convention.

In 1999 the United Kingdom's highest court ruled that Pinochet could be extradited to Spain under the terms of the convention, but Pinochet's failing health, coupled with the fact that he had only committed acts of torture prior to the convention's adoption, led British authorities to return him to Chile.

Article 4 of the convention states: "Each State Party shall ensure that all acts of torture are offences under its criminal law. The same shall apply to an attempt to commit torture and to an act by any person which constitutes complicity or participation in torture. 2. Each State Party shall make these offences punishable by appropriate penalties which take into account their grave nature."

Article 5.3 of the convention states that "[The] Convention does not exclude any criminal jurisdiction exercised in accordance with internal law."

Article 5.1 (A) of the convention holds that criminal prosecution must be undertaken in a country "when the offences are committed in any territory under its jurisdiction or on board a ship or aircraft registered in that State."

Article 6 obliges "any State Party in whose territory a person alleged to have committed any offence referred to in article 4 is present shall take him into custody or take other legal measures to ensure his presence. The custody and other legal measures shall be as provided in the law of that State but may be continued only for such time as is

necessary to enable any criminal or extradition proceedings to be instituted."

According to Mr. Steijnen, the convention supersedes diplomatic immunity which makes it binding on the Dutch authorities to arrest and prosecute Mr. O-Gon Kwon, Mr. Patrick Robinson, and Mr. Iain Bonomy for torture resulting in the death of Slobodan Milosevic.

Should the Dutch authorities fail in their obligation to prosecute these criminals, it is possible (in light of the Pinochet precedent) that charges as well as international arrest warrants could be filed against the three accused men by a third country, such as Russia or Belarus.

However, in the event that the Dutch public prosecutor's office refuses to undertake proceedings, Steijnen says his next step will be to file a complaint with the Committee Against Torture in Geneva.

In addition to preparing criminal proceedings against the judges, Mr. Steijnen is preparing malpractice litigation against the doctors that the tribunal had treating Milosevic when he died.

Steijnen intends to haul the doctors up in front of the disciplinary board of the Dutch medical association. In particular he intends to hold Dr. Donald Uges accountable for pseudo-medical remarks that he made in the media on the occasion of President Milosevic's death.

Steijnen says he plans to be in court this Wednesday filing perjury charges against the former Dutch foreign minister Jozias van Aartsen, for lying in connection with testimony he gave before Dutch courts regarding the 1999 NATO bombing of Radio-Television Serbia.

Nico Steijnen is an unsung hero. He has been working for President Milosevic for free for several years and he really deserves and needs all of our support.

To help finance Mr. Steijnen's work please make a donation to the Slobodan Milosevic Freedom Center at:  
<http://www.slobodan-milosevic.org/hague/donate.htm>

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veeguen de bezwaren van tafel. Leefijd maakt niet uit, was hun

uiteindelijk over de aangevoerde bezwaren oordeelt.

den kort

## 'Milosevic was net aan het winnen'

Slobodan Milosevic is gisteren begraaven, maar Rik Min uit Enschede blijft zich inzetten voor het verdedigen van de vermeende oorlogsmisdadiger. "Verschrikkelijk dat hij niet berecht is. Hij was aan het winnen."

Min, lid van de Nieuwe Communistische Partij heeft donderdag gedemonstreerd voor het Joegoslavië-tribunaal, tegen 'het laten doodgaan van Slobodan Milosevic'. Rik Min heeft zich vijf jaar ingezet in het International Committee to Defend Slobodan Milosevic. "Ik verdedig hem niet, maar zijn visie. Nationalisme is de grootste ramp die ons in de wereld kan overkomen, maar Milosevic was geen nationalist. Hij wilde juist de boel bij elkaar houden in Joegoslavië. Hij had de grondwettelijke plicht en het recht om te doen wat hij deed. Net zoals koningin Wilhelmina in de oorlog, die zich inzette voor de bevrijding van Nederland", zegt de Enschedeër. "Milosevic moest zich verdedigen. Als het Westen zich er niet mee bemoeit, zou hebben? Dan was het allemaal wel goed gekomen."

"Ik heb na zijn dood meteen alle kranten gekocht die er maar zijn.



## Wat een Week

Selevenissen rond het nieuws dat ons bezig houdt bezig houdt

Onvoorstelbaar hoeveel onwaarheden ik daarin heb aangetroffen. Op iedere pagina leugens. Toen dacht ik ik heb nog een lange weg te gaan... Het gaat me niet om hoe hij is ongekomen of waarom. De waarheid moet aan het licht komen. Ik houd vertrouwen in de geschiedeniswetenschap, maar het duurt misschien nog een paarhonderd jaar totdat het inzicht er is."

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Tab. 20. 19 mrt. 2006



**Sagittarius**

19-3-2006 ✓

**Van:** "R Despotovic" <despot@tiscali.nl>  
**Aan:** "Sagittarius" <sagitar@hetnet.nl>; "Jenny Ligtenberg"  
**Verzonden:** dinsdag 14 april 2006 0:27  
**Onderwerp:** The Truth behind the Death of Slobodan Milosevic

## The Truth behind the Death of Slobodan Milosevic

by Tiphaine Dickson

March 19, 2006

[GlobalResearch.ca](http://GlobalResearch.ca)

**STATEMENT OF TIPHAINÉ DICKSON, LEGAL SPOKESPERSON OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE TO DEFEND SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC, AT THE ICDSM PRESS CONFERENCE HELD AT THE BELAIR TULIP IN THE HAGUE, NETHERLANDS, MARCH 14th, 2006.**

Tiphaine Dickson

This press conference was initially planned last week, to present a request signed by well-known jurists, including the former Attorney General of the United States, Mr. Ramsey Clark, and prominent political figures, including a member of the Russian Duma, the Czech Parliament as well as the European Parliament, which was filed last Friday with the Security Council of the United Nations as well as the Appeals Chamber of the ICTY, to direct the latter institution to permit President Milosevic to receive the specialized medical treatment his well-known and longstanding medical condition required at the Bakoulev Center in Moscow.

It obviously pains me to have made this last trip to The Hague without any hope that Slobodan Milosevic's health will ever be stabilized.

What an indecent end to a disgraceful process, starting on day one, when in a blaze of astonishing irony, the president of Yugoslavia was indicted by this body for allegations of crimes against Humanity in Kosovo, a claim backed by evidence so slender and biased that it was inversely proportional to its political and indeed its military charge.

The bombing itself—all 78 days of it—was executed in violation of international law, a classic case of aggression, held by the Nuremberg Tribunal to be the supreme international crime in that it holds within it the accumulated evil of all other war crimes.

That the NATO bombing was a violation of international law was acknowledged by Wesley Clark, to the US weekly *The New Yorker*, but that admission was deemed inadmissible before this Security Council institution, the ICTY. Mr Milosevic was prevented from raising General Clark's candid admission before this body, although it was so obviously germane to his defense.

NATO short-circuited the Security Council to bomb, yet instrumentalized a Security Council body to indict President Milosevic and kept bombing, as the Prosecutor announced that because of the indictment of the President of the country being bombed in violation of international law, the president, the representative of his people, was no longer a suitable guarantor in any peace negotiations.

Disgraceful from the start.

11-4-06

so it went, with President Milosevic's removal from then Yugoslavia, without as much as a court order to the director of the Belgrade jail in which he was being held, and in violation of a decision by Yugoslavia's constitutional court.

And it ground on, with every single request for provisional release, based on his ill-health, denied.

Was the presumption that President Milosevic would abscond? Such a conclusion is preposterous, as in four years, he made clear his tireless commitment to defending himself, and above all he demonstrated his unrelenting passion for setting out the facts about the dismemberment of Yugoslavia.

His commitment to presenting his case, that there were no Balkan wars but indeed one war, waged against Yugoslavia, was evident for all to observe.

This was most obvious when President Milosevic was poised to begin his defense in late August 2004. His health was better than it became in recent months, yet, incredibly, Dr. Falke, the ICTY prison doctor, reported that Slobodan Milosevic would not have the ability to represent himself in the proceedings against him.

Contrast this finding—a matter of law, which in any event, a medical practitioner is not entitled to determine—with the trial Chamber's subsequent findings questioning the necessity of specialized medical care in Moscow.

Contradictory positions with a common thread: the violation of the rights of an accused person.

That Pavle Strugar, accused before the ICTY, may receive hip replacement surgery—a minor procedure—based on the guarantees of Montenegro, seems absurdly inconsistent with the denial of complex vascular and cardiac care in a renowned specialized facility in Russia, a permanent member of the Security Council.

I can tell you that President Milosevic was hoping that our letter to the Security Council and to the Trial Chamber would be persuasive, and that this press conference could help him receive treatment so that he could finish his defense without fear of a hypertensive crisis or constant ringing in his ears.

But that is not to be.

Our hope is that the confidentiality of all medical records, doctors' notes, prescription protocols and records, as well as test results be waived and be available for scrutiny and for discussion, without exception.

We will shortly be requesting that the Secretary-General of the UN, Kofi Annan, waive the civil and criminal immunity of certain individuals who by systematic neglect, potential medical malpractice, or worse, precipitated the death of a man, who even in death, stands wrongfully accused of having been its cause.

We hope, and are fully confident, that the truth will emerge.

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No virus found in this incoming message.

Checked by AVG Free Edition.

Version: 7.1.385 / Virus Database: 268.2.4/283 - Release Date: 16-3-2006

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

**From:** tony black

**Sent:** Sunday, March 19, 2006 7:00 PM

**Subject:** Death at The Hague

The latest scribble for the April edition of 'Mayday'...

Tony

### Death at The Hague

Kafka could have written the book, Orwell the screen adaptation, such is the extraordinary, even absurdist, lengths to which Western propagandists have gone to invert the reality.

But, in fact, the fanciful vilification of one man, Slobodan Milosevic, the completely fabricated demonization of an entire nation, Serbia, and the impudent revisionist history concocted for an epoch defining conflict, Yugoslavia, was scripted by neither of these two masters of social and political satire. It was, instead, penned by an altogether more sinister hand - 'victor's justice'.

#### A Kangaroo Tribunal

The controversial death (controversial by virtue of the fact that, by all accounts, it was entirely preventable) on March 11 of Milosevic in his prison cell at Sheveningen (near The Hague) capped one of the most sordid episodes in recent Western imperial history. That the trial itself was nothing but a show trial, a kangaroo court, there can be no doubt.

Thus, not only was the tribunal largely funded by American corporations and the American government in direct violation of its Charter, but it was entirely staffed through their approval. Nor was it ever ratified by the UN General Assembly. But then the 78 day bombardment of Yugoslavia by NATO was, itself, completely illegal under international law having never been validated by the United Nations Security Council or General Assembly (a fact conveniently and unfailingly forgotten by official pundits).

Indeed, there was no comparable tribunal to try the NATO leaders for this brutal, gratuitous and unlawful attack on a sovereign nation (the first unprovoked assault on a European nation since the Second World War).

In addition, the protocol of the court itself was/is patently scandalous, openly defying centuries of normative Western jurisprudence (hearsay evidence is allowed, witnesses can testify anonymously; there is no jury, etc).

Moreover, in three years of testimony not a single piece of evidence linking Milosevic to his alleged crimes was ever produced (his premature death thus proving something of Godsend to prosecutors). Indeed, despite having the most meagre of resources at his disposal, Milosevic early on turned the tables on his accusers by demolishing their witnesses one after the other. Such was his success that the proceedings quickly began to resonate less with "echoes of the Nuremberg trials" than with rumblings of the Stalin show trials. Expecting a staid morality play of "the Butcher of Belgrade" vs. the Good Guys, journalists at the trial were, instead, treated to a rousing production of David versus Goliath.

But then the charges against Milosevic were always flimsy at best, where they were not outright fabrications.

## A Short History of Violence

Though virtually the entire corpus of the mainstream media has continued to paint the civil wars in the 1990s as the sole responsibility of the Serbs, to do so has required an unremitting dedication to wilfully falsifying the facts of the case.

It has, for instance, entered Western political mythology that Milosevic was a rabid nationalist who in his famous Kosovo Field Speech of 1989 stoked the fires of Serb national intolerance. This notion is curiously at odds with the media's initial reception of the speech which called it a model of multiethnic tolerance and profound appreciation of the virtues of peaceful co-existence (as is consistent with the fact the speech was never thereafter actually quoted).

Moreover, it was clear that leaders such as Croatia's Franjo Tudjman, a Holocaust-denier with an abiding affection for the old WW2 Croatian regime allied with Hitler (Tudjman, once in power, had streets, that had been named in honour of WW2 anti-fascist partisans, changed to honour fascist leaders), and the Muslim nationalist leader Izetbegovic (who in his youth had collaborated with Hitler) were intent from the get-go both in breaking up Yugoslavia and in ethnically 'cleansing' their respective populations. But to do this they needed outside help. Enter the World Bank and the IMF.

In December 1989 the IMF imposed draconian conditions on Yugoslavia aimed at destabilizing and destroying its large state-owned businesses. In the banking system alone over half a million workers were laid off in one year. Two out of every three state sector jobs were eliminated. The result, not surprisingly, was chaos, misery, and the inflammation of long smouldering nationalist sentiments amongst the various ethnic enclaves. The initial impulse, then, of the eventual civil wars in Yugoslavia stemmed from this externally imposed, ham-fisted, neo-colonialist enterprise.

Now, when Milosevic assumed leadership of Yugoslavia in the fall of 1990 he immediately sought to stem this destruction of the country's largely socialist economy. But in resisting this process of 'globalization' Milosevic quickly earned the undying enmity of the great Western powers. Imperial logic dictated that he would have to go.

It was at this point that the US and Germany began infiltrating advisors, weapons and money into the hands of secessionist groups throughout Yugoslavia. The infiltration was, at first, carried out by ostensibly private mercenary outfits like Military Professional Resources Inc. (MPRI), a 'business' with close ties to the Pentagon and staffed by former high ranking US military and intelligence officers. In collusion with Slovenian, Croat, Muslim and Albanian leaders MPRI began to foment the various conflicts that would be uniformly thereafter blamed on Milosevic, but who, by any objective standards, was alone in attempting to quell the growing, and by now largely artificially stimulated, ethnic tensions.

Later outfits included the likes of several thousand Mujahadeen fighters (with cameo appearances by Osama bin Laden) who had graduated from CIA-funded training in Pakistan and Afghanistan, and who then found gainful employment in the service of their old masters in a new and exciting frontier.

When the inevitable wars of secession finally did occur and when, as in any civil war, excesses and atrocities were committed on all sides, only the Serbs' crimes were focused on in lavish, endlessly provocative detail (this due in part to the US public relations firm Ruder Finn, colleagues of the PR firm Hill & Knowlton, they of the infamous Kuwaiti 'incubator' lie used as pretext for the 1991 Gulf War). In fact, the disinformation campaign was worse than this. Many of the larger crimes attributed to the Serbs were either brazenly decontextualized, grossly exaggerated or completely fabricated. A few examples are worthy of exploration.

Welcome to The Trueman Show....

One of the "crimes" (in fact *the* 'crime') used as a pretext for the NATO attack on March 24, 1999, was a sensationalized account of a massacre of 48 Albanian Kosovars in the village of Racak by Serb armed forces in mid-January of that year. The problem with the official version of events was that a bevy of international observers and an Associated Press TV crew who happened to be on hand witnessed not a massacre but a firefight between Yugoslav and Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) guerrillas. Subsequently two Western forensic teams also cast grave doubt on the 'massacre' which looked more and more like a dog-and-pony show staged by William Walker, (Washington's man in Kosovo) and the KLA. But NATO and its dutiful press corps simply suppressed the evidence and reported its own version of events to a now, well-indoctrinated, anti-Serb Western audience.

Then there was the infamous "death camp" at Trnopolje, Bosnia, reputedly filmed by an ITN film crew in 1992. It was later revealed that the crew had filmed immigrants while stationing themselves behind a chicken and barbed wire enclosure, i.e. a complete fabrication.

Another egregious piece of propaganda concerns the so-called "ethnic genocide" in Kosovo in the two years prior to NATO intervention. For despite the wildly extravagant claims bandied about in the press prior to the NATO attack (often ranging past a hundred thousand and, occasionally up to half a million) follow-up investigation by a number of international forensic teams (including one from the RCMP) yielded approximately 3000 bodies. And of these, the majority were combatants, not civilians, and included Serb as well as KLA forces.

In other words, a "genocide" had been fabricated entirely out of thin air, was later proven to be so, and this fact was then blithely dismissed as somehow irrelevant to Western political and cultural values.

Irrelevant perhaps, but certainly revealing.

Then there was the ludicrous charge that Milosevic had ethnically cleansed up to 800,000 Albanian Kosovars *during* the 78-day NATO bombardment. In truth, it was the bombardment itself in conjunction with some timely 'encouragement' by the KLA (to provide a continued pretext for NATO intervention) that led to the mass exodus.

What is worse is that, following the NATO attack, the KLA (long known to the American Drug Enforcement Agency as virtually coincident with the Albanian mafia - itself responsible for a sizeable proportion of the heroin trade in the Western Hemisphere) did, in actual fact, later ethnically cleanse over 300,000 Serbs, Romas, Jews and others from Kosovo (and killed several thousand more). And this occurred under NATO stewardship. Indeed, the almost total ethnic cleansing of up to 2 million Serbs by Croat, Bosnian and KLA forces from their respective territories remains to this day one of the most blatantly suppressed facts of the entire Yugoslav conflict.

This latter example points up the utter hypocrisy of the doctrine of 'command responsibility' under which Milosevic was being tried. For if this doctrine was applied across the board, there is not a leader in NATO who wouldn't (just for the aftermath of Kosovo alone, let alone previous or more recent crimes) find him or herself in the dock.

Finally, it's worth delving into what is probably the greatest triumph of propaganda to emerge from the Balkan wars; the so-called 'Srebrenica massacre'.

Of the vast repertoire of lies that have been woven into the rotted fabric of the official history of modern Yugoslavia (including - in addition to those already mentioned - the Serb refusal to negotiate at Rambouillet, the 250,000 Bosnian dead, the Markdale massacre, and the notion of 'Greater Serbia' as the driving impulse behind the Balkan wars) probably the most resonant, and so the most damaging, is that of the Srebrenica massacre. For it is 'Srebrenica' that, above all the others, came to symbolize the bottomless depredation, the utter evil of the Serbs, in stark and

woeful contrast to the limitless victimhood of their opponents.

The truth of the matter is somewhat more sobering. Thus, of the original estimate of 8,000 killed (which included 5,000 "missing"), several thousand were later known to have reached Bosnian Muslim lines. Many more were later shown to have perished in combat. Despite these well documented facts, and despite the fact that satellite photos and later forensic investigation failed to turn up any actual evidence of a massacre [2,000 bodies were later disinterred in the area but, as in the case of Kosovo, most (though not all) of these were found to be combatants, including the bodies of Serb forces] the '8,000' (civilian) figure continues to live on in Western mythology completely immune from critical analysis.

Also immune from critical analysis was the political and military context surrounding Srebrenica. That is, the almost total 'failure' to publicize how the Bosnian Muslims were using the previously designated 'safe haven' of Srebrenica to launch murderous raids on local Bosnian Serb villages; or how the 'massacre' was yet another in a long line of strategically timed revelations/fabrications designed to surmount political barriers to increased NATO intervention; or how it was used as propaganda cover for the immediately preceding ethnic cleansing of Western Bosnia by Croatian authorities, and for the immediately succeeding and brutal 'cleansing' of the Krajina Serb population (over 150,000 forced out with more civilian deaths than ever documented at Srebrenica) again by Croatian forces, and with US approval and logistical support.

#### Witness for the Prosecution

Following the NATO attack and the subsequent reduction of Yugoslavia to a splintered string of NATO protectorates dominated by intolerance, militarism, graft, unemployment prostitution and rampant privatization (and the construction, to boot, of the largest NATO military base in Eastern Europe - Camp Bondsteel), there quickly arose the need to maintain the fictions employed in the decade-long propaganda war. To this end was Milosevic illegally (i.e. in defiance of the Serb Constitution) kidnapped and brought to The Hague for prosecution for 'war crimes'.

Unfortunately for the prosecution, its evidence, consisting of little more than the war propaganda churned out at a time when the principle concern of the Allies was not to contrive an airtight criminal case, but rather simply to win Western public acquiescence for a naked assault on Serbia, failed conspicuously to stand up under cross-examination.

Indeed, symbolic of the prosecution's failure was the case of their star witness, Radomir Markovic, the former head of Serbian secret police. Called to the stand to tell the dirty on Milosevic, he not only completely turned the tables (by relating how Milosevic had, time and again, attempted to quell ethnic tensions, and reign in, discipline and even prosecute Serbian army excesses), but, oh by the way, how he (Markovic) had first been *tortured, then bribed* by the prosecution to lie about Milosevic's 'crimes'!

Judge Richard May immediately attempted to muzzle Markovic. He needn't have bothered for the Western press subsequently did the job for him, almost uniformly failing to report Markovic's testimony. They also failed to report many other accounts including the testimony of Dr Cees Wiebes, a professor at Amsterdam University, whose 7,000 page report on Srebrenica concluded that, whatever did happen there, it is clear that Milosevic had absolutely nothing to do with it.

Now, of course, none of this - not the historical record of US and German intrigue, the questions, the testimony, the pattern of undeniable and egregious propaganda - none of it has made the slightest dent in the massive outpouring of mainstream invective directed towards Milosevic following his death on March 11. Which just goes to point up that, however comforting you may feel in concluding we have apparently, mercifully, escaped the fate of Orwell's "1984", you are wrong.

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## 'Mooie en moedige leider', 'moordenaar' Milosevic begraven

20-3-2006  
Van onze redactie buitenland

Nog eenmaal werd Slobodan Milosevic zaterdag bewierookt en verguisd. Toen werd hij begraven onder de boom waar hij zijn Mira voor het eerst gekust zou hebben.

De kist met daarin zijn stoffelijk overschot stond zaterdag enkele uren voor het Servische parlement in Belgrado, waar tienduizenden aanhangers van 'Slobo' de kans kregen om hem de laatste eer te bewijzen. In de loop van de middag werd het lichaam van de oud-president, vorige week zaterdag overleden in zijn cel in Nederland, waar hij terecht stond als oorlogsmisdadiger, overgebracht naar zijn geboorteplaats Pozarevac. Daar werd een tweede ceremonie gehouden. Na afloop werd hij ter aarde besteld in de tuin van zijn ouderlijk huis.

De Socialistische Partij waar hij tot zijn dood voorzitter van was, organiseerde de begrafenis, die werd bijgewoond door ongeveer twintigduizend mensen. Donderdag en vrijdag waren er al zeventigduizend langs de baar in Belgrado gegaan.

De naaste familie van Milosevic woonde de plechtigheden niet bij. Zijn vrouw en zoon vreesden in Servië te worden aangehouden en zijn in Moskou gebleven. Van Mira Markovic werd daarom een brief voorgelezen: „Als iemand aan die dwergen [in Den Haag] denkt, zal men zich hen herinneren als degenen die een mooie en moedige leider hebben verraden. Servie is woedend vandaag; was het maar op 28 juni 2001 woedend geweest, een paar gecorrumpeerde boeven hadden je dan niet naar Den Haag kunnen brengen”, zo schreef ze onder meer.

Ook de Amerikaanse oud-minister van Justitie Ramsey Clark preeste de ex-president, volgens hem „in ketenen uit zijn thuisland naar Den Haag gestuurd, terwijl de Verenigde Staten en de Navo straffeloos doorgingen met misdadige oorlogen.”  
Vuk Draskovic, minister van Buitenlandse Zaken van Servië-Montenegro, noemde de massale bijeenkomst voor de 'moordenaar' een schande. „Alle pleinen zouden te klein zijn voor de slachtoffers van zijn regime, alle doden, de vluchtelingen verspreid over de wereld.”  
Draskovic was jarenlang in de oppositie tegen Milosevic en overleefde enkele aanslagen op zijn leven.

de Volkskrant Maandag 20 maart 2006

# 'Begravenis Milosevic einde van een tijdperk'

Reportage | Familie van ex-president Servië niet aanwezig bij afscheid in Belgrado en bescheiden plechtigheid in voormalige villa in geboortestadje Pozarevac

In Belgrado valt de opkomst bij het afscheid van president Milosevic ietwat tegen. In zijn geboorteplaats Pozarevac roept de begravenis van 'Slobo' vooral gemengde gevoelens op.

Van onze verslaggeefster  
**Charlotte Huisman**  
BELGRADO/POZAREVAC

Ze hebben uren gereden vanuit andere delen van Servië, uit Montenegro of Republiek Srpska naar de hoofdstad Belgrado. Met de inwoners van de hoofdstad weten ze met ongeveer 80 duizend aanwezigen de weg, de zijstraten en het park voor het parlement te vullen, als zaterdagochtend de wagen met het lichaam van de overleden president Slobodan Milosevic arriveert.

Een mensenmassa, al haalt het aantal het niet bij het door zijn socialistische partij SPS de avond ervoor voorspelde aantal van 200 duizend. Het heeft geholpen dat de veel grotere ultranationalistische Radicale Partij zijn leden heeft opgeroepen te komen. Partij-kopstuk van de Radicale Partij Tomislav Nikolic zal later op het podium een brief voorlezen van zijn leider Vojislav Seselj, die in afwachting van zijn proces nog vastzit in de gevangenis van Scheveningen, waar Milosevic zijn laatste jaren doorbracht. Ook de vrouw van Seselj is aanwezig. Als de menigte 'Seselj, Seselj' begint te scanderen, raken de socialisten geïrriteerd. Dit is wel de begravenis van onze Slobo en niet jullie manifestatie, maken ze de Radicals duidelijk.

De begravenis van Milosevic is uitgelopen op een manifestatie van Servisch nationalisme. De kreten, gescandeerd door duizenden ke-

len, liegen er niet om. 'We zullen Mladic nooit overdragen', roepen ze. 'Kosovo blijft van ons.' 'NAVO, fascisten'. En 'Dood aan Boris Tadic'.

In de menigte zijn naast alle mogelijke Slobo-afbeeldingen ook T-shirts van de gezochte oorlogsmisdadigers Radovan Karadzic en Ratko Mladic te ontwaren. De politie, massaal aanwezig, heeft de menigte goed in de hand.

Het aantal vooraanstaande buitenlandse prominente gasten dat de begravenis van de voormalige president bezoekt, is uiterst beperkt. De menigte roept 'Russen, broeders' als een Russische generaal, een vertegenwoordiging van de Doema en prominenten van de Russische communistische partij aantreden. Russische en Servische militairen omhelzen elkaar achter het podium, en schudden de hand van de partijtop van de Radicale Partij.

Nog geen honderd meter van deze manifestatie winkelt Belgrado er lustig op los, als elke andere zaterdag. Het is niet als bij de begravenis van de vermoorde premier Zoran Djindjic drie jaar geleden, toen de hele stad in shock verkeerde.

## Aantal buitenlandse gasten bij begravenis is uiterst beperkt

de, klinkt het daar. En: Belgrado is grote manifestaties met veel vlagvertoon wel gewend. Sommigen zeggen: het merendeel van de aanhangers van Milosevic is zo oud, dat wij zijn begravenis beschouwen als het einde van een tijdperk.

Maar een tegendemonstratie komt niet echt van de grond. Aan de oproep via sms en e-mail van

anti-Milosevic-activisten om 3 uur 's middags een tegendemonstratie te houden op het plein van de Republiek geven naar schatting slechts tweeduizend personen gehoor.

De lijkwagen en zijn gevolg is dan al op weg naar Pozarevac, de geboorteplaats van de voormalige president en ook zijn laatste rustplaats. In het slaperige stadje ongeveer 80 kilometer van Belgrado is het beduidend rustiger. De mensen hebben zich langs de wegen en op de balkons langs de hoofdstraat opgesteld om niets van het spektakel te missen; niet elke dag is het oog van de wereld gericht op de sjofele binnenstad. 'We zijn hier om afscheid te nemen van onze president', giechelt een groepje schoolmeisjes. Ze hebben zich mooi aangekleed en opgemaakt en lonken naar de voorbijgangers.

Een groepje ouderen drinkt een kop koffie om bij te komen van de

betoging in Belgrado. 'Er waren wel 600 duizend mensen aanwezig voor het parlement', zeggen ze. Veel meer volgens hen dan op 5 oktober 2000, toen een grote menigte president Milosevic afzette.

'Wat!', zegt Ivan een 23-jarige student politicologie. Hij heeft hun gesprek opgevangen en kijkt verstoord om. Hij was er bij die bewuste 5 oktober, hoe durven ze te suggereren dat het vandaag drukker is? Ivan is niet voor Milosevic in Pozarevac. Hij rijdt vandaag mensen tegen betaling rond, hij heeft het geld hard nodig. Maar lang houdt hij het niet vol. 'Ik raak ontmoedigd van de staat van mijn land als ik dit nog langer moet aanzien. Ik word er ziek van', zegt hij.

De lijkwagen van Milosevic en zijn gevolg rijdt na vieren de stad binnen door de 'Slobo' scanderende menigte. De stoet trekt naar het huis van de voormalige president,

waar hij in de tuin zal worden begraven in aanwezigheid van ongeveer honderd genodigden.

Het jonge stel Ivan en Ivana heeft vanaf het balkon van hun appartement goed zicht op de ommuurde villa. 'Hij is deze opwindig niet waard, wij hebben hem weg gestemd', zeggen ze. Ze vrezen dat de villa zal uitgroeien tot een bedevaartsoord voor aanhangers, of dat er een Milosevic-museum in wordt gevestigd.

Toch kijken ze met gemengde gevoelens naar de tv-beelden van de bescheiden plechtigheid in de tuin, waar de kist van Milosevic na zonsondergang in de grond verdwijnt. Een actrice leest een brief van Mirjana Markovic voor; de vrouw van de overleden president is niet aanwezig, zijn zoon en dochter evenmin. 'Een begravenis waar je familie niet bij is, en zelfs geen priester bij aanwezig is, is wel heel sneu', meent Ivan.

**Van:** "Ian Johnson" <j-  
**Aan:** <Undisclosed-Recipient:>  
**Verzonden:** maandag 20 maart 2006 4:09  
**Onderwerp:** CDSM: The numbers who attended

Dear Friends, For your information please find below a letter we have received regarding the numbers who attended the funeral of President Milosevic. What should also be noted is that the puppet authorities in Serbia actively worked against the funeral arrangements, frightened of upsetting their Western masters, and the fact that the two main organising bodies, the SPS and SRS, did not have the advantage of media control, which is in the hands of DOS agents etc. Despite all these obstacles the turnout was huge and with the presence of military personnel and visiting Russian officials it was, to all intents and purposes, a state funeral, much to the annoyance of the watching Western powers. Many congratulations to the organisers who in such a short period of time were able to create a fitting tribute to the President. IJ

19.03.2006.

Dear Ian,

Yesterday and today I have been following very closely the media presentation of the funeral of President Slobodan Milosevic, and there is no question that the centers of power both in the world and in Serbia have been doing their utmost to undermine the importance of the actual event. A tremendous effort has been instigated to misrepresent what happened, especially with respect to the numbers who attended the funeral.

Yesterday and today I was in touch with Belgrade, speaking to good friends of mine, who underlined the fact that the numbers of those who attended the funeral were huge. For Belgrade two figures were given: more than 300,000 and more than 500,000. For Pozarevac two figures were also given: 200,000 and 300,000. This means that well over half a million people came, and this number is increasing, since today I was told that all those who couldnt come on Saturday, or else could not get through due to the huge numbers, are coming today to Pozarevac to give their final respects.

The behavior of the media has been disgraceful. The worst has probably been CNN International, which had TV crews in Belgrade and Pozarevac. Their commentator from Pozarevac was utterly despicable, doing his best to reduce the numbers who attended. He constantly kept using two phrases: a few thousand and a few tens of thousands who attended. The CNN camera teams in Pozarevac kept on using that well known camera trick of pointing their cameras directly into the masses, so that the flanks could not be seen, and thus trying to reduce the actual number of people who attended, even though it was obvious

that the number was great. In Belgrade they either pointed their cameras from the center of the masses towards the Parliament building, or else pointed their camera from the doors of the Parliament building towards the center of the masses, the camera being tilted at an angle, again with the aim of reducing the numbers of those who attended.

CNN again did its best to vilify President Milosevic, constantly repeating all those absurd charges which have been heard since 1991, and constantly repeating that after the funeral ceremony in Belgrade there was a contra-manifestation against President Milosevic in the center of Belgrade, which numbered some thousands of people. In fact, this contra-manifestation was basically made up of scoundrels and teenagers, waving balloons, and numbering a few hundred.

I have been assured that the authorities in Belgrade are in a state of shock, stunned by the numbers who turned up. They obviously thought that six years of propaganda and vilification did the trick in sinking the memory of President Milosevic. The opposite happened, as I knew it would.

About one week ago I wrote to you, saying that after the death of President Milosevic, nothing would be the same on the political scene in Serbia. My friends in Belgrade assure me that this is indeed the case, the death of President Milosevic having dealt a sobering "punch" to the psyche of the people. The next general elections should indeed be very interesting.

Best wishes.

A friend from Serbia.

**Sagittarius**

**Van:** "Ian Johnson" <j-  
**Aan:** <Undisclosed-Recipient:>  
**Verzonden:** maandag 20 maart 2006 0:39  
**Onderwerp:** CDSM: More Milosevic comments

Statement of the World Peace Council

The World Peace Council expresses its sincere sorrow for the death of the former President of Yugoslavia, Slobodan Milosevic who was kept imprisoned by the so-called International Criminal Tribunal for Yugoslavia (ICTY) of Hague, a completely controlled and paid "court" of the USA and NATO. The ICTY, an idea of the ex- Secretary of State of the USA, Madeline Albright and of her European allies, was installed only for one reason: to justify and legitimize the 78 days of bombing of Yugoslavia in 1999. Leaders and politicians who resisted to their plans had to pay for their non-compliance as now Slobodan Milosevic did, with their lives. The "conquerors" of the ex-united Yugoslavia, after splitting up the country, causing wars and destruction, bombings of civilians and protectorates, wanted to wash them clean in Hague. Humanity and the peace loving people of the world cannot forget and will not forgive the imperialist crimes in Yugoslavia. The WPC is expressing its deep respect for the brave attitude of Slobodan Milosevic, who refused to accept the blackmail both before and after the aggression in his country. Our deepest condolences to his family and to his party. The Secretariat of the WPC  
 13th March 2006

**Comments by Neil Clark**

According to the Focus New Agency, more than 500,000 people attended yesterday's ceremony of mourning in Belgrade for President Milosevic. The anti-Milosevic Serbian authorities have put the figure at 100,000.

Why then do both the BBC and Teletext continue to report that only 50,000 attended?

I have written to them to ask from which source did they get their figure- I'll post any reply as soon as I get one.

ps the other standard propaganda trick in today's Imperial media is to portray the demonstrators as 'predominantly elderly'. This is a clear lie- as looking at any pictures of the march will prove. People of all ages were there- an unpalatable fact for the Empire- which likes to pretend that only a small minority of elderly 'nationalists' mourn Milosevic. In any case, isn't trying to disparage a ceremony by claiming that those present were mainly elderly, ageist? Is the NWO saying that only the voices of C.I.A. bankrolled youth movements like the notorious OTPOR count- and that elderly people's don't?

**More Than 500,000 People at Milosevic's Funeral**

FOCUS News Agency - 18 March 2006 (15:04)

Belgrade. Over 500,000 people are at official ceremony of mourning for ex Yugoslavian President Slobodan Milosevic in center of Serbian capital Belgrade, RIA Novosti informs citing Belgrade police. Up to now there have been no incidents. About 40 people have looked for medical help and one man died during the funeral procession in memory of Milosevic in Belgrade, RTS announced. According to RTS about 100,000 people gathered in front of Serbia and Montenegro Parliament where Milosevic's remains are at the moment. Russian Communist party leader Gennady Zyuganov and Vice Speaker of the Russian State Duma (Parliament) Sergey Baburin are taking part in the funeral procession which started around noon in Belgrade today, RIA Novosti informed earlier. Russian MPs were greeted by the people who shouted "Russia! Russia!", the agency adds.

**The Inhumanity of the Empire – Neil Clark**

What do you call an Empire which murders those who stand in their way- and then denies the family of those it has killed the right to attend their funeral? Scum of the Earth?

Yup, that's the only thing you can call them.

The Quisling Serbian government, under orders from its Imperial masters, has deliberately prevented Mira Markovic and her son Marko from attending President Milosevic's funeral.


Please, please, no more talk on 'human rights' from the biggest bunch of fascists to walk God's earth since the fall of the Third Reich. Nor too from the pathetic rag-bag of journalists who make money by parroting their inhumane, fascistic propaganda.

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## SERBIA

# Hundreds of thousands march at funeral

Published Mar 21, 2006 10:37 PM

Hundreds of thousands of people gathered for Slobodan Milosevic's funeral in Belgrade on March 18.



**Supporters of Slobodan Milosevic surround coffin during a memorial service in Pozarevac before the funeral.**

Cathrin Schuetz, a leading member of Milosevic's defense committee (ICDSM) from Germany, said, "The view from the podium was impressive. People filled the main square and the side streets as far as the eye could see." (Junge Welt, Jan. 20)

From the time Milosevic's body was flown from The Hague to Belgrade on March 15 to his burial in his nearby hometown of Pozarevac, the corporate media in Western Europe and the United States attempted to minimize the number of mourners. First reports put them at "hundreds," and later ones claimed they were all older, retired people.


Schuetz made it clear that not only was the funeral march massive—one Belgrade radio station said 500,000 were present—but that it was made up of people of all ages who expressed both sorrow at Milosevic's death and rage at those who persecuted him.

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Among the international delegation from the ICDSM were former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, Velko Valkanov from Bulgaria, Aldo Bernardini from Italy, June Kelly from Ireland and a member of the political bureau of the Communist Party of Greece. Russia sent a delegation, in which all parliament parties were represented, among them Konstantin Satulin of President Vladimir Putin's party, Sergei Baburin, vice-speaker of the parliament, chairperson of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation Gennadi Zyuganov and retired Gen. R. Leonid Ivashov.

The pro-Western government in Serbia prevented Milosevic's closest family members from attending the funeral, including his widow and political comrade of almost five decades, Mira Markovic, and their son Marko Milosevic, because criminal charges in Serbia—widely recognized as trumped up and political in nature—hang over both of them.

Clark had visited Yugoslavia with a delegation from the International Action Center twice during the U.S.-NATO 78-day bombing attack in 1999. Speaking at the funeral ceremonies, he concluded, "History will prove Milosevic was right. Charges are just that, charges. The tribunal did not have facts."

—John Catalinotto

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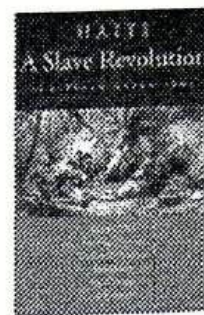
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Nederland fout in zaak Milosevic volgens Britten

Gepost door Roel (jozef444) - Bron: AD

Gepubliceerd: dinsdag 21 maart 2006 @ 09:10



Nederland had geen lijkschouwing uit mogen voeren op het stoffelijk overschot van Slobodan Milosevic. Bij het Joegoslavië tribunaal waren er interne afspraken gemaakt dat niet Nederlandse lijkschouwers maar onafhankelijke Britse lijkschouwers de doodsoorzaak hadden moeten onderzoeken.

Bij het Nederlands Forensisch Instituut werd uiteindelijk vastgesteld dat Milosevic niet was vergiftigd. Toch zet zijn familie hier vraagtekens bij. Waarschijnlijk zullen zij de zaak voor gaan leggen bij de VN, wat er voor kan zorgen dat Nederland zijn imago kan worden geschaad.

Het OM in Den Haag geeft verder aan niks fout te hebben gedaan. Volgens hen stonden ze in hun recht toen ze het lichaam van Milosevic in beslag namen. Persofficier Rijdsdorp: *"Er was geen verklaring van een natuurlijke dood en dus zijn wij een onderzoek gestart naar de doodsoorzaak. Daarbij is steeds overleg geweest met de griffier van het Joegoslavië-tribunaal. Wij hadden misschien geen formele toestemming, maar die hadden wij ook niet nodig."*

## Warhoofdige uitspraken over zaak-Milosevic

21-3-2006  
Advocaat Steijnen meldt ons op de  
Opiniepagina van 16 maart dat hij  
een van de weinige Nederlanders  
is die diverse malen uitvoerig met  
Milosevic hebben gesproken.

Kennelijk is Milosevic een uiterst charismatisch mens geweest – er is geen andere verklaring voor de extreme standpunten die Steijnen inneemt.

Alleen al in zijn laatste alinea beticht hij het Joegoslavië-tribunaal, het gevangenispersoneel en de Nederlandse artsen van onmenselijke behandeling, het onthouden van noodzakelijke medische zorg, en handelingen in strijd met het Anti-Folterverdrag (whatever that may be – deze aanduiding is niet algemeen gebruikelijk, en ik vraag me af op welk verdrag Steijnen hier doelt).

Hij dreigt met juridische stappen tegen zowel rechters als aanklagers van het Tribunaal. Merkwaardig overigens dat hij niet ook die artsen de wacht aanzegt, maar misschien wil hij niet te veel hooi op zijn vork nemen. Het hele stuk staat bol van de insinuaties. Milosevic is in zijn ogen een lam dat naar de westerse slachtbank is gevoerd. Het ware te wensen dat bijvoorbeeld het Tribunaal of de betrokken Nederlandse artsen een proces zouden beginnen tegen Steijnen wegens laster, zodat deze laatste gedwongen zou worden zijn beschuldigingen hard te maken, dan wel te boeten voor zijn warhoofdige uitspraken.

DRS. D. A. DEN BAKKER  
Zeist

INSDAG 21 MAART 2006

## Kritiek op OM om lijkschouwing op Slobodan Milosevic

Door een onzer redacteurs

DEN HAAG, 21 MAART. Het openbaar ministerie heeft niet correct gehandeld bij het vaststellen van de doodsoorzaak van Slobodan Milosevic. Volgens de regels van het Joegoslavië-tribunaal hadden niet Nederlanders, maar onafhankelijke buitenlandse lijkschouwers de doodsoorzaak moeten vaststellen. Het OM in Den Haag stelt dat er correct is gehandeld. Milosevic stierf in een VN-cel op Nederlands grondgebied. Er was geen verklaring van een natuurlijke dood. „En dus zijn wij een onderzoek gestart naar de doodsoorzaak. Daarbij is steeds overleg geweest met het tribunaal”, aldus persofficier A. Rijsdorp.

**Sagittarius**

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**Van:** "Ian Johnson" <i-johnson@lineone.net>  
**Aan:** <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>  
**Verzonden:** dinsdag 21 maart 2006 21:16  
**Onderwerp:** CDSM: Statement of the Communist Party of Russia 15th March  
**CP of The Russian Federation, Statement of the CPRF CC Presidium**

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**From: Communist Party of The Russian Federation, Thursday, March 16, 2006**

<http://kprf.ru> , <mailto:zabirov@duma.gov.ru>

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**Коммунистическая Партия Российской Федерации**

**Communist Party of The Russian Federation**

Central Committee. Presidium

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**The Murder of Milosevic is A Crime of Imperialism**

Statement by the Presidium of the CC CPRF

The former president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Honorary Chairman of the Socialist Party of Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic, died in his cell at the Hague Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia on Saturday, March 11, 2006.

We reject the assertion that he died from "natural causes". A crime has been committed. Milosevic was effectively killed in prison. During four years of a grueling trial his health was exposed to tremendous overload. And he was regularly denied access to qualified medical assistance.

International councils of physicians repeatedly declared that Milosevic's life was in danger and insisted on urgent specialist treatment. The Bakulev Cardiovascular Surgery Center sent him an official invitation to come for treatment. The Russian State issued corresponding guarantees of his return to the Hague. But the court refused to temporarily free Slobodan Milosevic. Because the court knew about the threat to his life, denying him a chance to go for treatment in fact means complicity in a premeditated murder.

An attempt to condemn communism is being mounted in Europe today. We maintain that what is taking place in Europe is revival of fascism. Hitlerites also used courts to make short work of communists. But Georgy Dimitrov emerged from his trial with acquittal and with his head held high. The NATO Tribunal at the Hague has destroyed a political prisoner and patriot.

Slobodan Milosevic died unconquered. He was not defending himself. He was defending the people of Yugoslavia.

Losing out in the court contest, the enemies of Milosevic decided to physically eliminate him. The blame for his death rests with the judges and prosecutors of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY), as well as with the leaders of the NATO countries. It also rests with the present rulers of Serbia who, in violation of the constitution, handed over President Milosevic to be tried.

This is not an International Tribunal. It is a NATO kangaroo court, designed to seal the results of the 1999 NATO aggression against Yugoslavia. Practically all the political forces of Russia except the more pro-Western forces, are one in the opinion that the ICTY is an openly anti-Serbian body. And the main "guilt" of the victims of the "tribunal" is that they are patriots of their country and champions of friendship and cooperation with Russia.

This dishonest "tribunal" was established illegally, contrary to the UN Charter. The whole history of its existence is a series of gross violations of universally accepted norms of international law. The "tribunal", whose upkeep costs hundreds of millions of dollars every year, is an instrument of pilfering the budget of the UN.

The CPRF resolutely condemns the activities of the ICTY which discredits the very idea of international justice.

We call on the authorities of the Russian Federation as a permanent member of the Security Council to demand that the International Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia be dissolved, all the cases pending before it be handed over to national courts and the UN Security Council set up a commission to inquire into the circumstances of Milosevic's death.

The judges and prosecutors of ICTY should be charged with deliberately denying medical assistance to a person in a grave condition. After they serve their sentences they should all be forbidden to practice law in the future.

As a first step, the financing of the ICTY should be suspended. Simultaneously, we demand an immediate release of Vojislav Seselj and other Serb patriots who are still languishing at the UN prison at the Hague.

We lower our banners in memory of our dead comrade.

The CPRF calls on all the left-wing and patriotic parties and organizations to express vigorous protest against the destruction of Slobodan Milosevic.

Gennady Zyuganov

Chairman of the CC CPRF

Moscow, March 15, 2006

**Sagittarius**

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**Van:** "Ian Johnson" <i-johnson@lineone.net>  
**Aan:** <Undisclosed-Recipient:>  
**Verzonden:** dinsdag 21 maart 2006 22:30  
**Bijlage:** Posveta Slobo od Nedaista IMG\_0058.jpg  
**Onderwerp:** CDSM: Selection of messages left in front of Hague  
Flowers and messages have been left outside The Hague prison.  
Here are a small selection of messages.  
The picture attached says " Slobo as long as we live, you will also live"

kakve smo poruke ostavili  
ispred srpskog koncentracionog logora~!

Nedaist, Ruzha Despotovich (NL-Nato land)

1. Slobo you have beaten them  
na srpskom: Slobo ti si ih pobedio

2. Slobo, there are many of who love you  
Slobo ima nas puno koji te volimo

3. Slobo dok zhivimo, zhiveches i ti  
Slobo as long as we live, you will also live

4. Who's next?  
Ko je sledechi?

5. Slobo as long as we live, you will also live (Nedaist- NI)  
Slobo dok zhivimo, zhiveches i ti-Nedaisti-NI

6. The Washington prison  
Washingtonski kazamat

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**Sagittarius**

**Van:** "Ian Johnson" <i-johnson@lineone.net>  
**Aan:** <Undisclosed-Recipient:>  
**Verzonden:** woensdag 22 maart 2006 23:48  
**Bijlage:** ispracaj\_i\_sahrana-29.jpg; ispracaj\_i\_sahrana-31.jpg; ispracaj\_i\_sahrana-33.jpg; ispracaj\_i\_sahrana-42.jpg; ispracaj\_i\_sahrana-48.jpg  
**Onderwerp:** CDSM: Some Photos from the Funeral of Mr Milosevic  
Please find attached some photos from the funeral of Mr Milosevic. (Photos courtesy of slobodan.info).

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**Sagittarius**

**Van:** "R Despotovic" <despot@tiscali.nl>  
**Aan:** "Nico en Neeltje" <nico.s@slobodan-milosevic.org>  
**Verzonden:** woensdag 22 maart 2006 11:21  
**Onderwerp:** Ramsey Clark: "History will prove that Slobodan Milosevic was

History would prove that Slobodan Milosevic was right, he told the cheering crowd, for resisting Western attempts "to dismember Yugoslavia".

As the former dictator was laid to rest in his home town of Pozarevac, south of Belgrade, an estimated **80,000 loyal followers** turned out to pay their respects to the man they still regarded even in death as president.



Slobodan Milosevic's body arrives in his home town

## News Update

18 March 2006

AP- Update

<http://www.montrosepress.com/articles/2006/03/18/ap-update/d8ge7aa02.txt>

POZAREVAC, Serbia-Montenegro (AP) \_ Slobodan Milosevic was laid to rest Saturday beneath a tree at the family estate in his hometown, a quiet end for a man blamed for ethnic wars that killed 250,000 people in one of the turbulent Balkans' bloodiest chapters.

The late Serbian leader's burial, a week after his death while on U.N. trial charged with genocide and crimes against humanity, followed an emotional farewell in Belgrade that drew at least 80,000 Serb nationalists and another in his birthplace attended by up to **20,000 admirers**.

As a cold drizzle fell, his flag-draped coffin was lowered into a double grave with a place for his widow, Mirjana Markovic, who reportedly wants to join him when she dies.

The grave, marked with a simple marble slab inscribed with both of their names in Cyrillic letters and the dates 1941-2006, was dug beneath a favorite linden tree where the couple first kissed as high school sweethearts.

No immediate members of Milosevic's family attended.

But in a letter read at graveside, Markovic, who lives in self-imposed exile in Moscow because she faces Serbian charges of abuse of power during her husband's 13-year reign, said: "**You lost your life while fighting for noble causes. You were killed by villains. But I know you will live forever for all who wish to live like human beings.**"

A letter from the couple's son, Marko Milosevic, expressed hope that the late president's death would **"sober up the humiliated Serb people."**

**"To die for one's country means to live forever,"** his letter said.

No priest officiated at the interment because Milosevic was an avowed atheist.

Among the supporters in Pozarevac were several indicted war crimes suspects on temporary leave from the U.N. tribunal in The Hague, Netherlands. One, **retired Gen. Dragoljub Ojdanic, wore his military uniform.**

After the burial, residents of the gritty industrial town 30 miles south of the capital waited in a long line to view the grave, which was framed by a crimson carpet and brass stands holding red velvet ropes.

People had lined the town's main street to welcome the arrival of Milosevic's remains, cheering and waving as a brass band played a funeral march. Many threw red roses, the symbol of the Socialist Party.

Earlier in Belgrade, Milosevic supporters packed a square in front of the federal parliament to pay their respects. Many were bused in by his Socialist Party from Serb areas in Bosnia, Croatia and Kosovo, where Milosevic started wars during the splintering of Yugoslavia in the 1990s.

People wept and chanted "Slobo! Slobo!" at the sight of the flag-draped coffin on a bier atop a red-carpeted stage. Some clutched photographs of Milosevic or the U.N. court's two most-wanted fugitives: Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and his wartime military chief, Gen. Ratko Mladic.

Serbian authorities refused to approve an official ceremony, but Saturday's farewell \_ organized by the Socialists and technically private \_ had some of the trappings of a state funeral.

Still, though larger than many had expected, the crowd in Belgrade was far smaller than the 500,000 who turned out for the 2003 funeral of assassinated Serbian premier Zoran Djindjic, who had turned Milosevic over to the U.N. tribunal two years earlier.

Milosevic died March 11 in his room at a U.N. detention center near the tribunal, which was trying him on 66 counts of war crimes, including genocide. He was the first head of state to be extradited by his country for trial by a U.N. court.

Ultrationalist leaders and at least five retired Yugoslav generals wearing dress uniforms stood by the stage in Belgrade.

"We are bidding farewell to the best one among us, fully conscious of his greatness," said Milorad Vucelic, Socialist Party deputy president.

Bosko Nikolic, 42, holding a huge poster of Milosevic, said: "I came to say goodbye to the greatest son of Serbia."

Ramsey Clark, a former U.S. attorney general and longtime Milosevic supporter who is now on Saddam Hussein's defense team, drew cheers by telling the crowd: **"History will prove that Slobodan Milosevic was right."**

But some drivers passing by the square honked car horns and made obscene gestures at the Milosevic supporters, underscoring the disgust many Serbs feel toward the late autocratic leader.

**"All of Belgrade's squares would be too small for all the victims of Milosevic and his rule," said Foreign Minister Vuk Draskovic, who was twice targeted for assassination by the Milosevic regime. "A murderer and his crimes were glorified today."**

Later Saturday, about 2,000 anti-Milosevic activists gathered at another central Belgrade square for an impromptu rally.

The activists, mostly young people, waved red balloons, whistled, danced and shouted: "He is gone!" They also burned Milosevic's picture and scuffled briefly with a dozen Karadzic supporters who tried to disrupt the gathering.

Associated Press reporters Jovana Gec, Aleksandar Vasovic, Katarina Kratovac and William J. Kole in Belgrade and Misha Savic in Pozarevac contributed to this story.