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Macedonia and Balkans Stability

Remarks by Daniel Serwer Before the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations

The Crisis in Macedonia and U.S. Engagement in the Balkans
United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations
June 13, 2001

The views expressed in the testimony are solely those of Dr. Serwer and do not necessarily reflect those of the U.S. Institute of Peace, which does not advocate specific policies.

My name is Daniel Serwer. I am director of the Balkans Initiative at the United States Institute of Peace, but the views I am about to offer are my own. The Institute does not take positions on policy issues, and I do not represent the US government.

Mr. Chairman, I come before you today at a moment of peril: the crisis in Macedonia threatens to destabilize not only that country, but also the Balkans region. We are again faced with a fundamental policy decision: do we engage to protect democracy and multiethnicity, or do we abandon the Balkans to partition and war? Let there be no doubt: Bosnia and Kosovo are also at risk. If the extremists in Macedonia are successful, it will inspire Serb and Croat extremists in Bosnia and Serb and Albanian extremists in Kosovo, setting back hopes for US troop reductions.

More generally, US interests in a peaceful and democratic Europe -- whole and free -- cannot be fulfilled if extremists are permitted to attack legitimate and democratic -- even if imperfect -- states. The Administration needs to commit itself to a vision for the Balkans that includes support to democratic institutions, accountability for war crimes, rejection of extreme nationalism and maintenance of a secure environment.

The situation in the Balkans has improved

The insurgency in Macedonia is occurring at a moment that might otherwise have been the best the Balkans have seen for ten years. The democratic regime in Croatia has been correcting the nationalist excesses of the Tudjman regime. The new governments in Yugoslavia and Serbia are beginning to make amends for the disasters of the Milosevic era. Bosnia has, for the first time since the 1995 Dayton accords, non-nationalist governments, except in Republika Srpska. In Kosovo, moderates triumphed in municipal elections last October, as they likely will again in November's Kosovo-wide elections.

Ten years ago, Balkans leaders were bent on war, with popular support. Today, most people in the region are tired of war, ready to live in peace and anxious to become full partners with Europe and NATO. Only a few people are committed to violence. Marginalized politically and threatened with the loss of economic advantages from trafficking in arms, drugs and people, extreme nationalists are trying to polarize ethnic groups and revive the atmosphere of hatred and strife in which they thrived for a decade.

There are problems in Macedonia, but insurgency is not justified

This they do in Macedonia under the banner of fighting for Albanian rights. Let me be clear: many Albanian grievances are justified. Albanians feel like second-class citizens in Macedonia, not only because the constitution favors ethnic Macedonians but also because of their under-representation in the police and civil service and limited use of the Albanian language. Ethnic Macedonians experienced independence as a source of pride and affirmation of their identity. Albanians in Macedonia, who found themselves suddenly separated by an international border from cousins

and compatriots in Kosovo, experienced independence as a loss that reduced their freedom of movement, commercial ties and cultural contacts.

Armed insurgency in Macedonia is not however justified. Nor would it have occurred there if Macedonia had been isolated from Kosovo and southern Serbia. The leadership of the guerillas had fought for years in Kosovo, though some had been born in Macedonia. They failed to find jobs and political roles in Kosovo after the war. With limited skills, they returned to fighting and smuggling. In Macedonia they found a weak state and political space on the nationalist extreme, because of the moderation of Albanian politicians who have participated in government since independence.

Neither the United States nor Europe can afford to allow extremists with strong criminal ties to dominate politics and economics in the Balkans. We need to learn how to strengthen moderates and weaken extremists, if only because of our interest in lessening troop commitments and combating the organized crime and trafficking in which the extremists have become expert.

Both politics and security require attention

What can be done? There are two fronts in Macedonia: a political front and a security front. On the political front, Europe has the lead. The broad coalition government formed with the assistance of Javier Solana is a step in the right direction. But the guerillas will not stop fighting because a new government has been formed; they will challenge it and try to prevent a negotiated solution without their participation in the process. It is crucial that the political strategy be combined with a security strategy that gets the guerillas to withdraw and channels Albanian grievances into proper political channels.

We have a model for this approach just a few miles away in southern Serbia, where NATO has successfully mediated an agreement that allows for enhanced Albanian participation in local governance and the police, partial amnesty for the guerillas and an infusion of investment funds while the Serbian government regains control over its territory and the guerillas withdraw and disarm. This is the kind of agreement Milosevic would never have countenanced but Belgrade's new democratic government has boldly undertaken. Macedonia's beleaguered leadership should be looking for such an agreement.

A negotiated solution should be the priority

What can and should NATO do in this situation? If you believe that the US has an interest in Balkans stability, that interest is at risk. Some of my colleagues claim that only a NATO deployment into Macedonia will prevent the crisis from worsening. They argue that the earlier such a deployment takes place, the better. If we wait until disaster occurs, the troop requirements will be greater.

Others would argue that US interests in the Balkans are secondary and that troops should be deployed only to protect vital interests. They would like to avoid deeper engagement in the Balkans. Our forces are stretched thin, so from this perspective any further Balkans obligations should be avoided and the Europeans asked to take on the burden in Macedonia.

People in the Balkans believe that those opposed to NATO involvement are prevailing in Washington. This creates the misimpression that the US does not oppose the guerrillas and gives the guerillas confidence that NATO will not act against them. Distancing NATO now thus worsens the crisis and increases the likelihood that the Alliance will be called upon at a later and more disastrous stage.

The main focus today should be on achieving a negotiated settlement in Macedonia. Once the guerrilla war is halted and there is a peace to keep, NATO will have to decide whether commitment of its forces is vital.

What then are the ingredients of a negotiated settlement? There are three: weakening the extremists, helping the Macedonian government turn towards a political settlement, and unifying international efforts.

Weaken the extremists

It is crucial first to weaken the extremists. The Macedonian army and police have had some military success, forcing guerillas from a few villages. But they have destroyed homes, displaced thousands and alienated many Albanians. If the fighting continues, the government may win the war but lose the loyalty of the 87 per cent of Albanians who said two months ago in a poll that they want to continue to live in a unified Macedonia. The international community could do more to weaken the insurgency. It should:

- End fundraising and recruitment by the extremists abroad -- this is especially important in the United States, Switzerland and Germany.
- Use KFOR to crack down on the extremists' supply lines and supporters inside Kosovo, not only by guarding the border but also by arresting the kingpins.
- Continue pressure on Kosovo political leaders to try to stop the insurgency, which casts a dark shadow over Kosovo's future.
- Offer, as in southern Serbia, an escape route into Kosovo for those not accused of serious crimes, provided the guerillas are prepared to demobilize and disarm under NATO supervision.
- Continue to provide military and intelligence assistance appropriate to counterinsurgency warfare.

Let me add a word about foreign support to the guerillas. Fundraising and recruitment in the US poses a threat not only to Macedonian sovereignty and territorial integrity but also to US troops. The Administration could block fundraising if the insurgents are declared "terrorists." If this is the only way, so be it. We need not only to limit the money flow but also to send urgently a strong political signal crucial to the protection of US forces.

Help the Macedonian government

In addition to weakening the extremists, we should help the Macedonian government turn from its increasing reliance on the military instrument to a more political strategy. What counts is not obliterating the guerillas but regaining control over Macedonian territory and integrating Albanian citizens more fully into the life of the country. Legitimate grievances need to find serious responses and the polarization of Macedonia's citizens needs to be overcome quickly if the country is to be saved. This is not the time for business as usual but for decisive political action. To these ends, the international community should:

- Urge the Macedonian government to exploit its military victories for political purposes and end the shelling of Albanian villages.
- Agree to recognize the Republic of Macedonia by that name, which is a name both Albanians and Macedonians have wanted.
- Insist on serious and continuous political negotiations to produce an "early harvest" of Parliamentary action, including a new non-ethnic Constitutional preamble, passage of the law on local governance, and use of Albanian in Parliament.
- Provide a quick package of assistance and investment aimed at overcoming ethnic division and revitalizing the economy.
- Support a broad dialogue throughout Macedonian society on group and individual rights and responsibilities.

Unify international efforts

The EU, NATO and the OSCE have undertaken noble efforts in Macedonia. But a more unified approach is required. Experience in southern Serbia suggests that NATO, wielding as it does both military and political clout, must be engaged, at least politically. Whoever leads the international effort in Macedonia should therefore be named not only by the EU but also by NATO, and he should be prepared to devote full time to the effort.

The US also needs a full-time, high-level Balkans envoy, one who can speak authoritatively for the President, the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defense on a daily basis. The region is rife with rumors about changes in US policy, partition plans, withdrawal of US troops, disinterest in capturing war criminals and US support for this or that side in ongoing conflicts. The Administration needs a consistent and authoritative approach to counter the cacophony of proposals and leaks that undermine efforts to achieve our objectives in the region.

The United States has invested \$20 billion in Balkans peace efforts. The Europeans have invested much more. We have never been closer to dividends. Now is not the time to give up or to compete with each other. A strong American voice is required. Macedonia is the last in a long line of Balkans problems. Get it right and you'll be able to get the troops out sooner rather than later.

The views expressed in the testimony are solely those of Dr. Serwer and do not necessarily reflect those of the U.S. Institute of Peace, which does not advocate specific policies.

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van holst en steijnen

From: Despotovic, Ruza <despot@wish.net>
To: Ksenija Sigulinski <sigu@worldonline.nl>; Globalreflexion <office@globalreflexion.org>; Nico & Neeltje Steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>; Dolf Loth <dolfloth@hotmail.com>
Sent: zondag 10 juni 2001 12:54
Subject: Fw: NEWS

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

From: toorop <cornelius-van-toorop@wanadoo.fr>
 To: <Undisclosed-Recipient:>
 Sent: Sunday, June 10, 2001 3:30 PM
 Subject: NEWS

> STRATFOR, 7 June 2001
 >
 > <http://www.stratfor.com/>
 >
 > YUGOSLAVIA: THREAT OF WAR IS OVER
 > Summary
 >
 > The return of the Yugoslav army to the last rebel stronghold in Serbia's
 > Presevo Valley has come quietly. A full withdrawal of rebel forces is
 > evident, and resettlement of more than 8,000 civilians to the area has
 > already begun. Unlike in Macedonia, where the conflict with ethnic
 > Albanian
 > rebels has escalated, in Serbia, the threat of war is gone.
 >
 > Analysis
 >
 > Yugoslav forces roll into Dobrosin May 31 in a final move to gain control
 > of a section of the previously demilitarized buffer zone.
 > The Yugoslav army surrounded three key towns in Serbia last week that had
 > been under the control of ethnic Albanian rebels. The deployment of
 > Belgrade's forces marked the end of a near 18-month contest between the
 > Kosovo International Security Force (KFOR), Serb forces and Albanian
 > insurgents for control of a 3-mile Ground Safety Zone between Kosovo and
 > Serbia.
 >
 > The mission in Serbia now is to prevent any further fighting and keep the
 > conflict in Macedonia from spreading into Serbia. KFOR, the U.N. Mission
 > in
 > Kosovo (UNMIK) and Yugoslav officials appear committed to a genuine
 > policing
 > of Kosovo and the Presevo Valley.
 > Kosovar Albanian insurgents had been entrenched along Serbia's
 > southwestern border, nearly bringing KFOR and Yugoslav forces to a
 > military
 > standoff. A 1999 agreement denied entry of both forces into the buffer
 > zone,
 > on good faith that KFOR would enforce security in the region.
 >
 > But rebels under the Liberation Army of Presevo, Medvedja and Bujanovac
 > (UCPMB) had filtered into Serbia from Kosovo to annex towns with ethnic
 > Albanian majorities.
 > By March 2001, about 4,000 guerrillas were using the buffer zone as a
 > safe
 > haven and forward base for attacking Serbia. Yugoslav officials accused
 > KFOR
 > of negligence and of abetting the insurgents by not upholding the 1999
 > agreement. NATO ultimately sought assistance from Yugoslavia and permitted
 > the Belgrade army into the buffer zone under KFOR supervision.
 >
 > The army's return was expected to cause a prolonged, low-level border war
 > following the assault on the rebel-held areas. But on May 24, the Yugoslav
 > army entered the periphery of the last rebel stronghold from seven
 > converging points, and in the following days Serbian special police were
 > deployed to rebel command centers in Dobrosin, Veliki Trnovac and Konculj

- > without incident.
- > During operations they cleared rebel houses and confiscated weapons and communications equipment. Local media have yet to report any casualties from
- > personnel mines or rebel ambushes, and calm is apparently restored to the
- > frontier.
- >
- > Less than two months ago, the siege of the rebel's strategic towns could
- > have led to a border war, but the ground conditions changed dramatically.
- > KFOR and various representatives of Albanian militants and Yugoslav forces
- > negotiated the army's assault on strategic towns, offering amnesty to
- > guerrillas who surrendered before the deployment.
- >
- > The rebel commanders subsequently agreed to disband rather than confront
- > the army, with more than 550 rebels, including the commander of the UCPMB,
- > laying down their arms. Albanian militants and moderates also consented to
- > the implementation of a multi-ethnic police force, and individual donor
- > nations offered funding for infrastructure and social services in the
- > affected region.
- > Granting concessions to the rebels was key in normalizing the buffer
- zone,
- > but effective policing in Kosovo and Serbia will keep the rebels in check.
- >
- > UNMIK and KFOR will restrict the number of Kosovo border crossings to 19,
- > and all other crossing points will charge fines or impose up to 1-year
- jail
- > sentences for non-refugee trespassers. U.N. spokeswoman Susan Manuel
- > indicated June 4 that UNMIK has introduced anti-terrorism laws to Kosovo's
- > Interim Administration Council to prosecute anyone abetting, organizing or
- > fundraising on behalf of terrorists.
- >
- > Keeping guns and agitators out of the buffer zone was KFOR's assignment
- > since 1999, and the revamped controls on weapons and border crossings will
- > now make an effective solution. Yugoslav forces will also try preventive
- > measures in the buffer zone.
- >
- > Through May, Serb police detained Albanians in towns where rebels
- withdrew,
- > to ensure any guerrillas did not masquerade as civilians. The army will
- > withdraw
- > from all areas – except from a handful of towns once under rebel
- control –
- > and Serbian special police will oversee the majority of patrols in
- > populated areas. Police will continue searching for weapons caches and
- > protect civilians from areas under mine-clearing.
- >
- > The deployment will be part of Yugoslavia's kinder, gentler policy toward
- > Albanians in the buffer zone. Serb patrols in the past have intimidated
- and
- > insulted Albanians in this area, drawing skepticism and resentment to the
- > planned return. NATO and the KFOR commander will monitor Serb police and
- > Yugoslav army support to ensure discipline and will have the authority to
- > remove Yugoslav forces from the zone.
- >
- > While Macedonia's government is still facing a prolonged conflict with
- > ethnic Albanian rebels and appears close to declaring an all-out state of
- > war, Yugoslavia will not experience another wave of fighting. But the
- > potential for conflict will be there, just as it was before the militants
- > arrived.
- >
- > This time, however, KFOR, UNMIK and Yugoslav officials appear committed
- to
- > a
- > genuine policing of Kosovo and the Presevo Valley. Security and
- > resettlement
- > will proceed there through next winter.
- >
- >

van hoist en steijnen

From: Christopher Black <bar@idirect.com>
To: Jared Israel <jedmisrael@yahoo.com>; Vladimir Krsljanin <vlada@sps.org.yu>; David Jacobs <david@shelljacobs.com>; Charles Roach <charoa@sympatico.ca>; Phil Taylor <bruin56@hotmail.com>; Martin Schwarz <centraleurope@europe.com>; John Philpot <jphilpot@alarie-legault.qc.ca>; Tiphaine Dickson <tiphainedickson@videotron.ca>; André Tremblay <agtremblay@videotron.ca>; Diana Johnstone <107764.116@compuserve.com>; John Laughland <JLAUGHLAND@aol.com>; Ed Herman <hermane@wharton.upenn.edu>; Michael Mandel <mmandel@yorku.ca>; Mick Collins <cirqueminime@club-internet.fr>; Louis Dalmas <Lodalmas@europost.org>; Carol Turner <carol@caro50.freereserve.co.uk>; Bob Jiggins <r.jiggins@bradford.ac.uk>; Chris Soda <nibiru12@freewwweb.com>; Edik Zwarenstein <ez@ican.net>; Peter Eriinder <periinder@wmitchell.edu>; Patric
Sent: vrijdag 10 augustus 2001 10:57
Subject: Fw: Military Occupation of Macedonia

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

From: Michel Chossudovsky
To: Recipient list suppressed
Sent: Friday, August 10, 2001 12:18 AM
Subject: Military Occupation of Macedonia

The evidence amply confirms that the US and Britain—in complicity with their NATO partners—have been arming and equipping the terrorists, while paying lip service to constitutional reform in Macedonia.

The "framework document", to be ratified by the leaders of Macedonia's political parties has nothing to do with "peace". It is an act of surrender by a sovereign country to the enemy, paving the way for the military occupation of Macedonia by NATO troops.

THE MILITARY OCCUPATION OF MACEDONIA

by

Michel Chossudovsky

Professor of Economics, University of Ottawa

The Western press points to the "mediation" of the US and the EU in what is largely portrayed as an "internal conflict". Public opinion is led to believe that the Macedonian crisis pertains solely to the social, political and language rights of the ethnic Albanian minority and that the "international community" is committed to ending the violence "between government forces and ethnic Albanian insurgents" while assisting opposing sides to reach a solution.

The truth is that US military personnel is advising and equipping the terrorists. The KLA-NLA is America's proxy military force. KLA-NLA commanders—who until recently were on the United Nations payroll in Kosovo—were trained by British and American Special Forces.

The media describes the terrorists as "Albanian rebels" upholding the rights of an ethnic minority in Macedonia. Amply documented, the KLA-NLA is a well organised mercenary army, which includes recruits from NATO countries as well as Mujahedin ("holy warriors") from a number of Muslim countries.

The Western media mantra portrays America's envoy Ambassador James Pardew as a "foreign facilitator", when in fact his military-intelligence mandate consists in ensuring (through threat, intimidation and political manipulation) the signing of a "framework document". The purpose of the latter is to provide legitimacy to the military occupation of Macedonia by NATO troops. To reach this objective, the leaders of Macedonia's political parties have been deceived and co-opted, and (according to one source) directly bribed by powerful American business interests.¹

SURRENDER TO THE ENEMY

The Ohrid "framework document" to be ratified by the leaders of Macedonia's political parties has nothing to do with "peace". It is an act of surrender by a sovereign country to the enemy.

While the US and EU "mediators" promised that the "peace agreement" would lay the basis for "disarming the rebels" and enforcing a cease-fire, the evidence amply confirms that exactly the opposite will occur.

NATO has no intention to confiscate the weapons of its own proxy army. Washington has been directly arming and equipping the terrorists with brand new weapons "Made in America".

Following the acceptance of the "framework document" by the Macedonian parties, a NATO spokesperson clarified that:

"it [NATO] would not actually disarm ethnic Albanian rebels and would have to rely on their cooperation to lay down their weapons. A NATO official said the surrender of arms by National Liberation Army (NLA) guerrillas was a matter of trust, and reports that NATO had given new disarmament guarantees to the former Yugoslav republic's authorities were wrong."²

OPERATION "ESSENTIAL HARVEST"

Code-named "Essential Harvest", NATO's intervention under British command serves three related purposes:

- 1) NATO Special Forces will be deployed to directly protect the terrorists, including their territorial gains.
- 2) The intent is to not "disarm the rebels" but to weaken and disable the Macedonian Security Forces as evidenced by the pressure exerted by Washington on the Ukraine to discontinue its military aid to the Macedonian ARM.
- 3) The agreement is intent on instilling an atmosphere of ethnic hatred between the Albanian minority and the Macedonian majority, which would justify military as well as political intervention "on humanitarian grounds".
- 3) The "Framework Agreement" lays the basis for the installation of a NATO protectorate (similar to that prevailing in Kosovo and Bosnia) leading to the destruction of Macedonia as a country.
- 4) By signing this agreement, the Skopje government relinquishes all its powers and jurisdictions, paving the way for the military occupation of Macedonia by NATO forces in violation of international law.

MILITARISATION OF THE BALKANS

The transformation of Macedonia into a protectorate of the Western military alliance is a further step in the militarisation of the Balkans. In many respects, it is reminiscent of the occupation of the Sudetenland province of Czechoslovakia by Nazi Germany under the Munich Agreement signed between Adolph Hitler and Britain's Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain. The annexation of the Sudetenland to the Third Reich was a stepping stone to the subsequent invasion of Poland in 1939.

OPPOSING THE FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT

It is important that Macedonian citizens of all ethnic groups join hands in forcefully opposing the invasion of their country by NATO troops. The ratification of the framework document by the leaders of Macedonia's political parties should be firmly opposed. NATO is the enemy. It should be understood, however, that even if the "framework document" is not ratified, NATO has already taken the decision to invade Macedonia.

Both Macedonians and ethnic Albanians are the victims of the NATO sponsored terrorist assaults and should act as much as possible in solidarity with one another. The important issue of minority rights in Macedonia is an internal matter to be worked out within the framework of existing national political and social institutions, without outside interference.

NATO is using the issue of social and language rights to trigger divisions between Macedonians and ethnic Albanians. In this insidious design, NATO is using the pretext of minority social rights to send in troops and occupy the country.

In NATO countries and around the World, citizens—acting individually and collectively within their respective communities—should understand the seriousness of the situation in Macedonia. The so-called National Liberation Army (NLA) is a proxy army of the United States of America. The terrorists are financed and supported by Washington. The war in Macedonia is a war of conquest.

The complicity of the heads of State and heads of government of NATO countries must be confronted. NATO is upholding international terrorism. It plans to send troops into a sovereign country in violation of its own charter, in defiance of international law and without legislative assent or parliamentary debate in NATO member countries. The geopolitical implications are far-reaching. The signing of the Ohrid "framework document" will provide legitimacy to the occupation of Macedonia by NATO troops and the militarisation of the entire Balkans region.

ENDNOTES

1. See Mirko Velinovska, "Dzaferi is paid for the Destruction of Macedonia," Start, Skopje, 4 February 2000. See also BBC Monitoring Service, "Macedonian-Albanian daily denies Weekly's Claims about Ethnic Albanian Leader", A1 TV, Skopje, in Macedonian 1500 GMT 15 February 2000).
2. Reuters, 8 August 2001.

The following texts by the author provide documentary evidence that the US government is supporting the terrorist assaults:

"Washington Behind the Terrorist Assaults in Macedonia", Ottawa, July 2001, at <http://emperors-clothes.com/articles/choss/washbe.htm>, also at <http://www.antiwar.com/rep/chuss6.html>.

"Washington Behind the Terrorist Assaults in Macedonia", Ottawa, July 2001, at <http://emperors-clothes.com/articles/choss/washbe.htm>, also at <http://www.antiwar.com/rep/chuss6.html>.

"America at War in Macedonia", June 2001, <http://emperors-clothes.com/articles/choss/pipe.htm> also at <http://www.antiwar.com/rep/chuss5.html>.

"Macedonia: Washington's Military Intelligence Ploy", June 2001, http://www.transnational.org/forum/meet/2001/Chossudov_WashingtPloy.html.

"Washington Finances Ethnic Warfare in the Balkans", Ottawa, April 2001, <http://emperors-clothes.com/articles/choss/fin.htm>.

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van holst en steijnen

From: TARGETS <redactie@targets.org>
To: <office@globalreflexion.org>
Sent: dinsdag 21 augustus 2001 02:23
Subject: THANKS TO UNCLE SAM, MACEDONIANS ARE NO MATCH FOR US

TERRORIST THUG BOASTS:

"THANKS TO UNCLE SAM, MACEDONIANS ARE NO MATCH FOR US!"

Eyewitness report by Scott Taylor, retired Canadian military man, author of 'Inat' and 'Tested Mettle' (<http://emperors-clothes.com/reviews/INAT.htm>) and editor of 'Esprit de Corps' Magazine [21 August 2001]

TETOVO, Macedonia -

Last Monday, international envoys and government officials in Macedonia hammered out a last-minute peace accord. However, this 11th-hour attempt to avoid yet another Balkans civil war may yet prove to be a case of too little, too late, as the fighting here continues to escalate.

Under the terms of the agreement, once a solid ceasefire can be established, a NATO force of some 3,000 peacekeepers, including a whopping three Canadian officers, will be deployed in Macedonia. The major task of these troops will be to disarm the ethnic Albanian guerrillas who have established control of nearly 30 per cent of Macedonia's territory.

For the battered Macedonian security forces that have fought the guerrillas over the past six months, the arrival of the NATO force will be a bitter pill to swallow.

"If NATO hadn't been arming and equipping the (guerrillas) in Kosovo there would be no need for them to disarm these guerrillas now in Macedonia," said Goran Stevanovic, a sergeant with the elite Macedonian police Wolves.

At the diplomatic level, the provision of military aid to the guerrillas is vehemently denounced, but on the ground in Macedonia, there is no denying the massive amount of materiel and expertise supplied by NATO to the guerrillas. Their commanders welcomed me with a shout of "God bless America, and Canada, too, for all that they have provided to us!"

In the well-built guerrilla bunkers overlooking the besieged city of Tetovo, there is ample evidence of U.S. military hardware. Everything from sidearms and sniper rifles to menacing-looking grenade launchers is emblazoned Made in the USA.

An abundant stock of sophisticated night-vision goggles provide the guerrillas with a tremendous tactical advantage over the Macedonian security forces. By nightfall, the Macedonians are compelled to hole up in their bunkers while the guerrillas roam with impunity throughout the Tetovo streets.

Snake Arifaj, a 22-year-old guerrilla platoon commander, proudly displayed his unit's impressive arsenal and said, "Thanks to Uncle Sam, the Macedonians are no match for us."

Two weeks ago, there was a flurry of diplomatic protests filed by the Macedonian government when two U.S. helicopters were observed delivering supplies to an Albanian village in the mountains above Tetovo. Officially, the U.S. claimed their aircraft were only transporting humanitarian aid.

However, the local guerrilla commander, Commander "Mouse," a 47-year-old UCK officer in the Tetovo sector contradicted this statement and confirmed that two US Chinook Heavy Transport Helicopters had in fact delivered "heavy mortars and ammunition" to the guerrillas. As proof of Mouse's claim, on Thursday the guerrillas began bombarding Tetovo with 120-mm and 82-mm mortars. Judging from the duration and intensity of the bombardment that I witnessed, ammunition supply is not a problem for the guerrillas.

"We have all the equipment and men we need to capture Skopje in 24 hours," said Commander "Jimmy", a 22-year-old Albanian guerrilla who is already a veteran of Chechnya, Kosovo, and south Serbia. "Militarily, the Macedonians are no match for our soldiers."

The U.S. also frequently used their tactical helicopters to gather intelligence inside Macedonia, without authorization from the Macedonian government. The sight of the U.S. choppers prompted the ethnic Albanian villagers to cheer wildly, waving their arms to encourage "their" air force.

Further illustration of this Albanian sentiment toward U.S. aircraft can be found at the guerrilla brigade headquarters, just outside Tetovo. Here the security platoon wear T-shirts emblazoned with a Nike logo and the words: "NATO Air - Just Do It!"

On the other side of this conflict, the woefully equipped Macedonian forces have been hard pressed to field a credible fighting force. In order to obtain a peaceful secession from Yugoslavia in 1992, the fledgling Republic of Macedonia agreed to turn over all the federal military assets to Serbia / Montenegro. As a result of their bankrupt treasury and slumping economy, Macedonia did not put a priority on re-equipping an army. However, once the Albanian guerrillas began their insurgency in March of this year, the Macedonians had no choice but to rapidly enhance their tiny security forces.

Over the past six months, there has been a tremendous infusion of modern weaponry (and mercenary "advisers") into Macedonia, with the bulk of support coming from Ukraine.

At the height of last week's fighting, both George Robertson and Javier Solana - respectively the NATO and European Union secretary generals - made personal entreaties to Ukraine to cut off this vital military aid.

Given such interference, it's little wonder that the Macedonian majority have staged violent anti-NATO riots, attacking embassies and McDonald's restaurants over the past several weeks.

In the past, Canadian soldiers serving as peacekeepers in the Balkans have won a hard-earned reputation from all factions for their fairness and impartiality. However, after the 1999 bombing campaign against Yugoslavia, and now through the provision of illicit aid to the guerrillas, Canada's foreign ministry is steadily eroding that trust. When, or if, those three Canadians deploy into wartorn Macedonia, it will no doubt dishearten them to know that the death and destruction that they encounter was aided and abetted by their own government.

(c) Scott Taylor Esprit de Corps Magazine

E-mail: espritdecorp@idirect.com

FURTHER READING ON MACEDONIA -

'Insulting Macedonia'

Letter to International Herald Tribune

"U.S. Embassy Leaving" & "U.S. Tells Ukraine: Stop Arming Macedonia!"

These three articles can be read at

<http://emperors-clothes.com/docs/insult.htm>

WHAT NATO OCCUPATION WOULD MEAN FOR MACEDONIANS

by Jared Israel

It is being touted as the solution, but how would NATO occupation affect ordinary Macedonian citizens? Three women, keen observers, in despair for their relatives, talk about the NATO takeover of the Kosovo town of Orahovac.

Can be read at <http://www.emperors-clothes.com/misc/savethe-a.htm>

'Western Media Demonizes Macedonia'

by Rick Rozoff & Jared Israel

George Bush visited Kosovo and made it perfectly clear: the U.S. means to recreate the Kosovo nightmare throughout the Balkans. And then? On to Russia.

Can be read at <http://emperors-clothes.com/articles/rozoff/shrill.htm>

"SORRY, VIRGINIA, BUT THEY ARE NATO TROOPS, NOT 'REBELS'"
by Jared Israel

Research by Rick Rozoff, George Thompson and Max Sinclair.
Using pro-NATO media sources, Israel shows that the U.S. and its NATO junior partners England and Germany are behind the KLA attack on Macedonia. Israel argues that the immense and immensely dangerous goal of U.S. strategy is: the conquest and full colonization of the former Soviet Union. Can be read at <http://emperors-clothes.com/mac/times.htm>

"WE DENIED TRAINING THE KLA? OH, WE LIED."
'Sunday Times' articles reveals another Anglo-U.S./KLA link. At the end of this post is a useful (partial) list of relevant articles. Can be read at <http://emperors-clothes.com/docs/train.htm>

"MACEDONIAN GOVERNMENT ACCUSES U.S., GERMANY"
Macedonian leaders say the U.S. and Germany are in cahoots sponsoring the KLA attack on Macedonia. Can be read at <http://emperors-clothes.com/docs/maced2.htm>

"GERMAN PAPER CHARGES: U.S. HAS 'ADVISORS' AMONG ALBANIAN TERRORISTS"
Everybody needs advice sometimes, right? Why do I think: "Vietnam"?

"WHAT'S BEHIND KLA STRATEGY IN THE BALKANS?"
Jared Israel interviews Kosovo historian Chedomir Pralinchevich
Is there something about ethnic Albanian culture and history that enables the terrorist Kosovo Liberation Army to establish a base among ordinary people?
Offers an explanation of many mysteries such as why the KLA targets Albanians in Macedonia. Can be read at <http://emperors-clothes.com/interviews/strategy.htm>

"WHY 'HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH' IS GUNNING FOR MACEDONIA" by Jared Israel.
Human Rights Watch, seen by many as an idealistic activist group, is focusing on Macedonia. Mr. Israel argues that HRW is used by the U.S. Establishment to soften up countries which Washington wishes to destabilize. The article includes Paul Treanor's mind-boggling look at who actually runs HRW. Hint: it's not a bunch of college kids and a civil rights attorney. Can be read at <http://emperors-clothes.com/articles/treanor/hrw.htm>

"'Laughs' and 'Chuckles' in State Dept. Transcripts"
by Professor Michel Chossudovsky
Where did the KLA get its weapons from?

"THE MILITARY OCCUPATION OF MACEDONIA"
By Michel Chossudovsky
NATO leaders say they are working for peace. Prof. Chossudovsky charges the goal is conquest.

"WASHINGTON BEHIND TERRORIST ASSAULTS IN MACEDONIA"
by Professor Michel Chossudovsky
Prof. Chossudovsky discusses implications of the recent truly amazing mission by U.S. troops to save endangered terrorists (and U.S. advisers!) in Macedonia and other aspects of NATO's proxy war.

"NATO Macedonian Aptitude Test"
Excerpt from a top secret NATO Commandants' MAT Quiz
by Lester Schonbrun
Can be read at <http://emperors-clothes.com/articles/schonbrun/mat.htm>

"Defend Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia from Lies and Terror!"
Statement by the Committee to Defend Milosevic, issued by a Working Committee meeting in Belgrade.
Can be read at <http://www.emperors-clothes.com/petition/defend.htm>

"MESSAGE FROM MACEDONIA"
A reader from Skopje, the Macedonian capital, blasts media disinformation and reveals the résumés of terrorist leaders. Can be read at <http://emperors-clothes.com/letters/amessage.htm>

"AMERICA AT WAR IN MACEDONIA"
by Michel Chossudovsky
Prof. Chossudovsky presents evidence that the Macedonian crisis results from

schism between the U.S. and Germany, with the former sponsoring the KLA and destabilizing Macedonia to guarantee control of the Corridor 8 trade route and a critical oil pipeline. Can be read at <http://emperors-clothes.com/articles/choss/pipe.htm>

"TERRORIST 'REBELS' THREATEN CATASTROPHIC CRIMES IN MACEDONIA" This article is related to the call for help from the Macedonian town of KUMANOVO (posted below). Humanitarian terrorists are threatening to unleash eco-disaster. Can be read at <http://emperors-clothes.com/mac/poison.htm>

"100,000 MACEDONIANS HELD HOSTAGE BY ALBANIAN TERRORISTS"
An eyewitness account from KUMANOVO, the northern Macedonian city whose water supply has been seized by KLA terrorists. Can be read at <http://emperors-clothes.com/mac/mac.htm>

"ALBANIANS IN MACEDONIA: FACTS AND FICTIONS"
by Diana Johnstone
Ms. Johnstone demolishes the "we're rebelling because we're oppressed" claims. Israel disputes the notion that an Albanian terrorist tail wags the U.S. dog. Can be read at <http://emperors-clothes.com/articles/Johnstone/fic.htm>

"TERRORISM AGAINST SERBIA IS NO CRIME"
by Jared Israel and Rick Rozoff
NATO released about 450 'captured' KLA terrorists in time for them to attack Macedonia. Are they nuts? Or is there strategy in their madness? Can be read at <http://emperors-clothes.com/articles/jared/nocrime.htm>

"GENTLE REIGN: WASHINGTON MAKES IT PERFECTLY CLEAR IN KOSOVO & MACEDONIA"
by Jared Israel
A close look at the relationship between the U.S. military in Kosovo and the KLA finds it to be a) unusual and b) entirely illegal: Washington is sponsoring terrorism. Can be read at <http://emperors-clothes.com/articles/jared/gentle.htm>

"KLA ATTACKS EVERYONE. MEDIA ATTACKS... MILOSHEVICH?"
by Jared Israel
Media coverage of KLA terrorism against Macedonia and southern Serbia uncovers the real culprit, now and forever: Slobodan Milosheвич! Our editor walks down memory lane, examining a decade of slander against the Yugoslav leader and finds the whole thing...ludicrous. Can be read at <http://emperors-clothes.com/articles/jared/expand.htm>

"WE DENIED TRAINING THE KLA? OH, WE LIED."
'Sunday Times' article reveals another Anglo-U.S./KLA link. At the end of this post is a useful (partial) list of relevant articles. Can be read at <http://emperors-clothes.com/docs/train.htm>

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From: Jovan Grbic <ssicc@planet.nl>
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Sent: zondag 2 september 2001 10:44
Subject: Nato must remain until the job is done

Comment: In this article Noel Malcolm reveals that the reason for bombing Yugoslavia was not to prevent genocide but to stop Milosevic from destabilising Macedonia! It is extraordinary that he chooses to relate this incident at all but it clearly reveals the bankruptcy of thought behind one of the chief architects of anti-Serb policy in Britain. He blatantly disregards the fact that the "350,000" people displaced in the year before NATO aggression did not leave Kosovo - not until after the bombing started. One can only imagine that he is trying to slither from one untenable position to another without anyone noticing...

Sunday Telegraph 2nd September 2001

Nato must remain until the job is done

By Noel Malcolm (Filed: 02/09/2001)

NOT long after the end of the war in Kosovo, I was returning from a visit there when I was stopped at Skopje airport by a Macedonian official who recognised my name.

"So, you are a historian?" he asked. "Yes," I said warily, sensing some hostility in his tone and bracing myself for a disquisition on medieval history.

"Tell me this," he continued, "what is your historical explanation for the wicked Nato aggression in Kosovo to help Albanian bandits?"

I felt that this question was not asked in a spirit of pure historical inquiry, but I gave it the best answer I could.

I said: "The Western governments acted over Kosovo not because they cared about the Kosovars but because they cared about Macedonia.

"They were afraid that if Milosevic's policy was not stopped, it would have the effect of destabilising your country. They acted to help you."

"What? What?" He was shouting now, and his eyes were bulging; his colleagues had stopped what they were doing and were all staring at us.

Suddenly I had become the focal point of a Balkan H. M. Bateman cartoon. I had a plane to catch; I made my excuses, and caught it.

As British troops moved into northern Macedonia last week, I found myself running over that conversation again in my mind. The answer I gave was, I believe, correct.

Milosevic had driven more than 350,000 Albanians from their homes in the year before Nato took action over Kosovo.

If the territory beyond Kosovo's borders had consisted of endless expanses of vacant land, the Western powers would have done little to stop a permanent resettlement of the Kosovar population there.

But in fact that territory consisted of a small state, containing a population of two million, a fragile democracy and an uneasy modus vivendi between a Slav majority and a minority (roughly one third) of

Albanians.

An influx of a million Kosovo Albanians, permanently unable to return to their homes, would have strained Macedonia to breaking point. And a complete breakdown of Macedonia, with a further bloody war, was the thing the West most dreaded.

Do the events of the last six months - the gradual onset of armed conflict between Albanians and Slavs in northern Macedonia - mean that Nato got it wrong, and that its intervention over Kosovo has actually brought about the Macedonian war of its worst nightmares?

Not really. Such a war has not happened yet, and there is a good chance that it can be prevented. In any case, there can be little logic in blaming that Nato intervention for destabilising Macedonia, while at the same time choosing to ignore the effects on Macedonia that Milosevic's policies, unchecked, would have had.

Logic, unfortunately, is not the only thing that acts on people's minds, as the case of that airport official showed.

The hostility towards Nato nursed by much of the majority Slav population in Macedonia arises not only from the feeling that this small country has been pressured and arm-twisted by the West - a feeling which is understandable enough.

What it is mainly based on is a deep suspicion towards, and prejudice against, the country's Albanian minority.

The groups of Slav Macedonians who gathered in the centre of Skopje on June 25 chanting the slogan "Albanians to the gas chambers" were, no doubt, an extreme case.

Most Macedonians have never got worked up about Albanians in the past; they had no reason to, as the two communities led almost parallel lives, interacting hardly at all.

But at the back of many Macedonian minds there was always the feeling that Albanians were alien and inferior, and could not claim equal rights in their country.

That feeling is what gives popular support to the hard-line nationalist element in the Macedonian government - centred on the minister of the interior, Ljube Boskovski, who controls the special police.

The same feeling, presumably, motivated the unknown person who hurled the concrete block that killed Sapper Ian Collins last week.

When even the Macedonian government spokesman declares that "Nato is not our enemy, but it is the big friend of our enemies", we should not be surprised if teenage thugs take that argument and simplify it a little further.

There can be no doubt that the primary responsibility for these last six months of fighting lies on the Albanian side: it was Albanian rebels who took up arms. Yet the most dangerous obstacle to peace now lies on the Slav Macedonian side.

The political agreement brokered by the Western powers does satisfy the main demands of the Albanians, most of whom have been fighting not for a change of borders but for an improvement of their status within Macedonia; but it leaves the Macedonian hard-liners angry and resentful.

If (and it is a big if) the agreement is passed by the Macedonian

parliament and properly implemented, most of the Albanian rebels will have no further wish to fight. But implementation will take time.

If Nato withdraws on the 30th day, Mr Boskovski will send in his special police on the 31st day - as he has promised - to reclaim "every last millimetre of Macedonian soil".

The fighting will restart, and we shall discover, not to our surprise, that the Albanians have kept a few weapons after all.

So there is good news and there is bad news. The good news is that Armageddon has not come yet to Macedonia, and need not come at all.

The political agreement can prevent it, if followed through in good faith. The bad news is that some Nato deployment - though not necessarily a British one - will have to stay there for many months to come.

Nato did not bomb Kosovo for fun two years ago; it had strong reasons for wanting to prevent the collapse of Macedonia. Those reasons are no less strong today.

Noel Malcolm is the author of Kosovo: A Short History

van holst en steijnen

From: Despotovic, Ruza <despot@wish.net>
To: Marrie Kardol <mkardol@mac.com>; Jan Beentjes <beentjes@knoware.nl>; Henny Loodewijk <w.postma@hccnet.nl>; <speerpunt@wxs.nl>; Globalreflexion <office@globalreflexion.org>; Nico & Neeltje Steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>
Sent: donderdag 14 maart 2002 14:45
Subject: nieuws 14/03/02

Yugoslavia does no longer exist. According to agreement signed today about future relations of Serbia and Montenegro new state will be called Serbia and Montenegro, it will have joint parliament and president who will be the primeminister at the same time, as well as 5 joint functions.

The ICTY is to pronounce on Saturday the verdict in the original jurisdiction's procedure against Milorad Krnojelac, former war supervisor of the prison in Srebrenica, charged with crimes against humanity and violation of the laws and customs of war. In the final speeches, holded on last year's July, the prosecutor had requested the 25 years prison term and while Defense asked for the releasing verdict. The Serbian, Montenegrin and federal officials have begun, around 10.30, the preparatory talks before signing the agreement on new united state of Serbia and Montenegro.

UN Secretary General Kofi Annan says that conclusion of the ICTY's work depends, first of all, from Karadzic's and Mladic's appearance before it.

The trial against Slobodan Milosevic is resumed today with cross-examination of the Prosecution witness Patrick Ball.

The OSCE won't finance the forthcoming local elections in Kosmet, OSCE's spokesman Sven Lindholm says.

UNMIK Chief Michael Steiner says he'll continue to cooperate with the Belgrade authorities, emphasizing that beginning of the dialogue is in Kosmet Albanians' interest, and that, in spite of it's still opened final status, Kosmet is still part of Yugoslavia. Serbian Premier Zoran Djindjic says early this morning that name of the new state will be Serbia and Montenegro.

Yugoslav President Vojislav Kostunica has stated, after the meeting in the Federation Palace, that agreement between Serbia and Montenegro will declare a base for the future Constitution.

European Union high representative for foreign policy and security Javier Solana has stated, around 2 am, that talks on redefining the relations between Serbia and Montenegro will be resumed in 10.30 am in the Federation Palace.

Participants of the talks on redefining the relations between Serbia and Montenegro have confirmed early this morning that after 12 hours of negotiations, a relations agreement was reached and is to be signed during the day.

UNMIK spokesperson Susan Manuel says that announcement of the Coordination Centre for Kosovo-Metohija Chief Nebojsa Covic that Belgrade authorities will deliver to UNMIK every Albanian prisoner in Serbia, is a step forward in the cooperation between the UNMIK and the Yugoslav authorities.

van holst en steijnen

From: Jovan Grbic <ssicc@planet.nl>
To: <n.h.van.holst@freefer.nl>
Sent: dinsdag 4 september 2001 14:18
Subject: TUZBA PROTIV NATO PRED EVROPSKIM SUDOM

TUZBA PORODICA POGINULIH RADNIKA RTS PROTIV NATO PRED EVROPSKIM SUDOM
 ZA LJUDSKA PRAVA

Besplatna usluga britanskih advokata

London, 3. septembra (Tanjug)

Porodice radnika Radio-televizije Srbije koji su poginuli kad je NATO u aprilu 1999. godine bombardovao tu medijsku kucu, dobice besplatnu pravnu pomoc u sporu pred Evropskim sudom za ljudska prava, kome su podneli tuzbu protiv clanica severnoatlantske vojne alijanse s obrazlozenjem da je po evropskom pravu taj napad bio nezakonit, pise danas londonski "Independent".

Sud iz Strazbura je izabrao jednu britansku advokatsku firmu da zastupa interese tih porodica koje su tuzile Veliku Britaniju i jos 16 clanica NATO, zato "sto su ucestvovala ili odobrila" tu akciju.

Porodice smatraju da su evropske clanice NATO prekrstile pravo na zivot i slobodu izrazavanja koje stiti Evropska konvencija o ljudskim pravima.

Tuzba nije mogla da bude podneta protiv SAD i Kanade jer ne podlezu nadleznosti tog evropskog tribunala.

Porodice zrtava ovlastile su advokatsku firmu iz Kolcestera da zahteva odsetu i presudu kojom ce biti definisani parametri delovanja NATO u buducim operacijama, pise "Indipendent".

Tuzbu sudu u Strazburu podnele su cetiri porodice zrtava NATO bombardovanja i jedna od osoba koja je prezivela taj napad, u kome je u noci 23. aprila ubijeno 16 i ranjeno isto toliko radnika RTS.

Prva sednica Evropskog suda bice odrzana 24. oktobra a advokati, takode britanski, koji ce zastupati clanice NATO, nastojace da u startu ospore nadleznost suda pre nego sto budu morali da dokazuju da su neosnovane optuzbe da su te zemlje prekrstile Evropsku konvenciju o ljudskim pravima.

Po njima, posto Jugoslavija nije potpisnik te konvencije onda je tuzba izvan nadleznosti suda u Strazburu.

Advokat porodica, Toni Fiser, kaze da je sud dodelio besplatnu pravnu pomoc za odgovor na "preliminarne primedbe" NATO i da se nada da ce dobiti i dodatna sredstva kako bi mogao da prisustvuje "prethodnom saslusanju".

Fiser kaze da se radi o "cisto pravnom slucaju", bez politickih tonova.

Od britanske vlade i drugih NATO clanica zatrazeno je da odgovore na pitanje koja im je druga alternativna akcija bila na raspolaganju pre nego sto su odobrile bombardovanje.

Londonski list podseca da je NATO opravdavao svoj napad na RTS time

da
ta televizijska stanica emituje propagandu "koju preuzimaju i dalje
sire zapadni mediji", kao i da su premijer Toni Bler i tadašnji šef
britanske diplomatije Robin Kuk branili tu akciju.

"Nije za nas dovoljno da se samo poremeti otrovna propaganda
Milosevica. Podjednako je vazno da mi omogućimo da njegov narod sazna
istinu", rekao je tada Kuk.

"Stanica je deo Milosevicovog diktatorskog aparata i moci i koristi
se
za etnicko ciscenje Kosova", rekao je Bler, prema citatu iz
"Indipendenta".

PRED EVROPSKIM SUDOM ZA LJUDSKA PRAVA U STRAZBURU

Tuzeno 17 drzava clanica NATO-a

Krajem oktobra saslanje porodica nastradalih u RTS-u

Pred Evropskim sudom za ljudska prava u Strazburu krajem oktobra ce
biti odrzano saslanje povodom tuzbe koju su porodice nastradalih u
bombardovanju RTS-a 1999. godine pokrenule protiv 17 drzava clanica
NATO-a.

Tuzbu pred sudom u Strazburu su podnele cetiri porodice poginulih i
jedan povredeni radnik RTS-a, izjavila je za agenciju Beta
koordinator
za pravna pitanja Beogradskog centra za ljudska prava Tatjana Papic.

Ona je rekla da ce krajem oktobra u Strazburu biti saslane porodice
koje su podnele tuzbu.

Tatjana Papic je dodala da su tuzene drzave potpisnice Evropske
konvencije o zastiti ljudskih prava, dok SRJ nije potpisnica tog
dokumenta, jer jos nije postala clan Saveta Evrope.

Porodice stradalih u RTS-u i povredeni radnik te firme podneli su
tuzbu 1999. godine, posle intervencije NATO-a.

van holst en steijnen

From: Paul Davidson <p.davidson@btinternet.com>
To: <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>
Sent: vrijdag 26 april 2002 06:06
Subject: Bosnia and The fake Tribunal at The Hague: 3 Articles

Bosnia and The fake Tribunal at The Hague: 3 Articles

GEOSTRATEGY-DIRECT INTELLIGENCE BRIEF

U.S. gave green light
to terrorists in Bosnia
Yugoslavia policy helped build base in Europe for Hezbollah, others

Posted: April 24, 2002

5:00 p.m. Eastern

Editor's note: WorldNetDaily brings readers exclusive, up-to-the-minute global intelligence news and analysis from Geostrategy-Direct, a new online newsletter edited by veteran journalist Robert Morton and featuring the "Backgrounder" column compiled by Bill Gertz. Geostrategy-Direct is a subscription-based service produced by the publishers of WorldTribune.com, a free news service frequently linked by the editors of WorldNetDaily.

? 2002 WorldNetDaily.com

The Dutch government has released a report that details the alliance between the United States and the Islamic effort to help Bosnian Muslims. The report determined that the United States provided a green light to groups on the State Department list of terrorist organizations to operate in Bosnia. This included the Lebanese-based Hezbollah. For the European Union, the U.S. effort marks a stain that calls into question Washington's war on terrorism.

For nearly a decade, the Clinton administration helped Islamic insurgents aligned with Chechnya, Iran and Saudi Arabia destabilize the former Yugoslavia. The insurgents were allowed to bring weapons and explosives to Bosnia-Herzegovina and fight Serbs and their allies. The insurgents also were allowed to move further east to Kosovo.

The United States was helped by a range of Muslim countries ? from Iran and Saudi Arabia to Turkey. In short, the Clinton administration thought that the stronger the Muslims in Bosnia, the weaker the Serbian hold over Yugoslavia.

Today, there are tens of thousands of Islamic insurgents throughout such countries as Bosnia, Croatia and Kosovo, and many of them are moving west to Austria, Hungary, Germany and Switzerland.

The U.S. Defense Department, which helped run the Islamic weapons smuggling operation in Bosnia, now faces a huge blowback problem as many Hezbollah operatives have moved to greener pastures in Western Europe. Over the last decade, Islamic extremism has increased its strength in such countries as Britain, France, Germany and Sweden to the point where their foreign policy is hampered.

The Islamic blowback is believed to be vast. These days, Bosnia ? under heavy Iranian influence ? is regarded as too dangerous for senior U.S. officials to visit. Both Bosnia and Kosovo also serve as launching pads for terrorist attacks both in the West and in the Middle East.

More than a few European countries, consequently, have turned their nose up at the Bush administration's appeal to take Islamic terrorism seriously.

U.S.-led forces desecrate Serbian church?
Letter to Bush protests alleged violence by peacekeeping troops

Posted: April 25, 2002
1:00 a.m. Eastern

By Aleksandar Pavic
? 2002 WorldNetDaily.com

The Serbian Orthodox Church is charging the peacekeeping force in Bosnia with violently desecrating church property in its search for suspects wanted by the War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague.

In an April 11 letter addressed to U.S. President Bush, Gen. John B. Sylvester, commander of the SFOR peacekeeping force in Bosnia, and Bosnian High Commissioner Wolfgang Petritsch, the Serbian Church protested the behavior of U.S.-led troops.

Written by Serb Patriarch Pavle in the name of the Holy Synod of Bishops, the letter refers to "enormously unpleasant situations which the faithful of the Serbian Orthodox Church experienced on Feb. 28 and March 1, 2002, when the soldiers of the SFOR peacekeeping forces violently burst into these villages claiming to search for [former Bosnian political and military leader] Radovan Karadzic. They used explosive and other objects to smash doors and barge into houses, ambulances and even schools."

Even though U.S. officials have expressed opposition to the newly ratified International Criminal Court, there is an urgency to round up people in Bosnia wanted for alleged war crimes to stand trial in another international court, the Hague Tribunal. U.S. War Crimes Ambassador Pierre-Richard Prosper, on April 18, traveled to Bosnia to inform the Serb leadership that "there would be no economic or political progress in Republika Srpska (the Serb part of Bosnia)" until Karadzic and Ratko Mladic stood trial at The Hague. He went on to say that "Republika Srpska risked falling behind other countries for not cooperating with the Hague Tribunal" and that its "citizens would continue suffering while Radovan Karadzic was free."

In addition, the U.S. administration has continued applying economic and political pressure against neighboring Yugoslavia, compelling it to pass an unconstitutional law that sets the rules for "cooperation with The Hague" and to issue arrest warrants against alleged Hague suspects.

The intensified search for suspects in Bosnia has caused Karadzic to resurface from his seven-year exile to protest the methods used in the hunt.

The letter goes on to say that the Serbian Orthodox Church is "shocked and appalled by the behavior of the SFOR soldiers to innocent civilians, especially by their violent entering the Church of the Dormition of the Most Holy Mother of God at Celebici, with weapons, where they scattered sacral objects in the altar and smashed the glass within the chalice [used] for giving the Holy Communion to priests and people. ... The Church in which our faithful pray to God, receive the Holy Communion, are christened and married has been desecrated. Religious feelings of our faithful, their human dignity and safety have been violated." The letter concludes with an appeal that "measures be taken so that nothing similar should ever happen again."

This is not the first time that the Serbian Church has appealed to Western leaders to stop the threat to its churches. Since the NATO-led KFOR troops came to the Serbian province of Kosovo after the bombing of Yugoslavia in June 1999, more than 100 Orthodox churches have been damaged or destroyed by Albanian Islamicists in the presence of the 50,000-plus-strong Western military forces.

In the April 24 edition of the Belgrade weekly Nedeljni Telegraf, ran a letter written by Karadzic to Kosta Cavoski, a close friend and leading Yugoslav legal authority and Hague opponent, in which he says that he has been "earnestly trying to avoid an encounter with the SFOR troops for the past seven years ... and that it would be better if Gen. Sylvester did the same, [for] in that encounter I may not pass very well and would probably pass very badly in the technical sense, but I would certainly be the winner in the moral sense."

Sylvester, continues Karadzic, "could come out the winner only if we don't meet, that is, if he refuses the role of policeman and bounty hunter."

Karadzic also expresses his wonder as to "why Gen. Sylvester wants to equate his soldiers with cruel bounty hunters" and whether his soldiers' parents know that "their children break into houses of our innocent civilians in the middle of the night and frighten our children, who fall unconscious" from shock.

Referring to the "tribunal" that is hunting him, Karadzic goes on to ask "what kind of court and prosecution is it that first arrests and only then compiles evidence ... which has held our speaker of the House, who has had no role in the executive branch, in detention without trial for two years," further wondering whether "such things are allowed in Gen. Sylvester's country."

Finally, Karadzic wonders whether "President Bush, Gen. Sylvester's supreme commander, knows that his general writes letters of blackmail in which he threatens innocent civilians."

In an April 11 letter addressed to U.S. President Bush, Gen. John B. Sylvester, commander of the SFOR peacekeeping force in Bosnia, and Bosnian High Commissioner Wolfgang Petritsch, the Serbian Church protested the behavior of U.S.-led troops.

Written by Serb Patriarch Pavle in the name of the Holy Synod of Bishops, the letter refers to "enormously unpleasant situations which the faithful of the Serbian Orthodox Church experienced on Feb. 28 and March 1, 2002, when the soldiers of the SFOR peacekeeping forces violently burst into these villages claiming to search for [former Bosnian political and military leader] Radovan Karadzic. They used explosive and other objects to smash doors and barge into houses, ambulances and even schools."

Even though U.S. officials have expressed opposition to the newly ratified International Criminal Court, there is an urgency to round up people in Bosnia wanted for alleged war crimes to stand trial in another international court, the Hague Tribunal. U.S. War Crimes Ambassador Pierre-Richard Prosper, on April 18, traveled to Bosnia to inform the Serb leadership that "there would be no economic or political progress in Republika Srpska (the Serb part of Bosnia)" until Karadzic and Ratko Mladic stood trial at The Hague. He went on to say that "Republika Srpska risked falling behind other countries for not cooperating with the Hague Tribunal" and that its "citizens would continue suffering while Radovan Karadzic was free."

In addition, the U.S. administration has continued applying economic and political pressure against neighboring Yugoslavia, compelling it to pass an unconstitutional law that sets the rules for "cooperation with The Hague" and to issue arrest warrants against alleged Hague suspects.

The intensified search for suspects in Bosnia has caused Karadzic to resurface from his seven-year exile to protest the methods used in the hunt.

The letter goes on to say that the Serbian Orthodox Church is "shocked and appalled by the behavior of the SFOR soldiers to innocent civilians, especially by their violent entering the Church of the Dormition of the Most Holy Mother of God at Celebici, with weapons, where they scattered sacral objects in the altar and smashed the glass within the chalice [used] for giving the Holy Communion to priests and people. ... The Church in which our faithful pray to God, receive the Holy Communion, are christened and married has been desecrated. Religious feelings of our faithful, their human dignity and safety have been violated." The letter concludes with an appeal that "measures be taken so that nothing similar should ever happen again."

This is not the first time that the Serbian Church has appealed to Western leaders to stop the threat to its churches. Since the NATO-led KFOR troops came to the Serbian province of Kosovo after the bombing of Yugoslavia in June 1999, more than 100 Orthodox churches have been damaged or destroyed by Albanian Islamicists in the presence of the 50,000-plus-strong Western military forces.

In the April 24 edition of the Belgrade weekly Nedeljni Telegraf, ran a letter written by Karadzic to Kosta Cavoski, a close friend and leading Yugoslav legal authority and Hague opponent, in which he says that he has been "earnestly trying to avoid an encounter with the SFOR troops for the past seven years ... and that it would be better if Gen. Sylvester did the same, [for] in that encounter I may not pass very well and would probably pass very badly in the technical sense, but I would certainly be the winner in the moral sense."

Sylvester, continues Karadzic, "could come out the winner only if we don't meet, that is, if he refuses the role of policeman and bounty hunter."

Karadzic also expresses his wonder as to "why Gen. Sylvester wants to equate his soldiers with cruel bounty hunters" and whether his soldiers' parents know that "their children break into houses of our innocent civilians in the middle of the night and frighten our children, who fall unconscious" from shock.

Referring to the "tribunal" that is hunting him, Karadzic goes on to ask "what kind of court and prosecution is it that first arrests and only then compiles evidence ... which has held our speaker of the House, who has had no role in the executive branch, in detention without trial for two years," further wondering whether "such things are allowed in Gen. Sylvester's country."

Finally, Karadzic wonders whether "President Bush, Gen. Sylvester's supreme commander, knows that his general writes letters of blackmail in which he threatens innocent civilians."

The last is in reference to an April 8 letter written by Sylvester to another Bosnian Serb, Zvonko Bajagic, in which he urges him to "appeal to your friend Radovan Karadzic to give himself up" to the Hague Tribunal or be faced with the possibility of "legal complications resulting in a thorough and expensive investigation that might cause you financial and emotional hardship and suffering."

Karadzic is being sought by the Tribunal for allegedly taking part in the organization of a "massacre" of Bosnian Muslims in the "U.N. demilitarized zone" in Srebrenica in July 1995. This is also one of the main charges facing former Yugoslav leader Slobodan Milosevic, who is currently standing trial in The Hague.

Last week, the publication of the results of a five-year long official Dutch inquiry into the events taking place in Srebrenica caused the resignation of the entire Dutch government. In a section dealing with the work of various foreign intelligence agencies during the Bosnian conflict, the report implicates the Pentagon with, among other things, supporting the airlift of Iranian and Turkish armaments financed with Saudi Arabian money into the "demilitarized" Muslim enclave of Srebrenica just before its fall to Bosnian Serb forces.

As quoted by the London Guardian, the report also states that the CIA was opposed to the Pentagon policy of allying with "radical Islamist groups from the Middle East, some of the same groups that the Pentagon is now fighting in 'the war against terrorism,' [including] Afghan mujahedin and Hezbollah."

Back in June 1998, in an interview given to the Bosnian weekly "Dani," the former police chief of Srebrenica went so far as to implicate former President Clinton in offering to stage the fall of Srebrenica in order to ensure a NATO intervention. Apparently, former Muslim Islamic leader Alija Izetbegovic, told him at a 1993 meeting that "[y]ou know, I was offered by Clinton in April 1993 ... that the Chetnik [Serb] forces enter Srebrenica, carry out a slaughter of 5,000 Muslims, and then there will be a military intervention.

Friday, 26 April, 2002, 09:38 GMT 10:38 UK
Army chief to reject war crimes charges

General Ojdanic maintains he has done nothing wrong

The former head of the Yugoslav army will make his first appearance at the war crimes tribunal in The Hague on Friday where he is expected to plead innocent to charges of crimes against humanity.

Surrenders

Dragoljub Ojdanic, former army chief of staff
Nikola Sainovic, former Yugoslav deputy prime minister
Milan Martic, former Croatian Serb rebel leader
Mile Mrksic, former army officer
Vladimir Kovacevic, former army officer

Momcilo Gruban, former Bosnian Serb prison guard
General Dragoljub Ojdanic, who led the army during the 1998-1999 against Kosovo-Albanian insurgents, is the most senior war crimes suspect to appear before the tribunal since former president Slobodan Milosevic made his debut in February.

He faces five counts of crimes against humanity and violations of the laws or customs of war relating to the Kosovo campaign, in which thousands of people were killed and hundreds of thousands driven from their homes.

His voluntary surrender to the Hague court was hailed on Thursday by Washington, where the State Department praised his "courageous decision and his show of leadership".

Mr Ojdanic was the first of 23 people ordered last week to surrender by the Yugoslav Government to turn himself in.

"I have nothing to feel ashamed of," Mr Ojdanic said before his departure to the Netherlands. "My conscience is clear."

He also declared he had "nothing" to say which could incriminate Mr Milosevic, who was extradited against his will last June.

US pressure

General Ojdanic has joined 40 other suspects held at the special UN unit in Scheveningen, near the tribunal, but hopes he might be released pending trial, as other suspects who have surrendered voluntarily have been.

Serbian President Milan Milutinovic is also on the wanted list

Only six of the 23 people named last week have said they will surrender voluntarily. They include former Yugoslav Deputy Prime Minister Nikola Sainovic, who, like General Ojdanic, is indicted on the same charge sheet as Mr Milosevic.

Two of the most wanted suspects, Bosnian Serb wartime leader Radovan Karadzic and his military chief Ratko Mladic remain at large.

Yugoslavia is under immense financial pressure from the United States, which froze economic aid at the end of March after the country failed to meet a deadline to start handing over suspects to the UN tribunal.

While welcoming Mr Ojdanic's surrender on Thursday, State Department spokesman Richard Boucher said much remained to be done if the freeze on the \$40m in assistance was to be lifted.

"While we see this as a positive step, both on the part of the individuals answering the charges as well as on the part of the government of Yugoslavia for facilitating this, at this point we have not made any further decisions with regard to certification."

In addition to the continued surrender of suspects, Mr Boucher said the State Department wanted Belgrade to open up its military archives to investigators from the tribunal who are keen to use the material as evidence.

9. . 2

Letter of Support to the President of the Republic by 828 Albanians from Kosovo and Metohija

TERROR, CRIME AND ANARCHY REFLECT THE ONE-YEAR MISSION BY KFOR AND UNMIK

Pristina, June 6 (TANJUG) The Democratic Reform party of the Albanians of Kosovo and Metohija, sent a letter of support today to the President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Slobodan Milosevic stressing his implementation of the policy of joint life and equal rights of all the inhabitants of Kosovo and Metohija, and of the policy of peace, tolerance and reason. The letter, signed by 828 Albanians from all over Kosovo and Metohija states:

"Dear Mr. President,

We hereby greet you and address you in this form to offer our full support to your political struggle for the unity and prosperity of our country - the Republic of Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

We Albanians from Kosovo and Metohija can no longer endure nor tolerate the wave of terror against our citizens, neighbours and friends. This avalanche of terror, crime and anarchy reflects the one-year mission by KFOR and UNMIK.

Many of our neighbours have disappeared, others have been killed or expelled. What has been going on the past year Kosovo and Metohija - the

ethnic cleansing in the presence of the so-called peacekeepers and of the local traitors and their helpers - is certainly the biggest crime in the history of mankind.

Hoping for a better future, trusting our democratic parties and above all the Democratic Reform Party of the Albanians, its leadership and our activists who have been with us all this time, encouraging us and urging us to resist, we have managed to sift the good from bad and to prove who are the terrorist gangs, and who are peaceful and loyal citizens, albeit at the price of human lives.

The recent murders of our members and activists are nothing else but the defeat and a sign of cowardice of our fellow Albanians, i.e. of the groups of Albanian bandits and traitors now pillaging and rampaging with ample support by the UN mission in Kosovo and Metohija, with the intention to destroy and obliterate the voice of reason and tolerance.

Dear Mr. President,

We believe in the future of Kosovo and Metohija with all the ethnic communities united. We trust your policy of joint life in the struggle for the equality of all of us living in Kosovo and Metohija, the policy of peace, tolerance and reason."

Another irrational decision of the international community

THE DECANI MONASTERY STRIPPED OF ITS LAND

Proto-synellus Sava Janjic from the Decani Monastery, also member of the Serbian national Council of KosMet revealed recently that Ms. Helina Kakarinen - the local UN administrator for Decani, informed the monks from the Decani Monastery, that the regional UNMIK administration for the Pec County - headed by Alain Le Roi -

decided to prohibit the use of the land restituted to the monastery by the Serbian government before the aggression.

In fact, after World War II, the Communist government in Decani seized 805 hectares of land owned by the monastery. In the '70s a honey producing co-operative with modern pack-

EU-politie vervangt VN-macht in Bosnië

Door onze correspondent
BRUSSEL, 19 FEBR. Een politiemacht van de Europese Unie neemt met ingang van januari volgend jaar in Bosnië de taak over van de politiemacht van de Verenigde Naties. Dat hebben de EU-ministers van Buitenlandse Zaken gisteren besloten.

Aan de EU-macht zullen Nederlandse marechaussees deelnemen. In totaal wil de EU voor een periode van drie jaar 466 agenten naar Bosnië sturen. Daarnaast zijn 67 burgerfunctionarissen nodig. „Dit is een historische beslissing”, zei gisteren de Spaanse minister Josep Piqué, wiens land roulerend EU-voorzitter is.

Aan de EU-politie zullen 289 lokale politieagenten worden toegevoegd. De politie in Bosnië gaat de EU jaarlijks 38 miljoen euro kosten. De helft van dat bedrag komt voor rekening van de EU-landen die agenten leveren. De kosten belopen dit jaar 14 miljoen euro.

Hiermee is een eerste taak vastgesteld voor de Europese politiemacht van totaal 5.000 agenten die met ingang van volgend jaar binnen dertig dagen ingezet moet kunnen worden voor civiele crisisbeheersing. Het is tevens de eerste actie van het Europese veiligheids- en defensiebeleid. Behalve de politiemacht valt daaronder een snelle interventiemacht van 60.000 militairen die vanaf volgend jaar binnen zestig dagen voor ten minste een jaar inzetbaar moet zijn.

Deze militaire macht moet vreedstaken uitvoeren. Voorlopig zal het daarbij alleen om het handhaven van vrede gaan. Voor het afdwingen van vrede heeft de EU voorlopig niet de benodigde middelen. Een noodzakelijk akkoord met de NAVO over het gebruik van NAVO-middelen stuitte lange tijd op verzet van Turkije. Turkije heeft dat verzet opgeheven, maar nu heeft Griekenland bezwaren wegens de Turkse positie.

ing facilities was built in one of the most fertile fields. Afterwards the brotherhood repeatedly demanded that this particular field be returned to its original use, and their demands were met in 1997.

However, after the conflict in Kosovo and Metohija and the arrival of the UN mission, local Albanians who chased out all the Serbs from the Decani municipality and from the Pec County, decided to seize this land and the co-operative on it. The monastery brotherhood proposed that the whole plant and the machinery be turned over to the Albanians and installed elsewhere, leaving the land and the building to the monastery. However, the Albanians rejected this constructive proposal and exerted great pressure on the UN mission to seize the land because "its ownership is disputable".

Such a decision, banning the use of the monastery land which had already been sown, created great losses to the monastery and to the brotherhood which is slowly being pushed within the walls of the temple. The Eparchy of Raska-Prizren believes that this unjust decision is a sign of the weakness of the UN mission which is making concessions to the Albanians who are obviously determined to ethnically cleanse one of the last Serbian oases in Metohija. The Serbian Orthodox Church and the Serbian National Council of KosMet will insist with the UN mission that decision be revoked and the usurpation of the monastery lands be prevented to allow the survival on the monastic community - father Sava stressed.

example. Churches they guard burn a way too often."

His wife Slobodanka serves us strong Turkish coffee, and their daughters Suzana and Slavica bring out from a ladder somewhat blurred photographs of demolished churches, burned icons, plundered monasteries. Since last summer over 80 temples have been demolished, destroyed, burned down, blown up, including a large number of those UNESCO had declared world's cultural heritage. And all took place before KFOR's eyes.

"I could leave," added Father Svetislav. "My son lives with his family elsewhere. Yet if I do that, also this church, dedicated to our great St. Sava, shall be destroyed. I would rather give my life, if that is my destiny. One day Christian countries shall realise that bombing us they waged war against themselves."

The arrival of three bullet-proof vehicles interrupted us. This is the only way for this priest to step out from his enclave-prison and reach the tiny, uncompleted construction of the St. George Church in Zvecan, a small town a few kilometres northward of Kosovska Mitrovica, above which, on the top of a hill on one side, stand the ruins of Tsar Dusan's fortress.

Bozidar Dakic, a toothless guard, also lives in the enclave of Father Svetislav, with his wife and daughter Svetlana. He likes Italians from the "San Marco" regiment, because they provide him food and are "kind and good Christians." According to him, there is no difference between the Catholics and Orthodox Christians.

Despair of French Officers

Today is the Catholic Easter, and for the Orthodox Christians it is the Palm Sunday. Hundreds of children from the neighbourhood throng round the too small church, with green twigs in their hands. With small bells round the neck, in accordance with the Serbian tradition. Next after the service, Father Svetislav goes to Mitrovica prison, where some twenty prisoners, Serbs and Romanies have been on a hunger strike for already about fifteen days, in a protest against the release of an Albanian terrorist who had thrown a bomb in the direction of KFOR forces. A number of French officers, who asked not to quote their names, expressed me their deep despair because of this, to say the least, inappropriate release. Some go that far to accuse Germans of unreservedly supporting the KLA, all to the point of turning them into own auxiliary troops.

Yet Father Svetislav is far from the noise and fieriness of partisan passions. He is a confessor, he prays, gives Communion to those wishing it and consolation to the desperate. He holds long in his embrace young Vladimir Vucetic, a fifteen year old retarded boy accused of theft, now for already eight months in detention together with adults accused of most serious crimes. Arsenije Vitosevic, 62, is that ill that he cannot go out of his cell no. 20. Therefore the priest goes in to him. Half blind, hardly moving, Vitosevic starts sobbing the moment Father Svetislav steps over the threshold. Embarrassed, the

"Le Figaro," Paris ("Politika," 30 May 2000)

KOSOVO - MARTYRDOM OF THE LAST CHRISTIANS

A church fenced with barbed wire, a priest moving round in no other but a bullet-proof vehicle; believers: a handful of the unyielding, a few prisoners and two Russian prostitutes.

Literally covered with garbage, Pristina roars with a fermenting liveliness. It seems everybody is selling or buying something: from a KLA badge

to a stolen mobile phone, from a peroxide blonde to a Ferrari latest model, without registration plates or papers. Anything can be seen or found in Pristina, except for the Serbs, Romanies, Jews, Turks, all the multi-ethnic, diverse population once making the charm of this artificial and, by the way, ugly capital. Precisely a year ago I

Egyptian captain who was closely following us, departs. Once seeing thus an old and ill man, one starts doubting the justifiability of a charge of alleged genocide pressed against him. To say further, his case resembles a trial held in Zaire in 1962, when a farmer accused his neighbour's horse of eating up his goat.

In the small yard two Russian prostitutes, sentenced to one-month imprisonment, also wait for the priest to be confessed. The Russian mob had sold them to the Turkish mob, which resold them to the Albanian mob, to "meet the

needs" of KFOR troops. Today they want just one thing: to get back home, the soonest possible.

It is almost 7 p.m. Stopped, Father Svetislav gets out from the Italian bullet-proof vehicle with difficulty.

"I am old and ill," he says, holding my hand instead of a greeting. "My life is next to its end. Yet, those are my own children, and all the Christian children in Kosovo who are deprived of their right to life here. One can always devise a good justification on the Earth, but not in front of the God."

was here at the height of the bombing campaign, in the destroyed town, abandoned by a half of its population, living under the alarm, in fear from bombs, yet still a town in which Serbs, Albanians, Turks, Jews and Romanies further lived next to each other...

The "Bridge Defenders" of Kosovska Mitrovica - a place of occasional and fierce hostilities - are a regular children's gang equipped with motorolas, which kills time drinking Cokes and playing chess in the "Dolce Vita" coffee bar which serves them both as a headquarters and a watch tower. Technically, the bridge is guarded by French soldiers but, as a matter of fact, no one can cross it without these "Gauls" unkind approval. This is how the inhabitants of the northern part of this town - divided not only by the Ibar river but also by hatred in relation to the Asterix's enclave - see themselves. Otherwise, they also print postcards impudently caricaturing the famous Goscinny's and Uderzo's comic strip.

In front of the "Hotel d' Nord," as Lt. Emanuel Sanso calls it, three well-fed pigs are slowly turned on a big roasting-spit, spreading the pleasant smell of the crisp crackling and grill. French and Italian patrols go around in bullet-proof vehicles. Yet the Serbs, sitting at the table on the terrace, do not protest much. They even do not respond to foolish smiles or clumsy greetings of some good-intentioned soldiers.

"There are some ten thousand of us here," says a young Romany, one of the unofficial "guards" bosses, "yet if it were not for us to guard the bridge...

The communication of our enclave with Serbia functions well. Vehicles are passing through without problem. If a need would arise, we would have something to defend with, to sell our skins dearly. Supplying is solid. No one works, yet all are equal. A problem is the church. The division was thus effected that our church, just on the other side of the river, had remained in the Albanian territory. Our believers cannot go there by any means."

If I Leave, the Church Will be Pulled Down

Some 300 metres away from another bridge: a smaller one but equally fiercely defended, stands the church of Father Svetislav Nejc. It is a magnificent 19th century edifice erected amid a huge yard, now fenced with barbed wire, and protected by KFOR tanks.

"The Trust Zone" that KFOR had originally anticipated for both sides of the Ibar, now applies only to the northern part inhabited by the Serbs. This type of discrimination renders the Western official declarations a hypocritical tone.

"There are fifteen of us here, including three priests, and we all live, as we can on the church estate," Father Svetislav relates in a low voice.

He is 63, but looks much older. "Earlier, we were guarded by the Frenchmen. Now by the Italians from the 'San Marco' regiment. Those are good Christians. I would not like to see here soldiers from the Emirates, for

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The opinions presented in this publication do not necessarily represent the views of the Government of the Republic of Serbia

SPEECH BY THE FRY PRESIDENT SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC, OPENING THE BRIDGE IN NOVI SAD

President of the Republic Slobodan Milosevic opened a new railway and road bridge in Novi Sad in the presence of over 200,000 citizens of Vojvodina and Serbia

WE WON BECAUSE WE ARE BETTER

President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Slobodan Milosevic addressed a magnificent popular rally in Novi Sad attended by over 200,000 citizens of this city, Vojvodina and Serbia and formally opened the railway and road bridge over the Danube, the largest investment in the reconstruction of the country, thus reestablishing the shortest and most profitable railway link between the European north and south. On that occasion the Yugoslav president said: "Dear citizens, allow me to greet you and express my deep pleasure that we are here all together and have the opportunity to share the joy of another large victory of work which marks the high, actually the highest, results our country is achieving in its reconstruction and development."

Last year at this time a war was waged against Yugoslavia. We had NATO aggression. That was one of the largest acts of violence against the people in the second half of the 20th century and the only war in Europe after the Second World War.

The nature of this war was really unusual. Quite unique. The war was waged by the largest and strongest European countries, true, under the command of a non-European country, the U.S.A., the most powerful country of our times, against a fairly small European state, exhausted by years long economic sanctions imposed on it by those same countries. These states added war to sanctions, because sanctions had failed to produce the quantity of suffering required to lose all willpower for struggle and love of freedom.

The criminals and killers will never be able to explain a single reasonable and honest person just why was Serbia exposed to cruel sanctions and then to a still crueller war. Once the explanation is given, the true one and convincing for the whole world, these criminals and killers will already be men of the past.

Symbol of Impressive Reconstruction

Until that time, this war, waged against Serbia shall burden the con-

science, or as our folk would put it, burden the soul of the whole world.

It is small consolation for us here that the murderers of our nation will have tormented dreams for as long as they shall live. Even the worst of men, in a part of their conscience, and at least at times, become aware of the fact that they committed evil. It is unlikely that this reality may be avoided by the ideologists and commanders of NATO, and even their army, although we, due to our Slavic nature, are inclined to forgive, especially those we know do not have much of a say in decision-making.

But, there are a lot of people in Yugoslavia who could not sleep many nights after the war. Not because of a guilty conscience, quite the contrary. There have been many sleepless nights in this country after the end of the war. That is because they were spent in great creative work.

In less than a year, the country which was bombed has been reconstructed at a speed probably unsurpassed in the history of modern Europe. Naturally, we have not still managed to reconstruct everything that was ruined. There were damaged apartment buildings, family houses, churches, monasteries, health and state institutions... But, the majority of them have been renewed in the most modern, fastest and nicest way.

This bridge, which we today open for the use of citizens of our country, symbolizes in the best way the impressive results in the reconstruction and development, achieved on daily basis. No one in the world has, thus far, man-

aged to rebuild a facility of this kind - a work that usually takes two years, in merely a hundred days, and a railway bridge at that. That is why we came by train. The train which brought us here consisted only of domestically produced cars, designed and built in our factories and allowing for speed of 200 km per hour. This is an enormous achievement. Because today, only four countries in Europe can themselves produce railway cars suitable for such speeds. Without the railway cars of this type, there can be no fast railways nor implementation of such projects anywhere in Europe. And one of these four countries is ours. The design of this bridge meets high technical and construction standards. Visually, it looks modern, it is essential for traffic and communications and exudes moral superiority. It marks another great construction and moral victory.

We won over our enemies, not because we are stronger, but because we are better. This has been the key for the functioning of the world from days immemorial.

Yugoslavia - The Pride of Europe

We in Yugoslavia, the most European of all states, are building our country with a lot of love, knowledge and labour. If there is something that Europe of the year 2000 should be proud of, it is the reconstruction of Serbia. And if there is something that Europe of 1999 should be ashamed of it is the destruction of Serbia.

Let no one sermon us where

Europe is or is not. Primarily because Europe is every single foot of the soil belonging to the European continent.

Classification of European countries into those which are in Europe and which should only enter it, is underlined by a cynical division into inferior and superior nations. This tendency to divide nations and peoples into superior and inferior has already been seen in history. If Europe accepts that, it will run the risk of being, as a whole, classified among the inferior peoples and countries as well as inferior continents.

There are no inferior or superior races and nations. But there are better and worse men of all races and nations. The better are those who keep their heads high, but also respect others, who build their lives and their country, relying on their own forces and abilities, who are prepared to help all, especially the weakest, who lead other people, who believe in the good and themselves make a contribution to it.

As to who the worse people are - the world has seen that a year ago when, among other things, Novi Sad bridges were destroyed in a flash. The worse men outside Yugoslavia destroyed our country. The worse men in Yugoslavia have been in their service to this date. Those who ruined our bridges and we who build them again, we together make a lesson for Europe and the world.

Let Europe, historically important but weary towards the end of the 20th century learn from the small Serbia and on this bridge, what historical dignity and human freedom are and what human values should be used to build a new epoch we are now entering.

The rest of the world should know that it, too, shall become the target Serbia was, unless it offers resistance - resolute, united, necessary and just, equally resolute, united, necessary and just as Serbia's resistance to violence and humiliation.

Long live the heroic and creative people of Serbia.

Long live free Yugoslavia.

Let Europe be free.

I congratulate the builders of this bridge on the huge success in the reconstruction of our whole country, the great contribution to its renewal and their greatest patriotism, since a country is loved the best by those who defend, build and improve it.

To the builders I extend my best wishes that they may live with their families and be happy, just as we are happy for having them in our country.

To the citizens of Vojvodina I wish that this bridge may be the symbol of progress for all the people living in it.

I propose to name this bridge after Bosko Perosevic.

May the whole of our country live in peace and prosperity!

Yugoslav Army's initiative to confer a high decoration on the President of the Republic and the Supreme Commander

DECORATION OF A NATIONAL HERO TO SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC

On the basis of Article 7, para 3 of the Law on Decorations of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, published in the "Official Gazette of the FR of Yugoslavia" No 59/98 and the initiative of the Yugoslav Army, in view of the brave deeds which serve as an example of heroism in the defense of the sovereignty, territory, independence and the constitutional order of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army

PROPOSES

That the President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC be decorated as a national hero.

As President of the FRY Slobodan Milosevic did not give in to the ultimatums aimed at occupying our country and placing it in the service of interests of the most powerful forces of the world.

During the NATO aggression against the FRY, the President and the Supreme Commander chose the most adequate manner for the overall national resistance to the strongest power of the world and himself said:

"The people is the hero."

Relying on the domestic forces in a situation of almost complete international isolation and armed aggression on our country, by taking strategic decisions he directly contributed to the mobilization and heroic resistance of all forces of defense, the efficiency of military operations and the widest possible resistance using other than armed forms of struggle and resistance and has thereby earned the admiration and sympathies of all peace-loving forces in the world, and even the aggressor.

The statesmanship and efficiency of the Supreme Commander and personal courage of President Slobodan Milosevic, in a situation which appeared hopeless, contributed to the unity of all forces of resistance to the aggressor and finding the optimum solutions for their use, which ranks him among the statesmen and military leaders hard to find in the history of the world.

By successfully completing his role of the statesman and supreme commander he helped in ending the armed aggression and creating the conditions for the resolution of disputable issues peacefully.

Bearing in mind the responsibility of the statesman and historical role of

FRY President's Address to Yugoslav Citizens

THE PEOPLE IS THE HERO

The entire people took part in this war: from babies in maternity wards and patients of intensive care units to soldiers in their trenches, anti-aircraft defense staff and border guards. No one shall forget the heroism of the defenders of bridges and factories, or of the citizens on squares, defending their cities, their jobs, their country, their nation. The nation is the hero - maybe that is the conclusion to be made after this war. The nation is the hero and that is why it should feel like one and should act heroically, that is with dignity, generosity and responsibility.

Early this year there have been a large number of rallies in our country. Their slogan was only one: WE SHALL NOT GIVE KOSOVO. And we did not.

"Politika", 11 June, 1999

the supreme commander in the critical moments for our country, the nation and the Yugoslav Army, as well as the personal courage, resoluteness and daring in taking the decisions of strategic importance for the defense and security of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which acquired him the admiration of the entire peace-loving

mankind and will influence the further course of international relations, the members of the Yugoslav Army propose to decorate the president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Slobodan Milosevic as the national hero, reads the proposal of the Yugoslav Army General Staff.

DIASPORA 2000 in Belgrade, 3-5 August

APPEAL TO RESOLVE THE SITUATION IN KOSMET ON BEHALF OF 4 MILLION SERBS IN THE DIASPORA

Towards the end of May the Council of the Congress of the Diaspora met in Belgrade, with the co-chairman of the Council and Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs, Zivadin Jovanovic in chair. The meeting was attended by Council members from the U.S.A., Australia, Germany, France, Sweden, Great Britain, Austria, Switzerland and Romania, as well as from the homeland.

The task of the Council members was to analyze and evaluate the implementation of the decisions and conclusion of the last year's convention DIASPORA 1999. However, the discussion also included certain issues of key importance for cooperation between the homeland and the Diaspora: participation of the Diaspora in the reconstruction and rebuilding of the facilities damaged or torn down in the NATO aggression, assistance of the Diaspora in the economic development of the country through projects of small and medium-sized enterprises in the field of agriculture, village and food-processing industries. Furthermore, the Council spoke about the promotion of education in the mother tongue, cooperation in culture, science, information and sports, as well as the humanitarian activities of the Diaspora.

It established that in numerous countries where Yugoslav citizens lived and worked, local councils had been successfully organized and provided a good basis for the promotion of relations and cooperation between the homeland and the Diaspora in nourishing and preserving the vital national interests.

The Diaspora has, together with numerous Yugoslav friends in the world, taken a massive part in marking the anniversary of NATO aggression on our country. In addition to the aggression, it condemned the pressuring and political blackmailing of Yugoslavia which continued and in a number of forms:

- instead of observing Security Council Resolution 1244 on Kosovo and Metohija and applying the Military-Technical Agreement the powers of the world incite terrorism and separatism in the southern Serbian province;

- pressures through the economic blockade continue for the purpose of causing the economic, social and even political dissatisfaction of our citizens, so as to facilitate the imposition of solutions which do not suit Yugoslavia and its population, but precisely those who have set out into an aggression on this country;

- increased spreading of misinformation and lies to cover up the fact that the Serbs are a peaceful nation which finds it in its interest to promote various forms of relations with its neighbours and all others in the world who respect our country and our people and accept them as equal partners.

Recognition of the above-mentioned forms of pressures aimed at the internal destabilization of Yugoslavia, the Balkans and the European south urges a still more resolute defence and renewal of the joint country. The renewal is a clear response to pressures and a firm dam against new blackmails, noted the members of the Council.

They pointed to the fact that the resources of the Diaspora were used to build the bridges on the Velika Morava near Varvarin, the Zapadna Morava near Krusevac and Trstenik, as well as to reconstruct or build a number of housing, school, health and other buildings. Our citizens abroad started new actions to secure funds for the elementary school and the bridge in Cuprija, as well as for other facilities of economic and transportation infrastructure and transfer of new technologies. Council members expressed their understanding and full support to the information offered by the federal minister for cooperation with international financial institutions Borka Vucic, concerning the intentions of the Diaspora to participate in financing the development of small and medium-sized enterprises in agriculture.

One of the specific results, Vucic said, was the establishment of the Fund

for additional education of young farmers with the initial capital of 120 thousand German marks and about 450 thousand dinars. The Fund should soon reach the figure of a million marks. The Fund will be used to help the young from rural areas to visit international fairs abroad and attend training courses in other countries so as to learn of new methods of managing agricultural estates and technologically faster ways for communication and exchange of information with the world. The Council expressed its pleasure at the decision of the Federal government exempt from of custom duties all citizens importing equipment for agriculture, as well as the state bodies' decision to start applying the Law on Old Foreign Exchange Savings of citizens on 1 July this year.

"The Diaspora has helped us very much not only in humanitarian actions but also in spreading the truth about us," noted the Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs Zivadin Jovanovic. "At the time of the frenetic anti-Serbian and anti-Yugoslav propaganda it was not easy to deny the lies the powers planted. You have managed to do that and we are extremely grateful. You in the Diaspora and we in the country have, between us, achieved a lot. We have preserved the nation, renewed the country," said minister Jovanovic and concluded: "The Serbs will in future, have to forget the words such as dissent, cleavage, division and turn to unity, agreement and patriotism."

The Council decided to hold the Congress of the DIASPORA 2000 in

Belgrade from the 3rd until the 5th of August, this year.

After the meeting in Belgrade, a delegation of the Council's members visited Kosovska Mitrovica and, upon its return, held a press conference in the Belgrade International Press Centre.

The delegation of the Serbian Diaspora became convinced of the extremely difficult conditions for the life of Serbs and other non-Albanian population. About 70 per cent of the population are jobless, their movement is limited, lives endangered, simply they feel persecuted, said among other things Dr. Radmila Milentijevic, seconded by other members of the delegation. Bernard Kouchner avoided meeting the delegation of the Serbian Diaspora since, as the delegation pointed out, he lacked the courage to face the truth of the reality in Kosmet.

On behalf of four million Serbs living in over a hundred countries on all continents, the delegation appealed to international institutions and the leading men with a request for the release of Serbs confined in Kosovska Mitrovica. The delegation requested the finding and liberation of a thousand Serbs kidnapped in the period since the deployment of the international

forces, disarming of the so-called KLA and its disbanding. The Serbs from the Diaspora demanded the stopping of terrorism and ethnic cleansing, freedom of movement, security for all citizens, public order and peace and human rights up to world standards. Our fellow-countrymen request the protection of religious and other monuments of Christian culture in the southern Serbian province, provision of the free and safe return of the banished and, especially, the respect for the sovereignty and integrity of Serbia and Yugoslavia and consistent application of Resolution 1244 on Kosmet, including also the return of the Yugoslav army and the police to Kosovo and Metohija. The appeal ends in the request to find the responsible for the murders of over a thousand Serbs, Romanies, Muslims, Goranians and Turks committed since the arrival of international military forces and civilian missions.

The appeal, sent by the delegation of the Serbian Diaspora to the key personalities and international institutions, after its visit to Kosovo and Metohija, has a political as well as moral weight being based on the request of four million dispersed Serbs.

Nedeljko B. Mirkovic

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MACEDONIAN STATE ON TARGET

In a series of incomprehensible controversial moves, while blindly carrying out the tasks of the Western mentors and sponsors, the Government of the Republic of Macedonia lurches headlong into a new experiment, namely the establishing of a kind of good neighbourly relations in agreement with the Kosovo leaders from the ranks of local Albanians. The Macedonian Government is thereby making its first concession to the strategists of the Greater Albanian project.

Obviously acting on suggestions from foreign advisers and diplomatic envoys, prime minister Ljupco Georgijevski has, with his visit to Pristina and participation in the Civic Forum on future cooperation between Kosovo and its neighbours - according to political analysts in Skoplje - definitively confirmed that he does not work independently in implementing the foreign policy priorities of the Republic of Macedonia in its closest surroundings.

Justification offered by the current government in Skoplje for the thesis that the southern Serbian province (under conditions of absolute chaos and heavy crime, smuggling, genocidal bestialities of Albanian terrorists and impotent bystanders in the KFOR and UNMIK) is the European test of the democratic and economic course towards the progressive world, does not hold water, either at home or in the

neighbourhood. The only thing that is correct is the fact that the smugglers' channels towards Kosmet are controlled from the offices of corrupted officials of Bernard Kouchner's administration and the selected personnel of the government in Skoplje.

In a situation when information on the final collapse of the international peace mission in Kosmet keep coming from all sides, the "proud" head of the State Department Madeleine Albright, sends a letter of congratulations to the Macedonian prime minister and (in)voluntarily reveals the true background of the series of Georgijevski's own-goals, in the domestic sphere and towards the southern Serbian province. Namely, Albright does not shrink from classical interference in the internal affairs of this Balkan state.

Offensive of Greater-Albanian Strategists

All this is unfortunately happening in a situation of remarkably increased offensive of the strategists of the so-called Greater-Albanian project. In collusion with the Kosmet criminal-political branches of international representatives and Albanian leaders, dressed as "peacekeepers with European orientation", illegal business involving drugs, arms, white slavery, cigarettes, humanitarian consignments... keep flourishing. Thus, from Tetovo on the Northwest of Macedonia we hear that since the arrival of the KFOR in Kosmet,

cisely for the territorial integrity and state sovereignty of Macedonia. That is why, according to Skopje opposition political ranks and part of diplomatic sources "the political approach of the

Macedonian regime to the issue of Kosovo is catastrophically wrong, in any variant".

Mladen Stancic

the channelled trade, carried out in cooperation with the corrupt UNMIK officials, of the leaders of the Democratic Party of Albanians (DFA) Arben Jaferi and Menduh Taci has earned them a profit of about 50 million dollars.

This party is, together with the VMRO-DPMNE, party of the prime minister Georgijevski and the Democratic Alternative of the vice prime minister Vasil Tupurkovski, still at the wheel of the Macedonian ship lost in the stormy waters of the Balkans. Thanks to the marked support of the international factor and encouraged by the "success" in Kosmet, the storm troopers from the Albanian political block are in a hurry to attain the "vital priorities" also in Macedonia. This has been substantially facilitated by the huge profits stemming from foul deals with Kosmet and the fact that prime minister Georgijevski is only now starting to repay the Americans their due for the grant of votes on the last year's presidential elections when Boris Trajkovski replaced Kiro Gligorov.

Concealing of True Intentions

Hiding behind the worn-out formula on the allegedly relaxed inter-ethnic relations, the leaders of the Albanians in Macedonia seek to conceal terrorist activities in the Kosmet part of the border with the FR of Yugoslavia (kidnapping of four soldiers near the border post Tanusevci, wounding of two border guards near Donje Blace, frequent firing along the porous border where

the KFOR soldiers play the role of customs officers amidst armed conflicts of Albanian desperados and the Macedonian army)... At the same time military intelligence warning concerning the actions of Albanian paramilitary formations in Macedonia are disregarded, and instead the emphasis placed on the renewed requests for the legalization of the para-university in Tetovo and the opening of a department in the Albanian language in the Bitolj high school... Pressures for an increased presence of Albanian personnel in the army, police, administration bodies are mounting... With the assistance of the European Union Commissioner for Minority rights Max van der Stule, a temporary solution for the high education of Albanians through the opening of an externally financed private "college" in Tetovo is again becoming topical. All this is indicative of the imposition of the third state university (in addition to the ones in Skoplje and Bitolj), intended exclusively for the Albanians...

The head of the state Trajkovski, enthroned by Albanian votes, almost dramatically cries for the help of the EU Brussels seat, demanding at the same time the guaranties of the UN Security Council for the implementation of Resolution 1244 on Kosmet and securing the Kosmet part of the Macedonian-Yugoslav border.

While Trajkovski, in the capacity of the supreme commander of Macedonia's armed forces energetically orders the increase in combat readiness on that part of the northern border (intro-

ducing the "night watch", more patrols on a principle "shoot first, talk later") the local defence ministry mitigates such statements, ostensibly because of the Albanian request for peace within the government coalition of convenience.

Brussels' Empty Promises

While from the NATO seat, a year after the shameful bestial aggression on the FR of Yugoslavia (also sponsored from Macedonia) the secretary general George Robertson confirms the receipt of Trajkovski's letter, but does not promise anything specific, skirmishes near the Blace crossing do

not subside. Macedonian border guards are the target of Albanian snipers from Kosmet, i.e. Yugoslav side of the border.

All in all, say the analysts, this is definitively "amateurism and lack of a feeling for the political-security orientation rather than avantguardism," which earns Georgijevski congratulations of Albright and Washington. Hasty moves of the Macedonian prime minister and his partners in the coalition of the ruling top ranks, jumping ahead of the international factors and behind the back of the UN, encouraging the state-creating and other aspirations of the Kosmet Albanians may prove detrimental pre-

CLEANING THE BORDER

While the Macedonian Ministry of Defence warns that the only guards on the Kosmet part of the border with the FRY and the western border with Albania are the Macedonian soldiers, the leader of the Democratic party of Albanians, Arben Jaferi, condemns the decision of the head of state Boris Trajkovski to increase the combat readiness of border units and introduce the system of "dead watch".

"This is a premature decision which ushers Macedonia into a state of emergency and isolation towards its neighbours," says Jaferi. Certain scientific and opposition circles find Jaferi's statement a proof of encouraging terrorism as a means to clean the border so it would fit into the projected Greater-Albanian territories. This project also includes Western Macedonia, the so-called "Ilirida".

Trajkovski's demand that NATO and KFOR should treat the Macedonian problems with Albanian terrorists more seriously elicited a comment from George Robertson: "You may rest assured that this issue is given the greater attention in the Alliance. NATO has publicly condemned the recent attacks on the border guards of your country. NATO allies shall consider such issues".

In the meantime, incidents between Macedonian border guards and Albanian terrorists do not lose momentum.

During the year of the military-security and civilian presence of the UN in Kosovo and Metohija, monasteries and churches from the times of the largest power of the Serbian Medieval state and its material and cultural flourishing were devastated. It is estimated that over 10,000 icons, manuscripts, sacral and other movable cultural objects went missing. The burning ruins left no trace telling the future about the cultural wealth, which had for years before resisted the storms of history, the whims of nature and human negligence and destructive impulse of the vandals.

Demolishing did not bypass the monuments of the great men of Serbian and Montenegrin literature Vuk Stefanovic Karadzic and Petar Petrovic Njegos and the monuments to emperor Uros in Urosevac, Dusan in Prizren, Prince Lazar in Gnjilane, Milos Obilic in Obilic and the monument to Serbian rulers of the Nemanjic dynasty in the village of Gornje Nerodimlje.

Fresco paintings, icons, sacral and secular objects, books, archives, public monuments, museum items failed to survive the present sick times which erase the difference between truth and lies, good and evil. The vandalism of Albanian extremists in Kosovo and Metohija bears all the marks of a cultural genocide. This is a tragic and warning element in the picture of the world of the future designed in the world centres of military and economic power.

Reacting to these grave crimes against the Serbian cultural wealth in Kosovo and Metohija, the FRY ambassador to UNESCO Nada Popovic-

Perisic has twice sent sharp protests to the director general of UNESCO warning that the KFOR and UNMIK - which are, according to Resolution 1244, responsible for the security on the territory of Kosovo and Metohija and the protection of all of its inhabitants - tolerate terrorism, aggression and vandalism. "While Serbs and members of other ethnic communities continue to run from Kosovo and Metohija - says a letter of the Yugoslav ambassador, and while Albanian terrorists destroy Serbian cultural monuments the world is boasting with the values of an open and tolerant society. Pluralism is wonderful without others," concludes Nada Popovic-Perisic.

Director general of UNESCO remained silent to these warnings, unfortunately, with its conduct during the aggression and upon its ending, UNESCO has joined the company of those international institutions which have done nothing, despite their obligations, to prevent the tragedy of the Serbian nation and other non-Albanian population in Kosovo and Metohija and the destruction of the Serbian cultural heritage, which was developing in between two large and influential centres, those of Rome and Byzantium, but had sufficient strength and spirit not to succumb to either. Our cultural heritage was first the target of NATO airstrikes and then of the racist blindness of Albanian extremists. Meanwhile the world still calmly observes the destruction of a valuable part of an old Balkan civilization.

Ljubomir Zecevic

Luftwaffe levelled the National Library to the ground. The fire of the war pyre swallowed hundreds of thousands of books, close to a thousand charters, old church breviaries and manuscripts. In the so-called Independent State of Croatia, 500 Orthodox temples, monasteries and church objects were plundered, ruined or burned. The largest damage was inflicted on the monasteries on Mt. Fruska Gora: Grgeteg, Hopovo, Besenovo, Sisatovac, Kuvezdin, Djipsa or Divsa, Staro Hopovo and others.

In the armed conflicts following the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia 796 Serbian churches, monasteries, chapels and parish homes were "victimized" as well as a large number of movable sacral objects.

At the end of the 20th century NATO countries continued the crime of previous destroyers of the Serbian cultural heritage. In their aggression on Yugoslavia they simultaneously manifested the same primitive, anti-civilized and vandal attitude towards the cultural heritage of our people. In addition to the UN Charter and the rules of the international war and humanitarian law, in the spring of 1999 the aggressor also violated the Convention on the Protection of Cultural Wealth in Case of War, signed on 14 May 1954 in the Hague, which clearly defines the notion of cultural wealth. It includes the works of architecture, arts and history, religious or secular facilities, archaeological sites, group of buildings of historical and artistic importance, works of art, manuscripts, books and other objects of artistic, historical or archaeological

importance, as well as scientific and otherwise important collections of books, archives or reproductions of the above-mentioned works of importance for the heritage of any nation.

In the name of the Western democracy and its values, prevention of a "humanitarian disaster" in Kosmet and "care" for the respect of human rights, NATO countries and their responsible politicians committed a crime against the civilian population and the culture of the Serbian nation. The list of damaged or destroyed historical monuments includes Medieval monasteries, churches, old city centres, museums, libraries, archives, university and school buildings and numerous edifices from the previous centuries which are considered part of the national fund of cultural wealth in view of their exceptional architectural and artistic values.

During the NATO aggression damage was inflicted on the monasteries of Rakovica, Vojlovica, St. Nicholas near Kursumlija, Gracanica, Hopovo, Sisatovac, Ravanica and the monasteries in the Ovcar-Kablar gorge along with numerous representative public buildings designed by our prominent architects: Dragisa Brasovan, Nikola Dobrovic, Nikolaj Krasnov, Ivan Antic, brothers Krstic, Ugljesa Bogunovic and others. Magnificent public buildings were the aggressors' target in the centre of Belgrade.

The buildings of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army, Ministry of Defence, Federal Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Federal Ministry for Internal Affairs, the Serbian Government, Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of

Serbia. In Novi Sad, Kragujevac, Nis, Zemun, Aleksinac, Uzice and other towns, valuable architectural facilities built in the second half of the past century in the tradition of academism were also bombed. NATO bombing caused major damage to the Museum of Contemporary Art (Belgrade), Vojvodina Museum (Novi Sad), "21 October" Museum (Kragujevac), "12 February" Museum (Nis), national Museum (Leskovac), Museum "Horem Margi" (Cuprija) and others.

The ruins and burnt remnants of numerous cultural monuments and public buildings are irrefutable proof that one of the objectives of the aggressor was to ruin our cultural monuments, paralyze the course of spiritual development of the nation and slow down or prevent cooperation with the cultures of other nations and countries.

After the arrival of the military and civilian mission of the United Nations the Albanian terrorists and separatists continued ruining the Serbian cultural and historical heritage in Kosovo and Metohija with such bestial fierceness which may only be compared with the barbarism of the Ustashi regime in the Second World War and the Nazi "final solution of the Jewish question". For a whole year already, the pogrom continues of Albanian extremists ruining the cultural monuments of the Serbian nation, motivated by hatred and racist aspiration to completely Albanize the territory of the southern Serbian province. Ethnic cleansing and persecution of non-Albanian population are daily phenomena. All this is developing before the eyes of the official UN repre-

sentatives. Not one of them has sanctioned these crimes.

Prepared in the western and Islamic-fundamentalist centres to carry out subversive and terrorist actions, the members of the so-called KLA dressed in the uniforms of the Kosovo Protection Corps with overt support of the UN representative systematically destroy, ruin, burn, desecrate, plunder or mine the Serbian medieval monasteries and churches. Bernard Kouchner, head of the UN civilian mission, passing his decrees arbitrarily and without authorities, excluded, the Province from the legal system of Serbia and Yugoslavia and thus opened wide the doors for the rampage of the Albanian terrorists and separatists. With a calm of Jesuits and cynical indifference, the KFOR and UNMIK observe the eradication of a part of the world cultural heritage.

The review of terrorist and other acts of violence in the Province attached to the memorandum of the FRY Government dated 9 May 2000, concerning the implementation of the Security Council Resolution 1244, states that 86 monasteries and churches and other cultural monuments were burned or damaged. The target of the Albanian extremists were the 14th and 15th century monasteries of Holy Trinity in Musuiste near Suva Reka, St. Archangel Gabriel in Binac, near Vitina, St. Marc Koriski near Prizren, Devic south of Srbica, St. Uros in Sarenik in the vicinity of Gornje Nerodimlje, St. Archangel in Gornje Nerodimlje and Zocista, along with a large number of churches.

CENTURY OF POGROM OF SERBIAN CULTURE

In all the wars waged by the Serbian nation in this and the past centuries, its cultural and historical heritage was the continuing and inevitable target of foreign conquerors. It would not be too much to say that no other nation has experienced such a vandal pogrom of its material and spiritual wealth. The conquerors destroyed, plundered and ruined with the only purpose of eradicating all historical trace and the ethnic being of our people.

Parallel with the lives of innocent people, the past wars have forever

removed numerous jewels of our cultural heritage. During the occupation in the First World War, towards the end of 1915 the famous Prizren Manuscript of Emperor Dusan's Legal Code became pray to Germans. It was returned to the country in 1933. During the Turkish military rule the monasteries of Decani, Ravanica and Manasija, as well as numerous Orthodox churches, museums and libraries were plundered. Special teams of German and Austrian experts ravaged our archives.

In the April war of 1941 the Nazi

There were alternatives - diplomacy, a strengthening of the efforts of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe to monitor events within Kosovo, the exercise of wisdom as opposed to unreasoned conflict.

Even After the War, the West Is Reluctant to Learn Any Lessons

Even after the war, the West is reluctant to learn any lessons. Sanctions hurt the poorest of the poor. In all of this tragedy, Serbia and Serbs world-wide have been demonised. There are no saints in the Balkans, but the history and bitterness there are too old and ingrained to be susceptible to quick Western solutions. Britain, of all NATO members, with its experience of Ireland, should have known that.

Serbs world-wide have encountered hostility within their countries of adoption because, in Western terminology, they have been made responsible for all the ills in the Balkans. In this environment it is important that Yugoslavia do whatever it can to advance a broader and less hostile perception of its actions.

In September 1999, two detained Australian workers for Care Australia were released by the Yugoslav authorities after being convicted in a military court of passing information to Care in Australia and to unnamed NATO member countries, even though the court recognised that such information was valid for the purposes of Care's humanitarian work. It was President Slobodan Milosevic who exercised an act of clemency to return them to their families.

FROM THE FOREIGN PRESS

"Geneva Diplomatic Magazine," No. 6, June 2000

FORMER PRIME MINISTER OF
AUSTRALIA MALCOLM FRASER:

WESTERN POLICY TOWARD YUGOSLAVIA HAS BEEN UNBALANCED AND UNWISE

The NATO military operation against Yugoslavia was meant to be a humanitarian war. Such a war would presumably result in the humanitarian problem being much less serious than it was before the conflict. On that test, NATO's actions against Yugoslavia failed. There were about 80,000 refugees out of Kosovo at the beginning of the war, and well over a million at the end of the war.

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NATO's claim that it was only attacking military targets was never accurate. Even in the early days of the bombing campaign, I walked through Serbian factories that had been totally

destroyed, although their production was for civilian purposes only. NATO's actions were directed not just against the Serbian military but also against the people of Serbia. Homes, hospitals, even refugee centres did not escape.

The West's Mistakes against Yugoslavia Were Not Only Military. Diplomacy Was Conducted without Finesse.

People who did not understand the Balkans put together a plan and summoned the Kosovo Liberation Army and the Yugoslav government to Rambouillet in France. There was no negotiation. This diplomatic initiative seemed designed to provide an excuse for war.

At the end of the fighting, NATO made three significant concessions which were not on the agenda at Rambouillet. Those concessions can only be regarded as a weakening of NATO's position.

- At Rambouillet, NATO demanded that its forces occupy and govern Kosovo. At the end of the war the responsibility was given to the United Nations.
- At Rambouillet, NATO required a referendum in three years to determine Kosovo's fate. At the end of the war, Kosovo was recognised as an integral part of Yugoslavia.
- At Rambouillet, the ultimatum required that NATO troops be allowed access to any part of Yugoslavia. At the end of the war,

the occupying force was to be confined to Kosovo.

With More Skilful Diplomacy, the War Could Have Been Avoided

The Rambouillet conditions could not have been accepted by any Serbian leader, or by any president of Yugoslavia. With more skilful diplomacy, the war could have been avoided.

Since it ended, the KLA, coupled with Albanian organised crime, seem set to dominate Kosovo.

On August 11, 1999, a report by Human Rights Watch in New York indicated that since the arrival of NATO troops in mid-June more than 164,000 Serbs had fled Kosovo, and peacekeepers had reported nearly 200 murders.

Later, the International Crisis Group reported murders in Kosovo running at 30 a week, mostly of Serbs. With all its power and authority, NATO is clearly unable to protect minorities in Kosovo.

Should NATO's condemnation of Serbia now be turned upon itself? And if that is so, who is to punish NATO?

What can we conclude? Can war ever be fought for humanitarian purposes? War represents a failure of diplomacy and of reason, it encourages the basest instincts in the human race, and truth becomes the first casualty.

It is old news that NATO's war was the violation of its charter. It was not sanctioned by the United Nations. It was therefore, by international standards, illegal. Does illegality become sanctioned when the illegality is perpetrated by the most powerful?

"Politika," 3 June 2000

On the occasion of opening the Serbian Orthodox Church treasury in Sremski Karlovci

PRECIOUS RELICS RESCUED FROM CHURCH DEMOLISHERS

Hooping that in foreseeable time it shall become possible to return all the items constituting the display of the newly opened treasury of the Serbian Orthodox Church (SOC) in the Bishopric Home in Sremski Karlovci, into the churches and monasteries of the SOC eparchy in Croatia - from where they were rescued from church demolishers, Slobodan Mileusnic, M.A., Director of the SOC Museum recalls that "rescuing relics from invaders has been the century-old fate of the Serbian people, ever since the time of the Battle of the Marica to the present days."

"It was owing to this removing of relics from those war affected to more peaceful areas, always with a hope that the time shall come when it would be possible to take them back where they belong, that the traces of the ancient Serbian presence in these territories have been preserved. All the items, or minimum 70 percent of the exhibits of the SOC Museum originate precisely from the Serbian migrations. Yet, unfortunately, all the treasure rescued from church demolishers makes just a small portion of the heritage that we, as an

Orthodox people had, and which has always been the target of all the invaders advancing through the centuries-old Serbian territories. In the 1991-1995 war in the eparchies within the territory of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, 797 Serbian churches and monasteries, chapels and parish homes were destroyed or damaged, and also plundered, while the cultural heritage safeguarded in the eparchy treasuries and libraries, worthy of the world's most reputable museums, was taken away or destroyed. For illustration, each Orthodox Church iconostasis contains from 21 to 70 icons, in addition to the cherish and processional icons, and there are also liturgical rolls, vestments and other akolouthial items used in church," explains Slobodan Mileusnic, recalling that what takes place in Kosovo now is the same that was happening in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina in the middle of this decade: an eradication of the traces of an ancient people.

Underscoring that though some may regard it an exaggeration, what is happening in this decade with the Serbian church-cultural heritage allows

being qualified as a millennium cultural plunder, since this is the matter of cultural-spiritual genocide against the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Serbian people, Mileusnic states and adds that destroyed were even cultural monuments of the world's cultural heritage 0-group, protected under the Hague Convention, such as the log house churches in Donja Rasanica and Rastovac in Croatia, erected in the 18th century. Reproaching cultural Europe for failing to adequately oppose this uncivilised destroying of the Christian heritage, Slobodan Mileusnic recalls that since the very onset of war developments in the Yugoslav territories the Serbian Orthodox Church has appealed to all round the world capable to help to protect and rescue cultural heritage of all peoples and all confessions, expressing hope that the day shall come when all church demolishers would have to render accounts for what they had done.

In war times rescued and taken out

of the range of invaders, the church-cultural heritage served in peace as a testimony to Serbian perseverance and ancient Christian roots, therefore it has always been reattacked by church demolishers. None of them, no matter how powerful, has succeeded to eradicate it. Thus were preserved the icons from the Lazarica church in Dalmatinsko Kosovo, the icon of St. Ilija from the Church of Dormition in Drnis, silver-encrusted throne icons from the Dragovic monastery, the iconostasis of the St. Nicolay Church in Vukovar, the Octoechos of Bozidar Vukovic from 1537, and the Belgrade Tetraevangelia from 1552... Now, safeguarded with other about a hundred items in the treasury of the Bishopric Home in Sremski Karlovci, there is a hope that maybe once - if Serbs would return to their ancestral hearths from where they had been expelled, they shall be returned there from where they originate.

Mirjana Kuburovic

SIGNPOST FOR FRIENDS AND WARNING TO ENEMIES

On the occasion of the anniversary of the end of armed NATO aggression on our country, President of Serbia Milan Milutinovic lit the eternal flame on the memorial of the same name, built in the Park of Friendship at Usce in New Belgrade, to symbolize the people's resistance to NATO aggression and to commemorate the heroic defence of the entire people of Serbia.

Addressing the people gathered for the occasion Serbian President Milan Milutinovic said: "Dear citizens, we have gathered here to light the eternal flame and thus forever imprint on our memories the ruthless bombing of Serbia on the part of 19 NATO member countries as well as the heroic defence of Serbia wherein its entire nation took part.

The history of Serbia is the one of freedom. It has been woven of frequent attempts to subjugate us and short respites of peace when we developed and grew stronger as a nation and state. By persisting in the defence of freedom we have survived in these parts. Freedom was and has remained for us the substance of our national being. Guarding this value, we have honed our senses to recognize force, evil and injustice. And we have acquired the ability, courage and skill to defend ourselves from these successfully.

We had to defend our freedom

from those who were stronger, more numerous and more powerful in military and economic terms. Because they considered themselves powers they thought they could take our freedom away and that, moreover, they were entitled to do that. Because we never agreed to measure the defence of freedom with the military supremacy of the enemy and because we were not afraid of its brutality and cruelty - we turned out victorious. We won because we knew what we were defending.

The Importance of Freedom

Although we defended our freedom with blood, freedom, for us, has never been something to fight for with a sword and guard with rifles, something that requires the smell of gunpowder and fire alone. We were not brave only when it took giving our lives for the homeland. Freedom for us is to live, work and develop as we choose and as the interests and the will of our people require. Freedom for us is to prove our worth by working, building a society on more humane and just grounds, permanently aspiring to make life better for all people.

Freedom for us is a tolerant society and state - tolerant of other religions, cultures and nations. Freedom for us is tolerance which does not allow us to interfere in the affairs of others, just as we expect others not to interfere in

ours. This tolerance has often cost us a lot. But, we shall never give it up. That is why Serbia was and has remained the single multinational and multi-confessional community in these parts, a state of all its citizens. In brief, without life in tolerance of differences, there can be no freedom or free life.

That is how through history we kept measuring our freedom, and that is also how we shall go on measuring the actual freedom of others.

Precisely because we, as a nation, have never agreed to sacrifice our freedom we have, especially in the post-war decades accomplished great things in science, education, all branches of arts, sports, industry, agriculture and economy in general. There can be no success, no development and no progress without freedom. Only a free nation and free people can achieve something like that.

The eternal flame of freedom taken from our hearts and souls to this tall pillar represents the 78 days of heroic resistance to NATO aggressors. But this eternal flame also symbolizes all the torches of freedom which could not have been extinguished amongst our people by the great empires and their powerful armies. This fire symbolizes the historical meaning of guarding ones honour, dignity and pride or, as the legendary Serbian poet Brancko Miljkovic put it in his glorious poet Yugoslavia:

"Everything that lacks fire burns down,

Everything that burns down becomes night

What remains unburned gives birth to a new day".

In his poem The Homeland, Brancko Miljkovic said:

"Even if they kill me,
I still love you"

Thus in the best way he expresses the unwavering readiness of our nation of all generations to love and defend their homeland.

Due to the depth of the message and the truth they convey these verses have been carved into the base of this monument with the eternal flame of freedom, in honour of Brancko Miljkovic and as our lasting acknowledgement to the great patriotic poet

Today, a year after the end of the aggression, we hear increasingly frequent voices in the world, even in the aggressor countries, saying that NATO turned out a loser in the senseless and brutal war against our people and our state. NATO has not attained its military objectives and is politically completely degraded.

NATO has sustained a proper military-political debacle.

Force Brought No One Any Good in the Balkans

The war stopped when the problem was reverted into the political sphere and when the Security Council undertook to guarantee the peace and security of citizens in Kosmet. Unfortunately, the KFOR and UNMIK do not carry out Security Council Resolution 1244, and Kouchner's administration is no more than logistic

fast. Without the need for freedom there would have been no energy or creativity to rebuild numerous houses, hospitals, bridges, roads and factories, or to implement development projects. Precisely this, the proof that we are free when we defend ourselves and build and work, bothers our enemies the most. That is also why those in our country who try to justify what the aggressor did to us and who forget that one cannot trade the freedom of one's nation and that freedom is priceless, are powerless. That is why this eternal fire of freedom is the warning and message to all that betrayal could never be accepted in Serbia and that no quisling lasted long here - said president Milutinovic and continued: "Dear citizens, the people of Belgrade, let this eternal flame of freedom at the confluence of two large rivers, one the largest on the Yugoslav territories, the other largest in Europe, here in the Park of Friendship, facing the monument to victory on Kalemegdan, be the warning to all who did not learn the lesson from the fate of campaigns to conquer Serbia.

This flame of freedom, on a specific geo-strategic crossroads in Europe,

shall light the road to all who wish to cooperate with our country, who wish to build a better world in peace and on equal basis.

This fire shall be a kind of a lighthouse to the current young generation and all future generations, a witness that Serbia shall defend its freedom, while we, as a nation, live in these parts.

The flame of freedom shall be a signpost to friends and warning to enemies. Let the future and the time ahead open the roads for friends and let the enemies remain in history, although we as a nation are inclined to forgive, but never forget. Especially, we shall never forget a single child, girl or boy, woman or old man, a single hero of our defence, soldier or policeman, a single citizen brutally murdered by rockets or bombs.

"Let this fire burn eternally in memory of the heroic defence of Serbia by its entire nation," as the inscription in the base of this lighthouse of freedom says. Long live the heroic nation of Serbia. Long live free Yugoslavia - concluded Milan Milutinovic, President of the Republic of Serbia.

support to the Albanian separatism and terrorism as well as plunder of private and state property, doing everything to make Kosovo completely lose is multi-ethnic and multi-confessional character. They failed to provide the basic thing in Kosovo, the right to life and equality, the right to property, education, medical treatment, employment. In brief, peace and security for all. Instead, they brought chaos, narcotics, crime and especially ethnic cleansing, terror and persecution of Serbs, Montenegrins and other non-Albanian population of Kosmet, thereby endangering the stability of the entire region and even beyond.

Today, it is quite clear that soon even those who offer the strongest opposition to the idea will be assured that no solution for Kosmet could be reached without the respect for integrity and sovereignty of our country, equality of all who live in it and mutual dialogue. No one has ever fared well in this region when problems were resolved from the outside and by the use of force, which is what usually happened in the Balkans. But, this bore no good to Europe and the world either.

Just as during all previous wars, aggressions and attempts to destroy our state, and eradicate our nation, Serbia is recovering with the speed originating from the energy deriving from a clean conscience and an untarnished face before ourselves and future generations, before the whole world. We were attacked on the part of NATO and ruthlessly bombed for 78 days and nights. The bombs ruined schools, hos-

pitals, maternity wards, houses, bridges, energy facilities, but NATO machinery could not cope with the Yugoslav army and the members of the Ministry of the Interior. Despite the disappointment and human sufferings, we have demonstrated the great and complete unity of the nation and the leadership of the state and armed forces, as well as the high degree of organization: daily life and even production did not stop.

NATO aggression, in terms of the barbaric nature and massacre of civilians, in many ways surpasses the crimes of the Second World War, and the territory of Serbia suffered the most. This aggression was and has remained a war crime and a crime against peace and humanity contrary to all norms of international law, which are almost definitely shattered by this aggression. The already mentioned unity and high patriotic consciousness earned us the admiration of the world, as did our successful defence, defiance to force, concerts on squares and bridges sending the messages of peace to the world, while the criminals dropped bombs on our children.

Our moral strength, the one which brought us through this NATO aggression, makes us right to be the spark of love for freedom in Europe. That is why we are the thorn in the side of those who wish to use force and single-mindedness to arrange the world in the interest of one nation. We are the warning and the reason for the shame of those who participated in the aggression on

our country or supported it or even kept quiet on it.

That is why the aggression on our country keeps going on, only with other means and methods, continuing pressures, organized terrorism, gross and

overt interference in our internal affairs - all for the purpose of achieving what could not be achieved with bombs and destruction of our country.

Without this awareness of freedom Serbia would not have recovered so

MONUMENTAL OBELISK

The decision to build a monument as the symbol of popular resistance to NATO aggression was taken by the government of Serbia.

This 30-meter monument with a foundation of 5.5 metres consists of a base and a pillar i.e. obelisk rising 23 meters high and ending in a 4.7 metres torch cast in bronze which emits eternal flame. The base on its four corners has space canons which will at night light the pillar with beams of light and then cross above the torch 30 km up in the sky.

The base which is 5.5 metres wide bears the inscription (carved in marble with letters cast in bronze) of the text "Eternal fire" written by Prof. dr. Mira Markovic, who also chose the verse of our famous poet Branko Miljkovic to be carved on the side.

The text titled "Eternal fire" reads: "Let this fire burn eternally in memory of the war waged against Serbia by 19 NATO countries - the U.S.A., Canada, Great Britain, France, Germany, Holland, Italy, Greece, Turkey, Denmark, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Iceland, Norway, Luxembourg, Poland, Hungary and Czech Republic from 25 March until 10 June 1999.

Let this fire burn eternally as a memory of the heroic defence of Serbia by its entire people.

Let this fire burn for the whole world. To be free, the world has to summon courage and strength with which we fought and defended ourselves in the spring and summer of 1999.

The people of Serbia."

On the side of the base the verse of the famous Serbian poet Branko Miljkovic from his glorious poem Yugoslavia are carved:

"Everything that lacks fire burns down,
Everything that burns down becomes night
What remains unburned gives birth to a new day".

Followed by a verse from The Homeland,

"Even if they kill me,
I still love you"

Vesna Jelacic

"Monitor," Sofia ("Politika," 15 June 2000)

KOUCHNER - PATRON OF TERRORISTS

French physician Bernard Kouchner, appointed to impose peace and order on Kosovo, works on the destabilisation of the Balkans. The Bulgarian government actively supports him

With nonchalant ease, rather incidentally, Kosovo chief administrator Bernard Kouchner, stated on his way to the "Kempinski-Zogratis" hotel that murderers of Valentin Krumov would be hardly found because of "the absence of witnesses," and thus announced that this question was brought to a close for him. Bulgarian Prime Minister received this closing by shrugging his shoulders (probably with a relief). For him as well, this question was closed. That crime can be filed away to archives.

Already now we can be sure that murderers of Kouchner's another officer shall not be found: of his Serb interpreter, Petar Topoljicki, whose body was recovered on 18 May, after a few days of suspense. Experience has confirmed that, in the UN special envoy's performances, legality is reduced to pathetic tirades following each murder committed by the KLA. Kouchner regards his melodramatic recitations sufficient to wash his hands, and what is most important, thus hushes up his responsibility for the order and legality in the Province.

This trick of stigmatising violence verbally still works. And it will, probably, work over the next few months until a new boss enters the White House.

Lawlessness with an Aim

Lawlessness prevails in Kosmet. This is said by all Western monitors, diplomats and emissaries who had visited the Province over the last twelve months, from Geremek and Jimmy Carter to international reporters.

According to the "Boston Globe" of 19 March, "many of 500 American UNMIK policemen want to come back, although serving in Kosovo they can earn US\$ 100,000 a year. Fifteen of them have already returned to the USA, confused and disappointed. "There is no law here," says Englishman John Foreman. "Just the KLA."

"This is the land of lawlessness," General Klaus Reinhard reiterated the well-known phrase in his interview to CNN on 2 February. "However Serbs are not the only victims. The other challenge is violence among the Albanians

themselves. They have started killing each other. Above all, over property issues. For the estates, if I may put it that way."

What are the murders "for estates?"

Pressed by a report on the crimes committed by the Kosovo Protection Corps, made by his subordinates and sent "over his head" to the Security Council, Kouchner just mumbled he lacked judges. It was just a new lie in a series of lies. Yugoslavia does have judges, investigators and prosecutors enough, and Kosovo is abundant in crime witnesses.

A day after the murder of Valentin Krumov, the Reuters correspondent from Pristina Maria Fleit communicated the following, as quoted by CNN:

"He left the 'Grand' hotel with his two colleagues and headed towards the other end of the Mother Teresa street, where is the UN seat. The street was crowded with people..."

"A pack of Albanians attacked him, dragging him away some fifty metres, where someone shot him into the head," says Nadya Jones, UN spokeswoman.

"One of the Albanians swung a fist at Krumov, and the rest started kicking him," explained Major Jules Moroe from the UN police forces. "A huge crowd gathered. Suddenly we heard a shot. The crowd dispersed, and lifeless body remained laying on the ground."

What a strange lack of witnesses! Krumov was murdered in broad daylight in the busy main street, in the presence of tens of witnesses, including Major Moroe from the police and

two colleagues with whom Krumov had left the hotel. He was not assassinated from an ambush, from a window of the surrounding buildings, so that the murderer could not be seen. On the contrary, they were dragging him whole 50 metres, he was kicked and pushed. The street, as testified by Jones and Moroe, was crowded with people watching the showdown.

Kouchner Covers Up Murderers because They Are Albanians

Who does not want to testify? Policeman Moroe has already testified, as seen from the report. Krumov's colleagues who were also attacked, but managed to get out, have already given their testimonies to police.

On 14 November last year CNN broadcast an interview with Bulgarian Ivan Manev, the USA resident and Krumov's friend since 17 years ago. He sent written enquiries to Madeleine Albright, Kofi Annan and Bulgarian representative office referring to Krumov's murder.

"What reply do you expect from Albright and Annan, the anchorman of the Diplomatic licence," Richard Rott, asked him.

"I expect their explanations. For example, why it took four days to 'transfer' Valentin's body to Sofia? It is a distance of just some hundred miles," Manev replied.

Mr. Manev will be probably waiting and hoping for long. Has anyone happened to hear Ivan Kostov's reply to

that "successful Bulgarian" from the USA?

The truth is not in the absence of witnesses, but in the policy of the chief administrator.

Covering up Albanian crimes has turned into the major task of the "Doctors without frontiers" founder.

Where are the murderers of Kouchner's Bulgarian beheaded driver? No trace of them, they have run away.

Where are the murders of the Russian peacemakers? Also they have vanished somewhere.

Where are the murderers of further 800 men, abductors of the 700 missing, and 650 injured or mutilated? They must have vanished into thin air.

Where are those who had raped nuns of the Devic monastery? Doing all the misdeeds they want, unobstructed, elsewhere?

Where are the arsonists of 200 Serbian villages? Hidden in the small woods so that Kouchner cannot find them?

Has any single Albanian been brought to trial for the crimes he committed? None! Kouchner took a good care that such a gaffe would not occur.

Tomorrow shall be a year since the adoption of the UN Security Council Resolution 1244, based on which Kouchner was sent to Kosovo. He is there to ensure a series of terms agreed with the Yugoslav government, and voted in the Yugoslav Parliament,

including the following:

Article 15 - Immediate demilitarisation of the "KLA" and other armed formations of Kosovo Albanians and cease of all hostilities.

Addendum 2, point 6 - After the withdrawal of the Yugoslav Army, an agreed number of the Yugoslav and Serb units shall return to Kosovo in order to execute the following duties:

- maintenance of relations with the international civil mission and international police units; marking and demarcating the mine fields; preservation of the Serbian historic monuments; safekeeping of major crossroads.

8. (To carry out) the political process for the establishment of the framework for a temporary political agreement on substantial self-government of Kosovo, with full respect of sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and other state regions... with the view of developing conditions for the peaceful and normal life of all citizens of the Province.

Administrator's Tragic Balance

For the execution of this task Kouchner disposes with a lot of money and human resources. Subordinated to Kouchner are: the Transitional international administration; the Kosovo Protection Corps (i.e. "KLA"?); the Humanitarian mission (UNHCR office); the Reconstruction department (under the EU representatives leadership); the Department for institutions building (under the OSCE leadership).

And regardless of all the huge resources, the balance of his administration is tragic.

Mr. Kouchner, why Yugoslav forces are not allowed in the Province, as requested under the agreement with Yugoslavia? Is it because thereby lives of hundreds of Serbs would be saved and destruction of historic monuments prevented?

Instead of being pressed by questions over his policy of chaos and self-will, Kouchner is given the opportunity to justify Albanian violence on the Bulgarian national television.

Judging by a tirade humiliating for a doctor, that Kouchner had in the prime time, mass murders are the expression of the traditional, ever since the middle ages, Albanian vendetta. Hence, this is not a matter of crimes, but of cherishing a popular tradition, so that the crimes should be observed in the evolutionary aspect.

If acting by Kouchner's advice, Europe should let Albanian humanoids go on killing and plundering all until they get exhausted, as probably one day they would spontaneously decide to get civilised. There are no time terms, but according to Kouchner, we shall have to wait until "at least one generation of Albanians" gets satisfied with its loot.

Until then tens of thousands of bandits, whose arresting and trials asks for not more than a month or two, shall be terrorising the Peninsula countries. Making a mockery of their thousand-year long civilisation. Threatening with "a destabilisation" of Macedonia,

Montenegro and further on. They will be making provocations against the territorial integrity of the neighbouring countries, which is, after all, the aim of this all.

A NATO Test Range

In his article of 20 October 1999 about Krumov's murder, Justin Raymond, supporter of the Republican Party, refers to Bulgaria as "a small nation eastward of Yugoslavia, anxious to show NATO how useful it could be to the Alliance if used as a terrain for allied attacks on the neighbouring countries." The author discards a possibility that Krumov is a Bulgarian citizen. He calls him "the first victim of America" in Kosovo. His estimation of Bulgaria, no matter how painful for us, is true.

What have so far done the authorities of Kostov in order to catch Albanians who are killing and abducting Bulgarians in Kosovo? What Nadezda Mihajlova can tell about the search for Bulgarian drivers' murderer, for example? Does she know his name at all? How many questions on this have been raised in the Parliament? What is being done to catch Albanians who are illegally staying in the territory of Bulgaria?

Tens of civil committees round the world insist on the return of sovereign rights over Kosovo to Yugoslavia, regarding the complete failure of NATO and UNMIK, and request Kouchner's resignation. Their members are affirmed names in the field of international law, lawyers, diplomats, philoso-

phers. Four requests against aggression were filed with the Hague Tribunal, requesting to bring NATO killers to trial. Bulgaria is one of the few countries without such civil structure. Even more, Bulgarian society allows that in the

Parliament are quoted NATO killers' flatterer estimations about servile, fawning policy of this anti-Bulgarian government. Why wonder then that even USA Republicans contemptuously call us "candidates for a NATO test range."

"Piccolo, Trieste ("Politika," 29 May 2000)

ALARMING STATE IN KOSOVO

Violence and terrorist attacks on citizens of the Serb and Romanly origin are almost daily. While they move out, increasingly more Albanians are moving in to Kosmet.

Rome - While Serbs and Romanies flee, 250,000 Albanians have moved into the territory of Kosovo. Before the eyes of the world, pretending to see nothing, a true ethical cleansing takes place," this is how Milan "Oservatorio" had pictured the current situation in Kosovo, referring to the Ancona conference on security in the Adriatic.

The report was presented also to Pope John Paul II at the audience on 8 March, and then again on 16 March a letter with similar contents was sent to him.

"After the end of the war," explains Todisco, director of the Oservatorio, "over two thousand Serbs were killed, and six thousand wounded in Kosovo. Although bridges have been provisionally repaired, most of the industrial plants have not been put back in oper-

ation. Let us not forget that the situation is still more aggravated by the absurd embargo that NATO countries had imposed on Yugoslavia. Violence and terrorist attacks on the citizens of Serb and Romanly origin, take place almost daily.

"Since the KFOR's arrival to Kosovo," Todisco goes on, "1,025 Serbs and Romanies were killed, and 1,248 are missing. About 340,000 men have left their homes and fled to other parts of the FRy.

"The cultural-historic monuments originating from the middle ages, are plundered or set to fire. Over 85 churches and monasteries are severely damaged. The elections for institutional bodies organs, scheduled for the next months, are to be without Serb candidates, which shall bring about the definitive end of a multiethnic Kosovo.

"During the last months an increase in all types of illegal activities, such as drug trafficking, has been regis-

tered. Thousands of Albanian women, in spite of their rape experience, are forced into prostitution round the European capitals. If opposing, they would be killed: 52 murders with this motive were registered last year in various European cities. In Italy alone, 495 Albanians suspected of organising prostitution were arrested in 1999."

The Milan "Oservatorio" concludes: "So far 40 thousand signatures have

been collected. The Nobel Prize winners Dario Fo and Franca Rame were among the first ones to put down their signatures on an appeal for the lifting of the sanctions against Yugoslavia and against ethnical cleansing in Kosovo, that would be presented to Prime Minister Amato. These topics shall not be discussed in Ancona, because neither Serbian government nor UN representatives in Kosovo have been invited."

"The Prague Post," Prague

PERSECUTION OF KOSOVO ROMANIES

I would like to tell you about the Kosovo Romanies, or Gypsies, whom I have met during my recent journey to Kosovo and Macedonia.

When the bombing ended, the returning Albanians terrorised them as "the Serb collaborators" and set fire to their houses, thereby forcing them to leave. Today Romanies, if having homes at all, are often afraid to leave them. Thousands of remaining Romanies live in refugee camps in Macedonia, where sanitary conditions and diet are poor, officers corrupted and social isolation prevailing.

In the village of Preoce in Kosovo, Romanies never leave the village without a KFOR's escort. It is over a month

since they last received some food, meaning flour, oil, sugar and beans, the foodstuffs which they supplement with vegetables from their small gardens. In spite of the reconstruction works, they are unwelcome even as manual workers, not to mention their former jobs as miners or cabdrivers.

One ought just to see the burned down Romanly village of Obilic, where remaining walls are covered with KLA graffiti, to realise why they are so afraid to leave their village. Yet, in spite of this, the UNHCR wants to return to Kosovo the Romanies who found refuge in Macedonia, although conditions there are almost equal to imprisonment.

Some 3,000 Kosovo Romanies live

now in six "collective centres" throughout Macedonia. In two such centres that I visited (Struga 1 and Pretor), 500 men are accommodated in the bedrooms of the children's summer camp (called hotels by the UNHCR), with per 13 men in each room, on the average.

In Pretor refugees complain that the Center director steals best quality goods from the humanitarian aid for his own restaurant. When the Red Cross recently sent canned chicken meat, each five men got just per one can, while the director reported that the Gypsies, of course, have stolen 275 cans.

Sanitation conditions are horrible. In Struga, children run barefooted through flooded corridors. There are only six toilets and four showers for 500 men. Refugees must pay taxes to be admitted to hospitals, where some doctors refuse to give them treatment. Many refugees in Pretor work illegally on local building sites for a pay of five German marks a day to earn something for their needs, or sell their own clothes, although some of them would have to go to trial because of such "crimes."

Refugees have a limited radius of movement: half kilometre in Struga and two kilometres, with a police written permit, in the isolated Pretor. In Struga we were not allowed to take photographs, while in Pretor police accused me and my companion of having forged American passports. The next day they advised us that we can neither enter the collective centre nor stay in the nearby hotel. We tried to interview refugees in the nearby restau-

rant, but they could not talk freely before the hotel manager, so that the interview was made by the lake. Also here, like in Struga 1, refugees told us that the KLA has gained positions in Macedonia and now threatens them.

These refugees are well educated and politically aware. These men had their homes, professions, and all their lives they were working as Yugoslav citizens. Refugees from Struga sent several times petitions to the UNHCR, UNMIK, European Council and Macedonian authorities. No one from among them can warrant them a safe return to Kosovo. As a matter of fact, even no one has replied to them. Not a single humanitarian aid agency assists them to establish contact with their families that had stayed there.

The same day we visited Struga, two families decided to go back to Kosovo, by their own free will. Embittered refugees told us later it was the first time that morning that UNHCR brought a journalist into the Centre, as well as a horse for photographing, to make pictures of the "nomads" returning home. When we asked them if they had a message for the West, Kosovo Romanies made the following appeal: "Where are the people who were fighting for the justice during the war in Kosovo? Why don't they fight for us now?"

organized international crime, drug and arms trafficking, trade in white slaves and money laundering. This area still remains the recruiting centre for terrorists.

UNMIK and the KFOR have become overt accomplices and are directly responsible for ethnic cleansing and extended genocide of the Serbian, Muslim, Turkish and other non-Albanian population in the Province.

The Federal Government believes that the Security Council, starting from its responsibility, on the basis of the UN Charter, must face the following facts:

During the time of military and civilian presence of the United Nations in the province, after its mission had undertaken full responsibility for the situation in the province, the total of five thousand terrorist attacks were made. Over a thousand people were killed and over 940 abducted. About 360,000 Serbs, Muslims, Romanians, Turks, Goranians, Egyptians and other non-Albanian population were banished from their homes. Eighty-six medieval sacred facilities and invaluable cultural and historical monuments were ruined.

Over 250,000 foreigners, mostly Albanians, citizens of Albania and Macedonia, have illegally crossed the Yugoslav state border and are illegally staying in the Province. The terrorist KLA which is an armed wing of the Albanian narco-mafia has been transformed into the so-called Kosovo Protective Corps, and continues with terrorist acts and ethnic cleansing which proves that it has not been demil-

itarized, disarmed, or disbanded but that it operates under the auspices of UNMIK and the KFOR, with their assistance and orchestrated by NATO.

The complete failure of UNMIK and the KFOR to protect elementary human rights of citizens, they undertook to secure, and to preserve the multi-ethnic, multi-confessional and multicultural character of Kosovo and Metohija is more than evident.

The Federal Government has noted that the systematic violation of the Security Council Resolution 1244 prevents the outset of the political process for the resolution of the Province's status within the Republic of Serbia and the FR of Yugoslavia, in line with the mandate of Resolution 1244.

The FR of Yugoslavia, in line with the Security Council Resolution 1244 insists on the urgent return and deployment of the Yugoslav Army and the police with a view to securing the recognized borders and renewing the legal provincial and local administration as well as the functioning of all vital public services including the undertaking of measures and providing the guarantees for the secure and unobstructed return of all banished and displaced persons.

At the same time, the restoration of peace and order as well as personal security and security of property of the entire population of the Province would provide the conditions for the start up of the political resolution of the problem of Kosovo and Metohija within the autonomy of this Serbian province, as an inseparable part of the constitution-

at-legal system of the Republic of Serbia, to guarantee the multicultural, multi-confessional and multi-ethnic nature of the province and full equality of its citizens.

Arguments, proof and facts confirming the above-mentioned views of the Federal Government are found in the Memorandum on the Implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 1244 sent by the Federal Government of Yugoslavia to the UN Security Council requesting it to publish the Memorandum as an official document.

Yugoslav Government Requirements

Bearing all this in mind the Federal Government of the FR of Yugoslavia requests from the UN Security Council to:

- revoke all acts and decisions taken by the UNMIK head Bernard Kouchner, contrary to the UN Security Council Resolution 1244;
- sharply condemn and terminate the activity of the UNMIK head Bernard Kouchner, and withdraw from Kosovo and Metohija the KFOR and UNMIK, which are directly responsible for the violation of the UN Security Council Resolution 1244, countless victims and immeasurable sufferings of the Serbian and other non-Albanian population, as well as the material damage inflicted by the Albanian terrorists in the pres-

ence of a few dozen thousand KFOR and UNMIK members;

- urgently undertake all measures necessary to secure full and consistent implementation of the Resolution 1244;

- sharply condemn the continuing NATO aggression against the FRY pursued by maintaining the illegal system of sanctions and blockade on the part of NATO member countries; continuing attempts to undermine the FRY; material and political as well as media support to Albanian separatists and terrorists in Kosovo and Metohija who act in collusion with the KFOR and UNMIK; obstruction of implementation of the Resolution 1244, aimed at destabilizing and breaking the territorial integrity of the FRY; redrafting of the internationally acknowledged borders thereby inciting wider instability and conflicts in the region with far reaching negative consequences for peace and security in the Balkans;

- undertake all measures to compensate material and other damage inflicted on the population, economy and cultural heritage of Kosovo and Metohija on the part of the KFOR and UNMIK and the terrorist criminal gangs they support.

Tanjing

FRY GOVERNMENT'S STATEMENT ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF TERMINATION OF NATO AGGRESSION ON OUR COUNTRY

Belgrade (Tanjing) The Federal Government noted an evident failure of UNMIK and the KFOR to protect the elementary human rights of citizens, they undertook to secure, as well as to preserve the multi-ethnic, multi-confessional and multi-cultural nature of Kosovo and Metohija, quotes a statement of the Federal Government made by the Prime Minister Momir Bulatovic.

The Government's statement read by the federal Prime Minister reads:

"The Federal Government of the FRY has noted that the brutal aggression of 19 NATO member countries, led by the U.S.A. against the FR of Yugoslavia is an act in contravention of the international law and a crime against peace and humanity.

Military aggression was ended by the adoption of the UN Security Council Resolution 1244 dated 10 June 1999. The Resolution was preceded by the adoption of the Ahtisari-Chernomyrdin document and the conclusion of the Kumanovo Military-Technical Agreement.

Thereby the resolution of the Kosovo and Metohija problem was returned into the framework of the World organization, i.e. the Security Council, as the only legitimate authority

for the preservation of international peace and security.

Betrayed Trust

The FRY has in this way manifested its trust in the United Nations and agreed with the Security Council resolution, the most important provisions of which anticipate full respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the FR of Yugoslavia and imply cooperation with our authorities in the pursuit of the mandate of the international military and civilian presence.

However, the Federal Government has, after a year of their presence in Kosovo and Metohija, noted that the KFOR and UNMIK, headed by Bernard Kouchner, systematically violate the mandate of Resolution 1244, obstruct its implementation thereby manifesting the lack of abilities and readiness to stop the killing on daily basis, establish order, and secure the lives and property of the Kosovo and Metohija population, or even to observe the territorial integrity and sovereignty of our country. They have completely betrayed the trust invested with them.

After the deployment of UNMIK and KFOR, the province of Kosovo and Metohija was turned into a base of

a car. A few hours after that, the KFOR came to search Trajkovic's house and arrested his wounded father.

In the village of Klোকot in Kosovsko Pomoravlje, the Albanian terrorists fired at Serbs who cultivated their fields. The balance - one woman killed and three men wounded.

On a village road near Preoci, in central Kosovo, the extremists have planted trip mines twice already. Three Serbs got killed and six persons were wounded including two girls of five and seven years.

The head of the international administration Bernard Kouchner stated that it is good that "the place where Serbs are killed, Preoci, was visited by Albanian leaders Hashim Taci and Ibrahim Rugova".

In the bombing attack on the largest Serbian enclave in central Kosovo in Gracanica, eight Serbs were wounded. The British and Swedish soldiers shot at Serbs who gathered to protest against the attack. The KFOR abducted from the Gracanica hospital a wounded Nebojsa Stojanovic and took him to prison. "Members of the peace forces" broke the hospital door, cut the infusion tube and took Stojanovic away without appropriate protection.

Almost on daily basis the Albanian extremists attack the Serbian enclaves. Gorazdevac has been shelled a number of times during the past month. Sniper fire was opened on the Serbian villages Banje and Suvo Grlо, as well as the Serbian villages in Sredacka and Sirmicka Zupa.

The anniversary of the peace mis-

spent a whole year wandering in the dark of the Kosovo hell in attempts to make cosmetic political solutions to cancel its own failures and cover up for its complete inefficiency.

The main objectives of the mission - peace and stability - have not been obtained. The situation of security and human rights has been drastically aggravated. It turns out that the only objective of the mission was to carry out elections and form the administration in a state of chaos. The administration shall naturally be handed over to Albanian extremists. The victims are still presented as culprits while criminals are awarded by being enthroned to power.

The single objective of the civilian mission's head Bernard Kouchner is to make a population census and carry out the elections. This would end stage one of pulling the Serbian roots out of Kosovo and Metohija. He is building an infrastructure, which will enable controlled return through pilot projects to serve as marketing examples of the "efficiency" of the international peace mission. The creation of the illegal provincial administrative council of Kosovo with unlimited powers, introduction of a special currency, establishment of Kosovo police and customs, taking away of public firms of Serbia, the census, elections, are all a part of the list of Kouchner's gross violations of the UN Security Council's resolution on Kosovo.

"The memorials" to KFOR performance in the southern Serbian province are visible on every step. In

Kosovska Mitrovica, there are obvious daily attempts to break the strong resistance of the local Serbs. In Gracanica and Kosovо Pomoravlje the international peacekeepers, hand in hand with the terrorists, harass and intimidate the Serbian population. In the village of Musnikovo in Sredacka Zupa Serbian houses are marked by yellow bands. It may be unnecessary to mention that the region is controlled by the soldiers of the German KFOR contingent.

In a place called Potkalajaja, near Prizren, a Serbian house inhabited by three women has been fenced in barbed wire. The foreign journalists jokingly ask whether it would be better to surround with barbed wire those who burn Serbian houses, kill Serbs, plunder and harass all who do not speak Albanian language.

Serbs in Orahovac and Velika Hoca, slowly but steadily leave their homes of centuries. For a whole year they lived there as if in a prison.

Kosovo has become the largest camp in the world, a group of a few reservations where Serbs are rounded up. These are all metaphors of the international performance in Kosovo and Metohija.

Under such conditions the UN Security Council routinely notes that "despite deep differences in the views concerning the situation in Kosovo, there are no joint conclusions" and that the "validity of Resolution 1244 is automatically extended".

Milivoje Mihajlovic

REVIEW OF TERRORIST ACTS IN KOSEMT COMMITTED BY ALBANIAN TERRORISTS

COMPARATIVE REVIEW OF THE MOST DRASTIC TERRORIST ACTS AND INDIVIDUAL FORMS OF VIOLATION OF THE UN SC RESOLUTION 1244 IN THE PROVINCE OF KOSOVO AND METOHIIJA, SINCE THE ARRIVAL OF THE KFOR AND UNMIK, 10 JUNE 1999 UNTIL 4 JUNE 2000

| PERIOD | TERRORIST ATTACKS | KILLED | KIDNAPPED AND MISSING PERSONS | WOUNDED | BANISHED SERBS AND NON-ALBANIAN POPULATION | RUINED CHURCHES AND CULTURAL MONUMENTS | SERBS ARBITRARILY ARRESTED BY THE KFOR |
|--------------------------|-------------------|--------|-------------------------------|---------|--|--|--|
| 10 JUNE-26 JULY '99 | 839 | 96 | 345 | 43 | OVER 165,000 | 25 | 31 |
| 10 JUNE 30 OCT. '00 | 2947 | 447 | 648 | 216 | OVER 330,000 (250,000 SERBS) | 70 | 38 |
| 10 JUNE '99 22 FEB. '00 | 4354 | 910 | 821 | 802 | OVER 350,000 (270,000 SERBS) | 84 | 185 |
| 10 JUNE '99 30 MARCH '00 | 4564 | 930 | 867 | 876 | OVER 350,000 (270,000 SERBS) | 85 | 191 |
| 10 JUNE '99 7 MAY '00 | 4792 | 1010 | 936 | 924 | OVER 350,000 (270,000 SERBS) | 86 | 200 |
| 10 JUNE '99 4 JUNE '00 | 4878 | 1027 | 945 | 955 | OVER 360,000 (280,000 SERBS) | 86 | 466 |

NOTE: The comparative review has been made on the basis of the official data published in the memorandum of the Federal Government on the implementation of the UN Security Council resolution 1244 dated 27 July and 3 November 1999 and 1 March, 3 April, 8 May and 5 June 2000.

EXCLUSIVE*

Kosmet a year after: crimes and ethnic cleansing under the auspices of UNMIK and KFOR. The remaining Serbs live in reservations

EXTENSION OF RESOLUTION 1244 - LEGALIZATION OF KOSOVO INFERNO

The UN Security Council extended the validity of Resolution 1244 on Kosmet. This means that the members of the peace mission in the southern Serbian province shall remain there until further notice and that the Yugoslav army and the Serbian police shall not return to Kosovo and Metohija in due course. The joint declaration proposed by Russia and representatives of a few European countries was not adopted in the absence of clear condemnation of Albanian terror by all the members of the Security Council. Thereby the Kosovo drama has been extended by another act. The UN

Security Council was sitting at a time of the culmination of Albanian extremists' terror against the remaining Serbian population. The extension of Resolution 1244 was preceded by a series of terrorist attacks ending in the deaths of 20 Serbs and just as many wounded. Attacks on the Serbian enclaves, volleys fired from moving cars, mines and firing at the braver Serbs who dared cultivate their fields do not subside.

In the village of Babin Most the Albanian terrorists killed Milutin Trajkovic (33). He and his father, who ended up wounded, were fired at from

* None of these Articles have, thus far, been published in either Yugoslav or foreign press.

SERBS IN KOSMET A YEAR AFTER

We expect that within a few days something will change, something will have to change." This was the answer most frequently heard from the Serbs in the central part of Kosmet asked about their feelings at the end of a year's mandate of the international mission in Kosmet. As to the question why they should have such expectations they usually responded: "On the basis of what is happening to us, the reality and facts!"

Both the answer and the expectations, however unreal they may seem, looked logical in the circumstances prevailing during the first ten or so days of June, on the eve of the UN Security Council session dedicated to Kosmet, when in a series of terrorist attacks five Serbs were killed and about thirty wounded. All this happened in a purely Serbian environment in a circle of some thirty kilometres around Pristina, almost before the eyes of the international mission's forces.

"I was sitting in the back seat of the car with children. All of a sudden we heard a horrible explosion," says Natasa Ristic (32) explaining what happened to her on 2 June on the road between Preoci and Ugljan, two Serbian villages in the municipality of Kosovo Polje. "I did not know what was going on. The car caught fire and I managed to pull Kristina (5) and Bojana (3) from the smoking wreck. I tried to get my brother out, but I could not," she told me the same day in the hospital in

Kosovo Polje, holding her two daughters, still scared and bruised with scratched and blackened faces.

The car run onto an anti-tank mine placed there during the night. Mother and children miraculously went through the ordeal without being seriously injured, but Natasa's brother Sinisa Dimic (35) and his neighbour Vlastimir Miric (48) were killed. Only a day before the terrorists in a speeding car shot at a group of Serbs working their fields in the village of Klokot near Vitina. Lepierka Marinkovic (67) was killed and Petar Tomic (33) and Mladen Marinkovic (68) seriously wounded while Dobrivoje Radic (50) sustained only a light wound.

In Gracanica on 6 June in the morning, the terrorist hurled a bomb on an improvised market. By mere chance fatal casualties were avoided and about ten people were wounded. "A red Opel" was moving from Gnjilane to Pristina, one of the wounded, Dragan Maksimovic (44) told us immediately after the incident. "Then the car slowed down and one of the terrorists threw a bomb in the direction of a woman and a child getting out of their car. Somebody stepped forward and kicked the bomb towards the centre of the street. An explosion followed. I fell to the ground, but a few fragments caught me. The red Opel speeded off towards Pristina." No one knows how the terrorists could get away, because only a few hundred meters from the spot located on the only way out of the village is the

police checkpoint of the Swedish KFOR contingent.

In the village of Dobrocin, about thirty kilometres southeast of Pristina, Zoran Gudzic and his uncle Miodrag, while working on their field, were brutally beaten by a group of Albanians from a neighbouring village. Immediately after that the Albanians from that same village driving like crazy through Dobrocin literally ran over everything and everybody in their way. A number of people were more or less seriously hurt. "I heard a muffled blow, the noise of a car and saw my neighbour falling to the ground a few metres away from the road, he was hit by one of the cars which flew by us driving in a tandem," explained teenager Milian Nitic, still bruised and with an arm in a cast up to his shoulder. "Before I could move away a car came at me driving fast," says Milan. "I jumped, but the rear-view mirror caught my hand and the car pulled me behind it. Somehow I broke away but ended with two arm fractures."

Similar attacks on the Serbs were almost a daily occurrence in the early June in Cernica, Bresje, Babin Most, Obilic, Besinje... Hardly a single case has been clarified and the offenders identified. "The KFOR soldiers were much more concerned with preventing the justified protests of the Serbs and hushing things up than with catching the criminals." In Gracanica, trying to prevent the protest of the Serbs revolted after a bombing attack on the market, the British soldiers fired and wounded two. After 33-year old Milutin

Trajkovic in Babin Most was killed while sitting in front of the village store, the UNMIK police, instead of chasing after the terrorists, imprisoned his father for two days allegedly for illegal possession of a handgun.

"All this leads to the conclusion that the Mission is incapable of carrying out its obligations stemming from the Security Council Resolution and secure the safety of Serbs even in their villages. Or is it perhaps that they do not wish to do that," judges Slobodan Ilic, president of the local national assembly of Serbs in the Kosovo district. Certain cases even suggest that the terrorist have the KFOR support," adds Ilic, noting that "the intensification of terrorist attacks on the eve of the UN Security Council session on Kosovo was planned to substantiate the thesis that the Mission's continuing presence in the province was a necessity despite the disastrous performance."

In all the above-mentioned cases the KFOR soldiers and officers came after the crime had been accomplished and, as a rule, concerned themselves with consequences failing to identify the causes or perpetrators of crimes. During the meetings generally organized after the terrorist attacks responding to all the reasonable but embarrassing questions of the Serbs, they usually say that "politics is politics and we are soldiers obeying orders". This unconvincing defence, of both the British General Shirreff, commander of

the Multinational Brigade Centre in Gracanica and the young Finnish major in Dobrocin were indirect admissions that many things in the acts of the mission are neither logical nor clear.

With this kind of experience, the Serbs in Kosovo and Metohija doubt that the proclaimed objectives of the mission concerning civilian and national security, rights, ... are the only ones the mission has. They are afraid that in addition to the proclaimed there are also the illegal, secret objectives and

plans which are not in their interest and go beyond Resolution 1244. Should this prove correct, the Mission could definitely be considered a failure, and the change of its mandate shall become not only a logical but an inevitable thing. Serbs expect that the terrorists will be disarmed, the violence stopped and the conditions created for a normal life.

Radovan Pantovic

van holst en steijnen

From: Ruza <despot@wish.net>
 To: Nico & Neeltje steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>; Global Reflexion <office@globalreflexion.org>
 Sent: vrijdag 29 maart 2002 16:36
 Subject: Fw: - Ljudska prava - ANTIWAR:Balkan Meltdown

— Original Message —

From: Olivera Pavlovic <olipa@elab.tmf.bg.ac.yu>
 To: <ljudska_prava@yahoo.com>
 Cc: <pokret@EUnet.yu>
 Sent: Friday, March 29, 2002 1:19 PM
 Subject: - Ljudska prava - ANTIWAR:Balkan Meltdown

Date sent: Wed, 27 Mar 2002 22:41:32 -0500
 From: "minja m." <minja@vlada.ca>
 Subject: ANTIWAR:Balkan Meltdown by Christopher Deliso
 To: undisclosed-recipients;

<http://www.antiwar.com/orig/deliso38.html>

ANTIWAR, Wednesday, March 27, 2002

Balkan Meltdown

Across the Former Yugoslavias, tensions are rising spectacularly

by Christopher Deliso

UNCHARTED WATERS

March 2002 in the Balkans: how will future historians remember this unbelievable month? Will it be for the unearthing of a mujahedin threat in Macedonia - or for the discrediting of that threat by the US and the BBC? Will it be for the peaceful dissolution of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia - or for the American spy scandal that has rocked what remains of that fragile coalition? Will the month of March 2002 be warmly remembered for the Macedonian donor conference, which got that impoverished country off and running - or will the conference come to be mocked as yet another ineffective photo-opportunity for the West to preen and congratulate itself? Finally, will this month be remembered for the Bosnian government's firm

handling of the residual Islamic terror threat - or as the month when that threat spiraled out of control, and paralyzed America's diplomatic operations in Bosnia?

No one knows, but the outlook is not promising. The scariest thing about

this month, which by all accounts has seen a dizzying whirlwind of unending action, is that it is not yet over. There are still a few days left of March 2002 - at the current rate, enough to upend any tentative conclusions we may reach here.

YUGOSLAVIA IS NO MORE - UNLESS, OF COURSE, YOU'RE A PROSECUTOR

As the Milosevic trial continues to meander aimlessly through a forest of discredited witnesses and unsubstantiated rumors, Sloba's main antagonist - Hague prosecutor Carla del Ponte - has become increasingly frustrated and impatient. Seeing that the wily former Yugoslav president is in danger of speaking more intelligently than had been expected, the inquisition has moved on to the hills of the Republika Srpska. Here, NATO troops unsuccessfully tried twice to capture the tribunal's most wanted criminal - Radovan Karadzic. As del Ponte astutely noted, it is very difficult to capture one fugitive

De veiligheid van de Nederlandse ambassade in de FRJ is in de media aan de orde gekomen. Gaat het alleen om het Servische personeel? Wat zijn de concrete activiteiten van ambassadeur Sizoo en diens staf in de komende dagen?

Wordt rekening gehouden met een behoorlijke Servische luchtafweer in de vorm van raketten en vliegtuigen?

Ten slotte refereerde de heer Hoekema aan de klacht van de Amerikanen over de langdurige parlementaire procedures in enkele landen van het bondgenootschap en vroeg hij naar de consequenties daarvan.

Mevrouw Vos (GroenLinks) had geconstateerd dat het geweld in Kosovo doorgaat en dat Milosevic de resoluties van de Veiligheidsraad aan zijn laars lapt, waardoor er een humanitaire ramp dreigt voor 300 000 vluchtelingen. Die ramp speelde voor haar fractie een grote rol bij het beantwoorden van de vraag of het parlement wil instemmen met deelname aan eventuele NAVO-luchtaanvallen. De diplomatieke middelen lijken uitgeput, maar zij was het met de regering eens dat alles op alles gezet moet worden om alsnog tot een politieke oplossing te komen. Zij kon zich vinden in de redenering van de regering dat resolutie 1199 geschikt is om verdere stappen te nemen, maar wees op de houding van Rusland. Wat zal het gevolg van het nemen van deze stappen zijn voor de relatie met Rusland?

De fractie van GroenLinks wilde graag nadere informatie over de effectiviteit van het beoogde middel en de risico's die aan het gebruik van dat middel kleven. Wat zal er gebeuren als het gebruik van dit middel geen gunstig effect heeft? Wat zullen de bombardementen betekenen voor de vluchtelingen die in de bergen van Kosovo zitten? In de motie-Van Traa staat dat dit type ingrijpen duidelijk in het kader moet staan van een humanitaire noodoperatie. Is die noodoperatie volledig op gang gekomen? Is alles ingezet op dat vlak wat nodig is? Is er sprake van noodconvoien naar die vluchtelingen, eventueel begeleid door anderen, om te bereiken dat het voedsel en andere hulp op de juiste plaatsen terechtkomen?

Mevrouw Vos nam aan dat de aan te vallen doelen op Servisch grondgebied gelegen militaire doelen zijn. Op welke doelen heeft de NAVO het oog? Welke risico's zijn er voor vergeldingsacties en hoe groot zijn de risico's dat er ook onder de burgers slachtoffers vallen? Verwacht de regering dat Milosevic zijn troepen zal terugtrekken? Wat gebeurt er als hij niet doet wat de internationale gemeenschap hem vraagt? Worden dan andere acties ondernomen om de vluchtelingen te beschermen en veilig de komende winter door te helpen? Is het überhaupt mogelijk zodanige acties op touw te zetten?

Zij was het ermee eens dat het inzetten van grondtroepen nu niet aan de orde is en dat voor die inzet een resolutie van de Veiligheidsraad noodzakelijk zou zijn. Is de regering bereid daarover mee te denken? Is de deelname van de VS een absolute voorwaarde? Hoe denkt de regering over de duidelijke uitlating van de VS dat zij daartoe niet bereid zijn? Welk perspectief zit er dan in verdere stappen in die richting? Hoe groot is de bereidheid van andere NAVO-partners om die stappen te nemen? Kortom, hoe beoordeelt de regering de mogelijkheden om, als de inzet van het luchtwapen niet helpt, met andere middelen iets te doen aan de bescherming van de vluchtelingen? Wat gebeurt er als Italië niet besluit in te stemmen? Zal er politieke controle zijn op alle verdere stappen die gezet worden na de eerste fase van de luchtaanvallen? Op welke momenten wordt het parlement daarbij betrokken?

Mevrouw Vos had er herhaaldelijk op aangedrongen, de internationale gemeenschap te activeren om de oppositie in Kosovo om de tafel te krijgen en perspectief te bieden op onderhandelingen die tot succes zouden kunnen leiden. Zijn in deze richting stappen gezet? Denkt de

with a large body of uniformed troops. Her solution? Plainclothes, secretive kidnap squads.

The pressure has also been mounting on Serbia to hand over Ratko Mladic, the Bosnian Serb commander who the tribunal claims is hiding in Serbia proper. Since it is rather more difficult to attempt putting undercover kidnap squads in Serbia, the West has latched onto more traditional means of coercion and extortion - the threatened to cut \$135 million in aid money. The powers that prop up the Hague are betting that the Serbians would rather part permanently with two (or more) of their citizens than risk being stuffed into the economic straightjacket. After all, the tactic has worked in the past: exactly one year ago, in fact, similar American threats provoked the extradition of Slobodan Milosevic. Del Ponte has recruited notable personalities, such as Colin Powell, to help pile on the pressure. Indeed, this year's edition of Balkan intimidation cannot be distinguished from its previous incarnation:

"Senator Patrick Leahy, the Vermont Democrat who coauthored the legislation requiring Yugoslav cooperation, said yesterday that with war criminals at large, "our assistance should not go forward." Senator Mitch McConnell, Republican of Kentucky, joined Leahy in sponsoring the bill.

Added Leahy: "General Mladic is the number-one person to turn over. His

responsibility for war crimes is unquestioned."

It's not surprising that such legislation would be co-authored by two of the most virulently anti-Serbian activists in the Senate; what is rather strange, however, is that apparently Mladic's "responsibility for war crimes is unquestioned." If so, why bother trying him in a court of law? And yet, the final destination for Mladic - like all the others the West can't just line up and execute - is the Hague. This rather uncomfortable contradiction begs the following question: what is to be said for a court that selects its victims based on their pre-assumed guilt, and is run by the same people who fund their operations, costs and, apparently now, kidnap

squads?

The only conclusion is that the Hague is not a real court of law. Although its procedures, powdered wigs and presentations mimic those of real courts, the pillars on which it rests are rotten. Indeed, the fact that Milosevic has not wilted away under the hot glare of the media, as his inquisitors had arrogantly expected, has raised fresh doubts regarding the tribunal's fundamental legitimacy. And that is the real reason why Carla del Ponte and Co. are so very flustered - with no results to show on either convictions or captures, and growing doubts over their grandiose moral posturing, they realize that the clock is ticking. This would be reason enough for panic - even without last week's hilarious disaster for the Hague.

LET THE FUN BEGIN: CIA SCANDAL UNFOLDS IN BELGRADE

Part of the fun of March 2002 has been in watching the train wreck of so

many interconnected events, all coming to a head at exactly the same time. The apologia for the Hague cited above all came out between 20-22 March - just days after the breaking of the biggest American scandal to hit Belgrade since the bombing of the Chinese Embassy in 1999. The strong PR attack (from del Ponte, Powell, Leahy and Co.) has come in direct proportion to the Hague's supremely embarrassing role in the scandal: as recipients of secret documents destined for use against Milosevic, obtained by the American chief of the CIA in the Balkans, paid for by American dollars, given to a corrupt Serbian politician. The worst thing about all this, however, is that the

parties involved freely admitted as much.

regering dat onderhandelingen tussen de oppositie en Milosevic kunnen leiden tot een vredige toekomst in die regio?

De heer **Van Bommel** (SP) constateerde dat van de zijde van GroenLinks de vorige keer niet het voorstel is verdedigd om luchtaanvallen te doen, maar het voorstel om grondtroepen te zenden en vroeg waarom nu een volledig tegengesteld voorstel wordt gesteund.

Mevrouw **Vos** (GroenLinks) had nog niet gezegd dat haar fractie met het voorstel van de regering instemt. Wel vond zij met de regering dat het moment is aangebroken om een volgende stap te zetten. Bij de stap die de regering aan de Kamer heeft voorgelegd, had zij een aantal vragen gesteld, waarop zij antwoord wilde hebben, alvorens een definitieve beslissing te nemen. Overigens zou het nu inzetten van het luchtwapen tot het resultaat kunnen leiden dat de fractie van GroenLinks graag ziet, namelijk het stopzetten van de vijandelijkheden en het voeren van de partijen naar de onderhandelingstafel.

Het antwoord van de regering

De **minister van Buitenlandse Zaken** dankte de Kamer voor de vriendelijke woorden over de brief van de regering. Duidelijk is dat de regering stond voor een heel zware afweging. Het gaat immers om een situatie die niemand wenst en waarover niet lichtvaardig mag worden gedacht. De regering besloot akkoord te gaan met ACTORD, maar wel onder duidelijke, harde condities. Deze houden onder meer in dat de gehele NAVO zich erachter schaart en dat een fors aantal NAVO-landen aan deze operatie deelneemt. Werkelijk alles is gedaan om tot een diplomatieke oplossing te komen. Dat zal ook gebeuren in de fasen die volgen als eventueel het luchtwapen moet worden gebruikt. Een andere voorwaarde is dat er voortdurend politieke controle op het hele proces blijft en dat in NAVO-verband wordt nagedacht over wat na elke stap volgt.

Resolutie 1199 bood naar de mening van de regering de basis voor wat nu voorligt. De minister was blij dat dit vrijwel Kamerbreed werd onderschreven. Alleen de SP-fractie bleek daaraan te twijfelen. Hij had zich geërgerd aan het feit dat het belang van deze resolutie hier en daar is gerelativeerd. De resolutie is gegrond op hoofdstuk VII van het handvest van de VN, op basis waarvan het mogelijk is geweld te gebruiken. Alle betrokkenen, ook Rusland en China, wisten op het moment dat deze resolutie door de Veiligheidsraad werd aangenomen wat de implicaties ervan zouden kunnen zijn. Rusland heeft zich intussen op het standpunt gesteld niet akkoord te kunnen gaan met een NAVO-actie. Daarom vond de regering het van vitaal belang dat alle contactlijnen werden benut om de Russen niet voor verrassingen te plaatsen. Via de EU, de OVSE, de VS, de VN en de NAVO wordt alles gedaan om de Russen bij het proces te betrekken. Dit zal er niet toe leiden dat zij zich zullen scharen achter een NAVO-actie. In elk geval mag niet gebeuren dat de Russen in een isolement terechtkomen.

De NAVO kan niet opereren als de Noord-Atlantische raad niet tot consensus komt. Het was de minister niet mogelijk, in te gaan op de posities die de diverse regeringen zullen innemen. De landen van de NAVO, met uitzondering van Duitsland en Italië vanwege de politieke situatie in die landen, maken in wezen dezelfde afweging als de Nederlandse regering. Hij verwachtte dat zij zich zullen scharen achter de ACTORD-beslissing. Met zijn Italiaanse ambtgenoot had hij het aanstaande weekend een afspraak om te praten over de politieke problemen in dat land. In Duitsland is sprake van een soort overgangssituatie. Hij verwachtte niettemin dat Duitsland zou instemmen met het afkondigen van ACTORD.

The blunt admission of this botched covert operation is remarkable in two ways. First, for the incredible arrogance of the blasé Americans, who consider secret operations in a foreign country as just part of a day's work - even after being caught red-handed. The second and more serious aspect of the scandal is that the Hague, ostensibly fighting corruption and gangsterism, resorted to the same tactics to get its way. This sickening

hypocrisy just goes to confirm what is already so obvious - that the Hague is no court of law, but merely a playground for extortionists and spies,

bounty hunters and dilettante barristers.

GAUGING THE FALLOUT

For Balkan intrigue, it simply doesn't get any better than this. You can

just picture it now: a nondescript roadside bar, on the anonymous outskirts of Belgrade; the waning light of late afternoon. Subdued tones, hunched figures; a telling silence, and a briefcase stuffed with cash - and then, just at the moment of consummation, a rude surprise entry by the Yugoslav military!

The dramatic arrest on 14 March of Serbian Deputy PM Momcilo Perisic and

American spook John David Neighbor, shows that Kostunica retains some backbone. Clearly, the man has guts. Confronted with the dissolution of the republic he ruled, faced with fewer career prospects than Al Gore, Mr. Kostunica needed to somehow assert his authority. He did so by denouncing the imbroglio as "a spy affair of huge proportions." Serbian PM Zoran Djindjic had expected his rival to just roll over and give up power. In this belief, he was sorely mistaken. Could it be coincidental that the spy scandal blew up only days after the FRY was officially ended? Luckily for Kostunica, his opportunity arrived, even before the ink had dried on the

eulogists' pens.

In the ensuing furor, Perisic has resigned, and the US has turned up the

heat on "Yugoslavia." The best thing about this reaction is the Americans' overweening hubris, in protesting that their man in Belgrade - the CIA's

Balkan superspy - had been detained. Can we even begin to imagine what would happen if the roles were reversed - and it had been "Serbian spy caught in Washington?" Would any Yugoslav protest have been tolerated - and would a Serbian spy have been quietly dismissed? The answer is an emphatic 'no' on all counts. Mr. Neighbor, however, was "quietly spirited back to Washington," amid apologies and overtures from the Serbs.

BLOWBACK STRIKES: THE BOSNIAN MELTDOWN

In the wake of 9/11, no part of the Balkans has so been so embarrassing for the US and UN as Bosnia. Since October, Islamic terrorist cells have continually been uprooted in this UN protectorate, previously "liberated" by US intervention. Yet the Islamic military units, which the Americans tolerated (if not abetted) during the 1990's have now come back to haunt

them. Middle Eastern charities and businesses have been exposed as front

organizations for terrorists, and several terrorists of Arab origin have

Indien geen consensus wordt bereikt, is aan een van de gestelde voorwaarden niet voldaan en komt het niet tot een volgende stap van de kant van de NAVO.

De regering achtte militaire deelname voor het toezien op het naleven van een eventueel staakt-het-vuren ondenkbaar zonder nieuwe resolutie van de Veiligheidsraad. Het gaat dan om een volgende fase, een fase waarin Milosevic bereid is gebleken naar de onderhandelingstafel terug te keren en waarin het mogelijk is om met de Servische regering en, naar de minister vermoedde, de Russische regering te komen tot een internationale aanwezigheid ten behoeve van peacekeeping. Over peacekeeping zou naar de mening van de regering de Veiligheidsraad zich moeten uitlaten. Essentieel achtte de minister het dat de Russen aan een dergelijke operatie zouden deelnemen. Bovendien ging zijn voorkeur uit naar het eveneens daaraan deelnemen van de Amerikanen.

Hij benadrukte dat in de eerste fase het inzetten van grondtroepen absoluut niet aan de orde is. Wel aan de orde is de eventuele internationale aanwezigheid die noodzakelijk zal zijn als een te verifiëren staakt-het-vuren tot stand is gekomen. De minister pleitte ervoor op dit moment alleen een politieke afweging te maken. Hij had niet de indruk dat de gang van zaken in een volgende fase al in het Amerikaanse Congres ten volle was doorgesproken.

In het proces dat leidt tot de situatie waarin gebruik moet worden gemaakt van het luchtwapen zitten ook een aantal fasen. Daarin zal telkens een politieke afweging aan de orde zijn, waarbij ook de Nederlandse regering wordt betrokken. Ook in de stadia daarna moet voortdurend worden nagedacht en gesproken. Het hele proces is erop gericht te bereiken dat met Milosevic een zinvolle politieke dialoog wordt gestart en dat de Servische eenheden uit Kosovo worden teruggetrokken, zodat humanitaire hulp kan worden geboden en de 50 000 vluchtelingen die in de bergen zitten begeleid kunnen terugkeren. Zolang geen situatie van evenwicht is ontstaan, kan dat niet gebeuren.

Nederland heeft 5 mln. ter beschikking gesteld aan het Rode Kruis en de NGO's. De totale hulpinspanning van Nederland belooft ongeveer 7,1 mln. Ook in Europees verband wordt het nodige gedaan. Het plan van Kinkel en Vedrine is uitgewerkt door het EU-voorzitterschap in een voorstel voor het project home, een project dat is bedoeld om vluchtelingen en ontheemden naar bepaalde regio's te laten terugkeren. De EU heeft zich gevoegd bij de missie van Hill. In de brief van minister Herfkens van eind september is een overzicht gegeven van de Nederlandse steun, ook in het kader van VN-programma's. In totaal gaat het om een bedrag van 13 mld. Amerikaanse dollars. Die middelen worden ingezet in Kosovo, Montenegro en eventueel in andere buurlanden. Nederland doet in dit opzicht erg veel en wijst andere landen erop ook een bijdrage te leveren. De minister zei dat de humanitaire situatie in Kosovo continu op de agenda staat. De inzet van de regering en van de NAVO is erop gericht ervoor te zorgen dat de humanitaire noodsituatie wordt opgelost. Daarop zijn de pogingen gericht Milosevic op niet mis te verstane wijze duidelijk te maken dat het de wereldgemeenschap menens is om op te treden. De verwachting is dat Milosevic alleen onder die dreiging eieren voor zijn geld kiest en voldoet aan wat in resolutie 1199 verlangd wordt. Het geven van humanitaire hulp in de huidige situatie is bijzonder moeilijk. Daarom ook is een NAVO-operatie noodzakelijk. De minister achtte het echter niet juist te speculeren over alle vervolgsituaties die zich kunnen voordoen. Hij vond het een gelukkig gegeven dat het Verdrag van Dayton niet ter discussie is gesteld. Het vernietigen van dat verdrag is het laatste wat moet gebeuren. Dat verdrag wordt uitgevoerd in een bepaalde volgorde met als doel een soort nieuw Verdrag van Dayton tot stand te brengen. Het toetsingskader was op de voet gevolgd, maar over de duur van de operatie kon hij niets exacts meedelen.

De staf van de Nederlandse ambassade was teruggebracht tot een

been detained - some even shipped to Guantanamo. That this outraged the Bosnian authorities seemed to matter little to the US; now, however, temperatures are running so high that the US has closed indefinitely three major embassies in the area - in Sarajevo, Mostar, and Banja Luka (Republika Srpska).

On 23 March a high-ranking Bosnian official declared that al Qaeda itself had recently met in Bulgaria - to plan a major terrorist attack in Bosnia: "at the Sofia meeting, members of al-Qaeda decided that ".in Sarajevo something will happen to Americans similar to New York last September."

These stories follow a frantic effort by Bosnian officials to crack down on Islamic terrorists in their midst. On 19 March, Bosnian police swooped down on charities and terror front organizations in Sarajevo and Zenica. On 22 March, the operation resulted in the arrest on espionage charges of one Munib Zahiragic, and the shutdown of his shady charity, Benevolentia. A tour of the "charity" organization's headquarters revealed ".weapons, plans for making bombs, booby-traps and bogus passports." Elsewhere in the country, a UN official was recently attacked with an axe. Seems like there's a lot of love going around for the Western "liberators" in Bosnia these days!

THE MOTHER OF ALL SCANDALS: DYNCORP'S LURID "TRANSACTIONS"

If one wonders why the Bosnians might be upset with their Western guests, one need look no further than DynCorp, an American company providing technical support to the troops overseas. This story has been forgotten completely - primarily because the company's activities in Bosnia are being investigated by US military police - and not by the Hague. And so - even

though every American should know about it - DynCorp's history of sleaze has been totally whitewashed.

Over a year ago, the Washington Post reported about UN participation in the Bosnian sex trade. Also involved were senior figures in DynCorp's Bosnia

operation. Nothing happened.

A year later, in January 2002, the DynCorp story broke for real, in the testimony of a former employee, whistle-blower Ben Johnston. Apparently,

seeing "...middle-aged men having sex with 12 - to 15-year-olds" was "too much" for the lanky Texan to take. In his daily job for DynCorp in Bosnia, Johnston ".witnessed coworkers and supervisors literally buying and selling women for their own personal enjoyment, and employees would brag about the various ages and talents of the individual slaves they had purchased." The "game" for these American cowboys was to buy and sell girls, weapons, and other commodities from Serbian and other mafias. Less lurid activities were the monumentally corrupt activities of DynCorp's daily operations. Johnston, who was fired for patriotically objecting to these deeds, provided graphic details on both the sex ring and the chronic ways in which DynCorp defrauded the American taxpayer:

"I wasn't too happy with them ripping off the government, either. DynCorp is just as immoral and elite as possible, and any rule they can break they do. There was this one guy who would hide parts so we would have to wait for

parts and, when the military would question why it was taking so long, he'd pull out the part and say 'Hey, you need to install this.' They'd have us replace windows in helicopters that weren't bad just to get paid. They had one kid, James Harlin, over there who was right out of high school and he didn't even know the names and purposes of the basic tools. Soldiers that are paid \$18,000 a year know more than this kid, but this is the way they [DynCorp] grease their pockets. What they say in Bosnia is that DynCorp just needs a warm body - that's the

kernstaf. Uiteraard waren de risico's voor het resterende personeel meegewogen, evenals de andere risico's die in dit kader optreden. Over de laatste diplomatieke activiteiten kon de minister geen specifieke mededelingen doen. In elk geval wordt ook van Amerikaanse zijde alles gedaan om tot een politieke, diplomatieke oplossing te komen. Hij was uiteraard bereid om de Kamer over de verschillende stadia van het proces op de geëigende momenten te informeren.

Hij merkte op dat de voorzitter van de OVSE de bereidheid heeft uitgesproken om met een trojka naar Belgrado te gaan, indien uit een brief van Milosevic zou blijken dat de OVSE in voormalig Joegoslavië zou kunnen opereren. Ofschoon zo'n brief tot nu toe niet is ontvangen, vond de minister de betrokkenheid van de OVSE van groot belang. Per slot van rekening moet geen enkele mogelijkheid onbenut worden gelaten om tot een diplomatieke oplossing te komen.

Naar aanleiding van de vraag over het stellen van ultimata, merkte de minister op dat uitvoering van acties zal afhangen van de uitkomst van diplomatieke offensieven. Na elke stap zal er gelegenheid zijn voor Milosevic om een afweging te maken.

De **minister van Defensie** stelde dat de vraag of er draagvlak is voor het eventueel deelnemen aan een militaire operatie in Kosovo door de regering wordt bepaald. Daarbij is van belang mee te wegen hoe er in de defensieorganisatie tegenaan wordt aangekeken. Hij had geen signalen ontvangen dat er operationele problemen of bezwaren waren. Hem was in Villafranca verzekerd dat de inzet van F-16's geruime tijd mogelijk is. Dat men daar onder grote werkdruk aan de gang is, is duidelijk, maar er gelden dan ook bijzondere omstandigheden.

Het doelgebied van de NAVO-aanvallen is de gehele voormalige republiek Joegoslavië. De doelen zijn militair-strategisch, waarbij gedacht kan worden aan commandocentrales, luchtverdedigingssystemen, militaire eenheden en zware wapens. In de eerste fase zal de aandacht zich voornamelijk op Kosovo richten en zullen de aanvallen zeer sterk gericht zijn op het uitschakelen van luchtverdedigingssystemen ter vermindering van de risico's van de inzet van vliegtuigen in volgende fasen. Indien Milosevic blijft weigeren te reageren, kan het moment aanbreeken dat de betekenis van «militair-strategisch» wordt verruimd en dat ook doelen als elektriciteitscentrales en olieopslagplaatsen worden gekozen. Nadrukkelijk niet de bedoeling is burgerdoelen aan te vallen. Er wordt bijzonder veel gedaan aan het optimaal beperken van collateral damage. Daarvoor worden slimme wapens ingezet, zoals ook in Irak gebeurde. De mogelijkheid is aanwezig dat luchtverdedigingssystemen richting burgerbevolking worden verplaatst, waardoor burgers het risico lopen slachtoffer te worden van luchtaanvallen, maar de minister wees erop dat vrij nauwkeurig te volgen is waarheen dergelijke systemen verplaatst worden.

Er zullen zich meer complicaties voordoen. Gedacht kan worden aan het zodanig positioneren van luchtverdedigingssystemen dat zij pas te ontdekken zijn als er gebruik van wordt gemaakt. Gedacht kan ook worden aan het verschijnen van rapporten over vernietigde installaties, waarvan de NAVO claimt dat het militaire installaties zijn geweest, terwijl Milosevic zal zeggen dat het fabrieken waren waarin babyvoeding werd gemaakt. Propaganda zal massaal gevoerd worden. De minister gaf toe dat ook niet is uit te sluiten dat collateral damage heeft plaatsgevonden. Het gebruiken van het luchtwapen is een instrument dat een vrij massieve vorm van oorlogsvoering meebrengt. Dat wordt in de afwegingen ook terdege meegenomen.

Hij constateerde veel parallellen met de manier waarop het Verdrag van Dayton tot stand is gekomen. Milosevic ging met betrekking tot Bosnië pas door de knieën nadat er geschoten was. De verwachting is dat Milosevic het nu niet zover zal laten komen. Op het bereiken daarvan zijn

DynCorp slogan. Even if you don't do an eight-hour day, they'll sign you in for it because that's how they bill the government. It's a total fraud."

The muckraking investigation of DynCorp came out in Insight Magazine; it is a must-read for anyone who - no, it is a must-read for everyone. However, this graphic account of the corrupt side of Balkans intervention was instantly forgotten - and that is because the Hague took no part in the investigation. Apparently, US-sponsored tribunals have one goal and one goal alone: targeting foreign citizens who come from "hostile" countries. US spies, businessmen, and (as we saw in the Italian helicopter tragedy) servicemen face justice only at home.

One can give many arguments on the topic of the rights of sovereign states and international law. However, one would at least hope for consistency, and not hypocrisy, in the US' execution of law.

LAST BUT NOT LEAST, MACEDONIA

Despite the quiet reality of Western corruption throughout the former Yugoslavias, this phenomenon has gone largely unexplored. Instead, the heat has recently been turned up on the corruption of the locals in Macedonia. In this embattled Balkan state, the temperature has been rising precipitously of late. Two NATO officers were arrested for taking photos in Ochrid on 20 March, a bizarre fiasco that resulted in an official protest from NATO. Meanwhile, the fallout of the donor conference in Macedonia has resulted in bitterness from Macedonians who feel they have been strong-armed into an

agreement with the NLA. One year on from the start of the conflict that spawned that treaty, the BBC has again set up shop as apologist for the NLA.

Events took a farcical turn last week at a Skopje sports arena, when Albanian and Macedonian fans set upon each other. Macedonia, it seems, has finally arrived: three cheers for interethnic football riots!

Simultaneously, more organized militias seem ready for the heat of battle. The so-called ANA (Albanian National Army) has made an issue out of the Kosovo border dispute to declare a war of liberation. This paramilitary organization has just announced a new campaign to unite all "Albanian territories." Yet the ANA is allegedly also ".in conflict with the former "NLA" and the leaders of DPA and PDP, Arben Xhaferi and Imer Imeri." Skopje's biggest newspaper, Dnevnik, has reprinted an announcement from the ANA, which called NLA chief Ali Ahmeti and politician Menduh Thachi "great traitors." Apparently, a dangerous standoff, involving up to 200 Albanians, occurred between the two groups.

Another event (of 23 March) shows again how relations are wearing thin between former Albanian allies. In Vaksince village, Kumanovo region, returning police were taunted, and journalists stoned. The Albanian members of the police force were derided as traitors, a clear sign that the Albanian "liberation" movement has fragmented.

This prompts the question: if rival Albanian factions start fighting it out, will NATO intervene?

EPILOGUE

Even as Yugoslavia - and all the Yugoslavias - steadily become but an afterthought, the damage of a decade of war and intervention cannot be undone. While one nation crumbles into dust, another - one of unknown dimensions and desires - is solidifying. One gets the sense that, as Winter turns the corner into Spring, we are carceing off of the well-marked, signposted road - and heading into territory that is altogether unknown.

alle inspanningen gericht, niet op schieten. De indruk bestaat vaak dat militairen graag schieten, maar die indruk is naar de mening van de minister absoluut onjuist. Militairen zien heel wel in dat een geloofwaardige dreiging noodzakelijk is, wil de diplomatie erin slagen de politieke doelen te bereiken waarover in internationaal verband overeenstemming bestaat.

Aan NAVO-acties kleven risico's, zeker voor de SFOR-eenheden in Bosnië. Daar geldt al een tijd een verhoogde fase van paraatheid. Dit heeft consequenties voor de inzetbaarheid van SFOR-eenheden in Bosnië. Bovendien zijn daar nog een aantal waarnemers en marechaussees. Die worden teruggetrokken in gebieden waar een bepaalde mate van bescherming geboden kan worden. Er is sprake van een grote mate van alertheid, maar er zijn risico's. Het gaat om een kwetsbare situatie in een gebied waarin zich ook veel Serviërs bevinden. Er zijn verder wat bedreigingen ontvangen van politieke partijen aldaar. De zaken zijn zodanig georganiseerd dat de commandostructuur voor een eventuele operatie in Kosovo samenvalt met die van de SFOR-eenheden. Die samenhang is nadrukkelijk aanwezig. Er is ook sprake van een strategische reserve voor de SFOR-eenheden en het is niet uitgesloten dat deze wordt ingezet voor de vergroting van de veiligheidssituatie van de eenheden in Bosnië.

Servië beschikt over een aanzienlijk aantal verschillende, moderne luchtverdedigingssystemen. Er is een groot NAVO-vermogen en met name een groot Amerikaans vermogen om dat soort systemen uit te schakelen, maar dat kan nooit voor honderd procent. Dit houdt in dat bij eventuele deelname van Nederlandse F-16's aan NAVO-acties nadrukkelijk risico's worden gelopen. Voorzover er sprake is van een Nederlands-Belgische deelname van een aantal F-16's staan de nationale bevelslijnen geheel los van elkaar.

De operationele verantwoordelijkheid ligt bij SACEUR. De minister verwachtte dat indien het tot NAVO-acties komt de eerste fase begint met een massale inzet van kruisvluchtwapens en dat in een volgende fase vliegtuigen worden ingezet. Nederland beschikt over F-16's die een midlife update hebben ondergaan, hetgeen inhoudt dat zij precisiewapens kunnen afvuren. Dit levert het minste risico op voor collateral damage. Nederland kan dus een bijdrage leveren voor dat doel. Andere Nederlandse F-16's kunnen worden ingezet om het luchtruim te verdedigen. In het kader van humanitaire hulp en militaire begeleiding zijn twee mogelijkheden te onderscheiden. De eerste mogelijkheid is militaire begeleiding met toestemming van Milosevic. Daarbij zal het waarschijnlijk gaan om een situatie waarin er sprake is van een staakt-het-vuren of een politieke oplossing. Dan is het een kwestie van peacekeeping en een zodanige inzet van militaire middelen dat niet dezelfde situatie ontstaat als in Bosnië een paar jaar geleden.

De tweede mogelijkheid is militaire begeleiding zonder toestemming van Milosevic. Dan gaat het over een interventie met grondtroepen en dat is nu niet aan de orde. Daarover zijn ook nog geen NAVO-plannen. Er is wel enige NAVO-planning over wat gedaan moet worden als Milosevic concessies wil doen en er sprake moet zijn van ondersteuning van een staakt-het-vuren of een bepaalde politieke oplossing. Weliswaar is er een scenario geschetst voor het inzetten van grondtroepen, maar dat is in het kader van een situatie waarin Milosevic als de gevolg van de druk die nu wordt opgebouwd bereid is tegemoet te komen aan de eisen van de internationale gemeenschap. Er is dan een nieuw politiek momentum. Er moet vervolgens een nieuwe resolutie van de Veiligheidsraad komen. In dat kader kan het beschermen van humanitaire hulpverlening een nadrukkelijke rol spelen.

De minister vond het heel moeilijk te zeggen op welke termijn humanitaire hulpverlening zou kunnen worden gegeven ingeval van peacekeeping. De plannen daaromtrent zijn in ontwikkeling bij de NAVO. Duidelijk is dat de

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door Nederland van ACTORD, waarbij hij de vier condities onderschreef die in de brief zijn genoemd.

Mevrouw **Vos** (GroenLinks) deelde mee dat haar fractie de noodzaak inziet van het nemen van verdergaande stappen, omdat het geweld voortgaat en een humanitaire ramp dreigt. Zij pleitte voor acties die voor de vluchtelingen direct resultaat boeken. Daar humanitaire acties, militair beschermd, niet op korte termijn waren te realiseren, was een volgende stap nodig: een uiterste drukmiddel om Milosevic aan de onderhandelingstafel te krijgen. Ondanks de zorgen die de fractie van GroenLinks had over de risico's, de effectiviteit van het drukmiddel en de noodzakelijke vervolgstappen in het humanitaire traject wilde zij de regering steunen en stemde zij met het voorgelegde in.

De voorzitter van de vaste commissie voor Buitenlandse Zaken,
De Boer

De voorzitter van de vaste commissie voor Defensie,
Valk

De griffier van de vaste commissie voor Buitenlandse Zaken,
Hommes

van holst en steijnen

From: CDSM <cdsm_b@btopenworld.com>
To: <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>
Sent: dinsdag 19 maart 2002 07:25
Subject: U.S. supported al-Qaeda cells during Balkan Wars - National Post

March 15, 2002

U.S. supported al-Qaeda cells during Balkan Wars

Fought serbian troops

Isabel Vincent

National Post

Osama bin Laden's al-Qaeda terrorist network has been active in the Balkans for years, most recently helping Kosovo rebels battle for independence from Serbia with the financial and military backing of the United States and NATO.

The claim that al-Qaeda played a role in the Balkan wars of the 1990s came from an alleged FBI document former Yugoslav leader Slobodan Milosevic presented in his defence before the Hague tribunal last week. Mr. Milosevic faces 66 counts of war crimes and genocide.

Although Hague prosecutors have challenged the veracity of the document, which Mr. Milosevic identified as a Congressional statement from the FBI dated last December, Balkan experts say the presence of al-Qaeda militants in Kosovo and Bosnia is well documented.

Today, al-Qaeda members are helping the National Liberation Army, a rebel group in Macedonia, fight the Skopje government in a bid for independence, military analysts say. Last week, Michael Steiner, the United Nations administrator in Kosovo, warned of "importing the Afghan danger to Europe" because several cells trained and financed by al-Qaeda remain in the region.

"Many members of the Kosovo Liberation Army were sent for training in terrorist camps in Afghanistan," said James Bissett, former Canadian ambassador to Yugoslavia and an expert on the Balkans. "Milosevic is right. There is no question of their participation in conflicts in the Balkans. It is very well documented."

The arrival in the Balkans of the so-called Afghan Arabs, who are from various Middle Eastern states and linked to al-Qaeda, began in 1992 soon after the war in Bosnia. According to Lenard Cohen, professor of political science at Simon Fraser University, mujahedeen fighters who travelled to Afghanistan to resist the Soviet occupation in the 1980s later "migrated to Bosnia hoping to assist their Islamic brethren in a struggle against Serbian [and for a time] Croatian forces."

The Bosnian Muslims welcomed their assistance. After the Bosnian war, "hundreds of Bosnian passports were provided to the mujahedeen by the Muslim-controlled government in Sarajevo," said Prof. Cohen in a recent article titled Bin Laden and the war in the Balkans. Many al-Qaeda members decided to stay in the region after marrying local Muslim women, he said.

They also set up secret terrorist training camps in Bosnia -- activities financed by the sale of opium produced in Afghanistan and secretly shipped through Turkey and Kosovo into central Europe.

In the years immediately before the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia in 1999, the al-Qaeda militants moved into Kosovo, the southern province of Serbia, to help ethnic Albanian extremists of the KLA mount their terrorist campaign against Serb targets in the region.

The mujahedeen "were financed by Saudi and United Arab Emirates money," said one Western military official, asking anonymity. "They were mercenaries who were not running the show in Kosovo, but were used by the KLA to do their dirty work."

The United States, which had originally trained the Afghan Arabs during the war in Afghanistan, supported them in Bosnia and then in Kosovo. When NATO forces launched their military campaign against Yugoslavia three years ago to unseat Mr. Milosevic, they entered the Kosovo conflict on the side of the KLA, which had already received "substantial" military and financial support from bin Laden's network, analysts say.

In the wake of the Sept. 11 terrorist strikes on the United States, NATO began to worry about the presence in the Balkans of the Islamist terrorist cells it had supported throughout the 1990s.

van holst en steijnen

From: CDSM <cdsm_b@btopenworld.com>
To: <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>
Sent: donderdag 14 maart 2002 16:20
Subject: Serbia and Montenegro Agree Death of Yugoslavia

Serbia and Montenegro Agree Death of Yugoslavia

March 14, 2002 01:13 PM ET
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 By Will Hardie

BELGRADE (Reuters) - Montenegro shelved its independence plans on Thursday to form a new union with Serbia, consigning Yugoslavia to history in a deal the West hopes will avoid more violent redrawing of Balkan borders.

"We have taken an important step forward for the stability of the region and of Europe," European Union foreign policy chief Javier Solana said after signing a draft constitutional framework with leaders of the two republics.

Under heavy EU pressure, Montenegrin President Milo Djukanovic agreed to a three-year moratorium on a breakaway referendum for his small coastal republic and committed to reshape Yugoslavia as a union called "Serbia and Montenegro."

Yugoslavia, whose painful breakup spawned four of Europe's bloodiest conflicts since World War Two, would finally cease to exist but without disintegrating into more unstable parts.

But it will only happen if Djukanovic can overcome heavy opposition from allies and voters who want full independence.

After a decade of Balkan wars, the West fears Montenegrin independence would signal to ethnic Albanians in Kosovo and Macedonia and to Serbs in Bosnia that borders are negotiable, tempting them to seek separation by violent or other means.

Even Thursday's compromise deal raised hopes of independence for Kosovo among some Albanian politicians. Kosovo, now administered by the United Nations, remains part of the union.

"This agreement will accelerate the process of independence for Kosovo, because from today Yugoslavia no longer exists," said Ruxhdi Sefa, a senior official from the province's third largest party the Alliance for the Future of Kosovo.

Serbia and Montenegro, the only two of Yugoslavia's six republics not to break away since the old federation started to unravel along ethnic lines in 1991, will now draft a new constitution, along with federal leaders.

Parliaments will need to agree the document, which will replace the current Federal institutions with a new "Union" parliament, president, cabinet and army.

HARD SELL FOR MONTENEGRO

Djukanovic will find it hard to sell the deal to key pro-independence allies at home and many analysts say Serbia and Montenegro have diverged so far that it is questionable how long their new union can last.

The two agreed broadly to harmonize their economies but the document contained no detailed solutions to how to realign their highly different financial systems. Djukanovic said Montenegro would not backtrack on de facto freedoms it already enjoyed.

"I think the political public in Montenegro has every reason to be satisfied with what we have achieved with this agreement, most importantly all results of economic reforms that Montenegro has achieved over the past year have been preserved," he said.

Montenegro stopped using the Yugoslav Dinar currency in 1999, adopting instead the German mark and its successor, the euro. It was not clear how this, or the two republics' distinct markets and parallel customs systems, would be reconciled.

Djukanovic is eager not to endanger aid and rapprochement with the West but is under pressure from pro-independence liberals on whose support his minority government depends.

Liberal Alliance leader Miodrag Zivkovic said he was shocked and called the deal a betrayal. Djukanovic's Social Democratic Party (SDP) allies also branded it a "great step back."

"Montenegrin citizens and voters are cheated, because this decision represents something which is unacceptable from a political, moral and patriotic stand," SDP spokesman Novak Adzic said. "Montenegro will have less independence."

166. The so-called tribunal [thus distorting] [xxx] his 'right to speak' on 'political' matters closely connected with his case, only granted [on] this [one]

occasion, [and] furthermore [in a] purely [x] hollow ritual, by not ad[d]ressing one single question to [M]r. Milosevic[,] [s]how[ed] also [in] this way that it is [dead] set on [trivializing] whatever defence [xx] Mr. Mil[ose]vic [might present].

167. [Thus also at this time] [reducing] his 'right to speak' to an absolute mockery and [a] pure[xx] window-dressing.

168. As already [has been] stressed, [on] all previous occasions Mr. Milosevic was simply prohibited [from] speak[ing] about these kinds of 'politics' by the so-called tribunal.

169. And this while, according to the so-called tribunal's own decisions, a jurisdictional plea cannot be considered as barred from examination by the possible political or non-justifi[fi]able character of the issues that may be raised.

So that the accused positively should be allowed to argue political and non-justifi[fi]able arguments to show the lack of independenc[e] of the so-called tribunal.

As is la[i]d down for instance in par. 25 of the Tadic interlocutory appeal decision.

170. So in its fanaticism to create firm conditions that [M]r. Milosevic can be brought down [to], the so-called tribunal do[esn't] give[] [xx] a damn [about] its own jurisprudence.

171. Mr. Milosevic has stressed permanently that he do[esn't] recognise the so-called tribunal.

The consequence is that none of his acts, wordings or writings c[an] be interpreted as acts, wordings or writings within the tribunal's framework and regulations.

Nevertheless, the tribunal has[], as is already stipulated above, deliberately and in spite of Mr. Milosevic's intentions, regarded some documents, produced by him, as a 'preliminary motion' in the sense of the regulations of the tribunal.

This because [it] suited the tribunal [xx], [since] they could interpret[x] this as Mr. Milosevic performing an act in accordance with the tribunal.

172. However, even in this situation [where] Mr. Milosevic [,]during the status conference of the 29th October[,] repeated urgently - as is quoted above -[x] that none of his documents [should] be regarded as 'a preliminary motion' in the sense of the tribunal's regulations, the so-called tribunal passed over [all] this in silence. And [it] held on, in silence and without any further argumentation, male fides, to this false interpretation.

173. Instead of this, the tribunal should have taken the stand that these documents were only to be considered [in] the way they were [intended]: namely[,] [as] a challenge, once again and this time in [x] written form, by Mr. Milosevic [to] the legitimacy and legality of his detention according to Article 5, par. 4 of the ECHR, juncto Article 9, par. 3 ICCPR.

174. And again, [xx] an[other] attempt to induce the court to deal with

The pro-Yugoslav opposition Socialist People's Party said Djukanovic's independence project had now completely failed.

But Djukanovic sought to soothe worries, assuring Montenegro's 615,000 people they could reconsider relations with Serbia, which has a population of 10 million, in the future.

"The agreement does not jeopardize the basic right of every people to re-examine after a certain period their stand on the future of their state," Djukanovic told reporters.

ALLURE OF EUROPE

All sides were motivated by ambitions shared across the Balkans to forge closer ties with the affluent European Union, which said they had taken a step in the right direction.

"This is good news for Europe and for the future of the Western Balkans on their road to the EU," EU Commission Foreign Relations Spokesman Gunnar Wiegand said in Brussels.

Yugoslav President Vojislav Kostunica and Djukanovic were to attend a summit of EU leaders in Barcelona on Friday to be feted for agreeing the deal, a further step in calming the Balkans.

Kostunica said the new state would embody a break with the former regime under Slobodan Milosevic, who led Yugoslavia into international isolation.

Kostunica's job will be replaced by a less powerful position in the new union, which analysts said may hasten a showdown with his ruling coalition rival, Serbian Premier Zoran Djindjic.

Elections for new institutions would force a shakeout in Serbia's unwieldy 18-party ruling alliance. Kostunica's party could run against Djindjic and his allies and Kostunica himself may challenge Djindjic for the Serbian premiership.

van holst en steijnen

From: Christopher Black <bar@idirect.com>
To: <Emperors1000@aol.com>; TARGETS <redactie@targets.org>; Vladimir Krsljanin <vlada@sps.org.yu>; van holst en steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>
Sent: maandag 11 maart 2002 09:55
Subject: Fw: Imperial Arrogance

Friends,

Well, just who is going to do this for them? Or is it time for a new regime, but who? (And remember, Louise Arbour is a member of the ICG among other nato officials and generals)

Chris

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

From: "Diana Johnstone" <107764.116@compuserve.com>
To: <Blind.Copy.Receiver@compuserve.com>
Sent: Sunday, March 10, 2002 2:16 PM
Subject: Imperial Arrogance

> Imperial arrogance at its most extreme.
>
> D.
>
>
>
> ICG Blueprint for Yugoslavia
> [WWW.STOPNATO.ORG.UK]
> Date: 3/9/02 2:48:45 PM Eastern Standard Time
> From: petokraka78@aol.com
>
> [Here is the latest report from the International Crisis Group staffed by
> key members of the NATO campaign against FRY and funded by George Soros.
> The key controversy revolves around the fact that while NATO managed to
> remove the Socialist Party from power in Yugoslavia it failed to effect a
> complete reorientation of FRY strategic policies from fealty to Russia
into
> "Euro-Atlantic", i.e. pro-NATO-integrationist structures. Opinion polls
> from the leading Yugoslav daily Politika show time and time again that
> Yugoslavs still oppose all aspects of Western policy in the Balkans
> overwhelmingly (presence of NATO troops in the region, cooperation with the
> Hague, privatization, etc). Furthermore, some policy makers in the West
> want a complete partition of Yugoslavia into Montenegro, Kosovo, and a
> federated Serbia, all of which are to be integrated into Euro-Atlantic
> structures. The key to US/NATO policy in Europe is to neutralize those
> parties, movements and individuals that tend more towards anti-Western
> pro-Russian stances on Eastern European affairs and by doing so ensure the
> ascendancy of pro-Western forces. These pro-Western factions are often a
> small neoliberal minority that enter into power through the backdoor of a
> hazy rhetoric that revolves around "democratization", an often paranoid
> "anti-Communism" and unrealizable promises of rapid integration into the
> EU. It is interesting to note that no pro-Western, neoliberal government
> has been re-elected in Eastern Europe and those parties that do get
elected
> - with the exception of Poland, Czech Republic and Hungary in the early
> 1990s - mostly never talk about foreign policy issues. This is especially
> true in Orthodox countries, which also happen to have the strongest
secular
> indigenous Communist Party structures still functionally operating and
> opposing Western policies worldwide, as well as military factions that are
> actively opposed to subordination to NATO. Is it any surprise that in
order
> to neutralize pro-Russian and pro-Communist tendencies NATO is forced to
> ally itself with the same forces and pursue similar geopolitical
> maneuverings as Hitler did during WWII? This ICG report is indicative of
> these tendencies among some Western policy makers, particularly in the US
> and Germany, viz-a-viz Yugoslavia in particular. If you may think that

- the
- > ICG is a neutral "think-tank" you might want to consult the Board of
 - > Directors listing at <http://www.crisisweb.org/about/board.cfm> which shows
 - > its links to some of the biggest European and American personalities in
 - > forwarding the project of neoliberal globalization on European soil.]
 - >
 - > In a message dated 08/03/02 06:43:10 Eastern Standard Time,
 - > fbieber@yahoo.com writes:
 - > Belgrade's Lagging Reform: Cause for International Concern
 - > <http://www.crisisweb.org/projects/showreport.cfm?reportid=568>
 - >
 - > BELGRADE'S LAGGING REFORM : CAUSE FOR INTERNATIONAL CONCERN
 - > EXECUTIVE SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS
 - >
 - > For more than a decade Serbia was the driving force behind much of
 - > the instability in the Balkans. Following the overthrow of Slobodan
 - > Milosevic on 5 October 2000, it was hoped that Serbia would promptly
 - > reform the external policies of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY)
 - > that had caused such disruption. To date, these hopes have been
 - > substantially disappointed.
 - > Nevertheless, the FRY has set its sights on catching up with its
 - > neighbours by integrating into Euro-Atlantic institutions and political
 - > processes. In particular, it wants to make significant progress during
 - > 2002
 - > towards three major foreign policy goals: accession to the Council of
 - > Europe (CoE); membership in NATO's Partnership for Peace (PIP); and
 - > negotiating a Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) with the
 - > European Union (EU).
 - > These objectives confirm the FRY's welcome re-orientation to a
 - > pro-European, trans-Atlantic outlook. Nevertheless, post-Milosevic
 - > Yugoslavia still presents significant obstacles to regional stability,
 - > openly opposing important policies and standards represented or
 - > implemented
 - > on the ground by the international community.
 - > Regional instability is exacerbated by the federal authorities'
 - > refusal or inability to cooperate with the International Criminal Tribunal
 - > for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), undermining of international community
 - > goals in Bosnia and Kosovo, and reluctance to address Montenegro's
 - > concerns
 - > about the federation itself. Looming behind these highly visible policies
 - > and practices is a fourth, massive problem: the FRY's unreconstructed
 - > armed
 - > forces, which - lacking civilian control or budgetary oversight -
 - > influence
 - > foreign and domestic politics, block reforms, and oppose accountability for
 - > war crimes.
 - > This report examines all but one of these problems. (Belgrade's
 - > relationship with Montenegro will be considered in a future report.) It
 - > assesses their impact on regional stability, and identifies them as the
 - > consequences of ideological nationalism, rear-guard resistance by
 - > Milosevic-era cadres, and institutional inertia.
 - > These are all factors that Serbian reformers want to overcome but
 - > cannot without international support. Premature FRY admission to
 - > Euro-Atlantic institutions is more likely to weaken the reform camp than
 - > to
 - > strengthen it. Such significant endorsement of Belgrade's regional role
 - > should be withheld until it has confirmed by deed its commitment to help
 - > stabilise the region.
 - > Until then the FRY cannot be viewed as a guarantor of regional
 - > peace and stability or a reliable partner in any collective security
 - > framework. The international community must hold the FRY to the same high
 - > standards for inclusion in intergovernmental structures that have rightly
 - > been required of Croatia and Bosnia since 1996. NATO, the CoE, and the EU
 - > should raise these problems with their Yugoslav counterparts and require
 - > solutions. So, too, the U.S. administration and Congress should face - and
 - > act on - the reality that the FRY is not in compliance with the conditions
 - > established under the impending 31 March 2002 deadline and there is,
 - > therefore, no justification to certify its eligibility for further U.S.
 - > donor aid.
 - > To do otherwise would strengthen obstructionist forces inside
 - > Serbia, reduce international community leverage over Belgrade, undermine
 - > Yugoslavia's neighbours, and cheapen membership in the international

> institutions involved.

>
>
> RECOMMENDATIONS

>
> TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY:

- > 1. NATO, the European Union (EU), the Council of Europe (CoE) and the
> United States (U.S.) should harmonise efforts regarding the FRY, resisting
> any temptation to lower standards to Belgrade's advantage. Before the FRY
> is admitted to membership of the Partnership for Peace (PIP) and the CoE,
> commences negotiating a Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA), or
> receives further U.S. assistance, it should be required to demonstrate its
> willingness to reform by meeting clearly defined conditions in four areas:
> (a) civilian control over the armed forces and related military sector
> reforms;
> (b) support for international community policy in Bosnia;
> (c) cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former
> Yugoslavia (ICTY); and
> (d) support for international community policy in Kosovo.
- > 2. The U.S. administration should examine the four areas listed above
when
> determining, as required by Congress, whether to certify by 31 March 2002
> the FRY's continued eligibility for American aid. Without significant
> progress in all four areas, it should not certify.
- > 3. The United Nations should insist that the FRY abide by UNSCR 1244
> concerning Kosovo, including by cooperating with the effort to end
parallel
> Serb structures.

> TO THE FRY:

- > 4. In relation to reform of the armed forces, the authorities in Belgrade
> should:
- > (a) pass new laws on the federal and republic levels to bring the
Yugoslav
> Army (VJ) and the federal and Serbian Ministries of Interior (MUPs) under
> civilian control, accountable to parliaments;
> (b) give the federal, Serbian and Montenegrin parliaments control over
the
> VJ and MUPs budgets, including independent auditing, subpoena power for
> witnesses and documents, and sufficient staff and resources;
> (c) render the VJ subservient to the Ministry of Defence.
> (d) depoliticise the VJ and MUP, beginning with the removal of VJ Generals
> Nebojsa Pavkovic and Vladimir Lazarevic and MUP General Sreten Lukic;
> (e) end VJ protection of ICTY indictees such as Ratko Mladic;
> (f) reduce the number of Special Forces units;
> (g) demilitarise the Serbian MUP;
> (h) remove the Unit for Special Operations (JSO) from the MUP and either
> disband it or place it under VJ control; and
> (i) change VJ doctrine to remove any responsibility to intervene in
> internal political matters.
- > 5. In relation to support for international community policy in Bosnia:
- > (a) the FRY should ratify the Dayton Peace Accords, stop financing the
> Army of Republika Srpska (VRS); and remove RS officers and
non-commissioned
> officers from the VJ pay roll;
> (b) the federal president should cease using his office to promote his
> political party's support for the Serb Democratic Party (SDS) in RS; and
> (c) the governing DOS coalition should inform the Serbian public of
> European, NATO and U.S. Congressional conditions related to Bosnia,
> especially the RS.
- > 6. In relation to cooperation with the ICTY, the FRY should:
- > (a) transfer all indictees to The Hague, including active duty and
retired
> VJ and MUP personnel, and current and former state officials; and,
> (b) Provide the ICTY access to all pertinent VJ and MUP archives and
> documents.

- >
- > 7. In relation to support for international community policy in Kosovo,
- > the FRY should:
- >
- > (a) stop financing parallel security forces such as the Mitrovica
- > "bridge-watchers";
- > (b) withdraw VJ, MUP, State Security (DB) and military
- > counterintelligence
- > (KOS) personnel;
- > (c) stop financing parallel civilian administrative structures;
- > (d) support the United Nations Mission in Kosovo's (UNMIK) efforts to
- > create effective administrative structures in the north; and,
- > (e) release the remaining 78 Albanian political prisoners.

> Belgrade/Brussels, 7 March 2002

van holst en steijnen

From: <joesb@vorstadtzentrum.net>
To: <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>
Sent: donderdag 28 februari 2002 12:42
Subject: "Breaking news" aus Südserbien, dem Kosovo und Belgrad

Das Komitee der Bundesrepublik Jugoslawien für das Sammeln von Daten über Verbrechen gegen die Menschlichkeit und gegen das Internationale Recht, hat Mitte Februar das Buch "Die Opfer des albanischen Terrors in Kosovo und Metochien" veröffentlicht. Das Buch fasst die Daten von 3.430 Menschen, die im Zeitraum vom Januar 1998 bis zum 10. Juni 1999 von albanischen Terroristen entführt und getötet wurden, zusammen. Ilija Simic, der das Buch vorgestellt hat, erinnerte daran, dass in den Statistiken und Aufzählungen auch Opfer aufgezählt sind, die nach dem 10. Juni 1999, also nach dem Einmarsch der KFOR, entführt und getötet wurden.

"Wir haben Daten von 1.835 getöteten und 441 entführten Menschen im Zeitraum vom Januar 1998 bis 10. Juni 1999 in ganz Kosovo und Metochien, und Daten von 1.154 entführten oder verschwundenen Menschen nach dem Einmarsch der internationalen Truppen", betonte Simic. Die meisten der Opfer waren Serben und andere Nichtalbaner.

Indessen geht der Terror der "entwaffneten" UCK weiter - sowohl in Kosovo und Metochien, als auch in Mazedonien. Es folgt eine kurze Zusammenfassung der traurigen Ereignisse vom 9. bis 22. Februar 2002:

Prizren

Der UNMIK-Vertreter Marek Antoni Novicki hat die albanische Bevölkerung aufgefordert, den Serben Milos Nekić in Ruhe zu lassen. Nekić ist einer der wenigen Serben, die noch in Prizren leben. Novicki rief vor allem die albanischen Jugendlichen auf, die Beachtung der Menschenrechte einzuhalten. Der 70-jährige Serbe Milos Nekić darf aus Angst vor den albanischen Extremisten sein Haus nicht verlassen. Auf sein Haus wurden schon mehrere Anschläge verübt. Die UNMIK-Verwaltung wird es wohl nur bei einer "Aufforderung" belassen.

Lipljan

Bewaffnete albanische Terroristen stürmten das Haus der serbischen Familie Kovacevic in Lipljan, im Osten des Amselfeldes, an und erschossen die Eheleute Ljubica und Tomislav Kovacevic. Die einzige Schuld der ermordeten Serben bestand darin, dass sie dem Druck der albanischen Gewalttäter nicht nachgeben und ihr Haus und ihre Heimat Kosovo verlassen wollten. Die NATO-Soldaten entdeckten bei den ethnischen Albanern in der Umgebung von Lipljan größere Mengen von Schusswaffen und Munition. Ob diese Waffen auch beschlagnahmt wurden, ist nicht bekannt.

Skoplje

Albanische Terroristen haben mehrfach Kontrollposten der mazedonischen Polizei unweit der Hauptstadt Skopje beschossen, teilte ein Regierungssprecher mit. Eine Polizeistellung im Vorort Aracinovo sei an einem Tag zwei Mal beschossen, niemand sei aber bei den Angriffen verletzt worden. Albanische Terroristen beschossen mazedonischen Sicherheitskräfte auch aus Dörfern um die Stadt Tetovo nahe der Grenze zur südserbischen Provinz Kosovo und Metochien an.

Quellen: TANJUG, INET NEWS

Weitere Artikel:

1. Return to sender - Seltsame "Stülblüten" während des Prozesses gegen Slobodan Milosevic:

<http://www.vorstadtzentrum.net/cgi-bin/joesb/news/viewnews.cgi?category=all&id=1014927639>

2. Hier werden ein paar Medienmärchen aufgedeckt:

<http://www.vorstadtzentrum.net/cgi-bin/joesb/news/viewnews.cgi?category=all&id=1014486250>

3. "Die Brücke von Varvarin": Skandal im Erfurter Landtag:

<http://www.vorstadtzentrum.net/cgi-bin/joesb/news/viewnews.cgi?category=all&id=1014926381>

4. Südserbien mit Bomben und Granaten:

<http://www.vorstadtzentrum.net/cgi-bin/joesb/news/viewnews.cgi?category=all&id=1014927060>

5. Kosovska Mitrovica, ein "kleines gallisches Dorf":

<http://www.vorstadtzentrum.net/cgi-bin/joesb/news/viewnews.cgi?category=all&id=1014723252>

<http://www.vorstadtzentrum.net/cgi-bin/joesb/news/viewnews.cgi?category=all&id=1014926793>

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van holst en steijnen

From: Despotovic, Ruza <despot@wish.net>
To: Globalreflexion <office@globalreflexion.org>; <speerpunt@wx.nl>; Nico & Neeltje Steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>
Sent: zaterdag 9 maart 2002 19:22
Subject: Fw: - Ljudska prava - NEBOJSA MALIC: The real Balkans madness

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

From: Miroslav Antic
To: sorabia@yahoogroups.com; 'BALKAN'; 'NATO'; 'Siem-News'; 'SNN'; 'SNN-Yahoo'
Cc: K-P-J@yahoogroups.com; HellenicForum@yahoogroups.com; NSP; [ljudska prava](#); SIN; [ARCHIVE](#); 'YUEMB - Ottawa'; diplomat@yuemb.ca; yuambaus@ins.at; 'YU-UN'; 'yuamb-NL'
Sent: Saturday, March 09, 2002 5:56 AM
Subject: - Ljudska prava - NEBOJSA MALIC: The real Balkans madness

NEBOJSA MALIC: OF HUBRIS, HERETICS, AND HERMITS

The real Balkans madness

Empire's absolute power and inherent goodness have been asserted most vigorously over the past decade, often through cluster-bombing anyone who dared stand in its way. To ensure a worldwide understanding that its rulers and legions can do no wrong, it has gone to great lengths to demonize, murder or otherwise destroy any heretics who claimed otherwise, no matter the cost in lives of "collateral damage" – which was, of course, always "regrettable" and "unintentional." Because the Empire said so.

Surely, the most famous heretic of the moment sits in the dock at the Hague Inquisition, fighting a massive quasi-legal, media and political machinery with nothing more than sharp wit and a sharper tongue.

If All Else Fails, Omit

How successful he has been is best illustrated by the deafening silence from the media jackals who had spent the last two weeks howling about the "triumph of justice" and "a new era in international law." Incensed at first that Milosevic even dared challenge their claim to Official Truth, and confounded by his quick demolition of the first two prosecution witnesses, the masters of mendacity decided to cut their losses and run.

After the first two days of cross-examination, reports from the "tribunal" became comparatively scarce, reduced largely to regurgitations of accusations made by various witnesses and the charges leveled against Milosevic. Conveniently omitted was any mention of Milosevic's cross-examination skills, which have already managed to exclude one major witness, utterly demolish three more, and cast doubt on the veracity of others. Having already convicted Milosevic in the court of public relations, they are determined not to allow inconvenient facts to interfere and confuse their populace.

Facts: Whatever We Say

Thus protected by this wall of ignorance, the Inquisition can focus on its appointed task: to rewrite Balkans history. And while the Inquisition is just getting started, its patrons are hard at work on the ground, making sure the reality created there closely matches their desires, and no heretics question the Official Truth.

In Bosnia, laws mean exactly what the occupiers say they mean – no more, no less. In Macedonia, borders and international treaties must bow before omnipotent Imperial generals. In Kosovo, murders of Albanians – most often by other Albanians – are heinous crimes, while murders of Serbs are merely "incidents." And in Serbia, saying things that make the government look bad are close to being blamed on the "axis of evil." Such rampant madness leaves one few choices: pretend everything is fine and accept whatever the Truth of the Day might be; become a heretic and speak out, risking the Empire's towering might; or leave the place, physically or mentally, and seek a more normal universe elsewhere.

Running For the Hills

Most who go for the last option choose to remove themselves physically, abandoning the Balkans for a life of immigrant laborers in Empire's more prosperous holdings – or even the Empire itself. One man, however, did it in a different, most peculiar way.

Ilija Panicic was found by British peacekeepers in the forested mountains of western Bosnia last week, having spent six years in the wild with berries for food and only a mountain bear for company. The former shepherd thought the war was still going on.

Given Bosnia's state of affairs – no pun intended – Panicic sounds positively rational. Fact is, in the mind of most Bosnian citizens, the war really isn't over. Most Bosnian politics is focused on building a stronger state – squandering what few resources can be plundered from the impoverished populace and guaranteeing years of plunder and poverty to come. Protection of property, as beneficial and essential to normal life as state is hostile and detrimental, is the last thing on anyone's mind. Laws that might help that protection are routinely violated, overruled or abused, often by the occupation authorities themselves. Suddenly, berries, bears and harsh winters in Bosnian mountains don't sound so bad.

Depends On What You Mean By "Murder"

Kosovo's new viceroys no doubt appeared regal by berating the Albanians for dragging their feet on electing a puppet government. Yet while *Herr Steiner* was garnering media points, life in Kosovo continued pretty much as normal. Serbs solemnly marked the anniversary of the terrorist attack on a refugee bus. Of three Albanians suspected of the attack, two were released by occupation courts, while one "escaped" from the US fortress-base of Camp Bondsteel.

Occupation authorities in Kosovo are also obsessed with building a State – albeit one in which they hold absolute power. Already there are moves to abolish the self-governing Serbian enclaves and put them under the authority of "elected" Albanian officials, so as to eliminate "parallel government structures." Though they were perfectly legitimate when Albanians used them to secede from Serbia, Kosovo's current rulers have no intention of tolerating any challenge to their supreme power, however symbolic.

While destroying the last remnants of Serbian political organization, though, they are continuing to overlook the rampant trafficking in drugs, arms

and sex slaves, or the equally rampant violent crime. This past Friday, an elderly Serb woman was gunned down on the street, her assailant expending the entire ammo clip of an AK-47 assault rifle. A Serb church in Mitrovica was set on fire the preceding Sunday. The perpetrators remain at large, as usual.

When arrests do occur, they are usually for crimes against Albanians. Two Serbs were arrested in Mitrovica last Thursday morning, on suspicion of killing an Albanian in riots two years ago. The arrest drew protests from the embattled Serb community. Similar protests took place in Pristina a week before, but this time Albanians protested the arrest of two Albanians, charged with killing other *Albanians* in 1998. Go figure.

Campaign Season

Nor do troubles in Kosovo stay confined to that wretched stretch of territory. An American general commanding the eastern occupation zone recently incensed Macedonian authorities by dismissing the treaty between Skopje and Belgrade on regulating their border – which included Kosovo. Apparently, since the treaty would complicate the lives of a few Albanian farmers in the good general's jurisdiction – and since the Empire's might trumps any action by lowly vassals anyway – the border between Macedonia and Kosovo should be wherever the good generals say it is. In all honesty, the Empire has been ignoring Macedonia's northern – and western – border ever since it descended on the peninsula in late 1998 in preparation for the attack on Yugoslavia. NATO troops in Macedonia are absolutely immune to local laws. So, in effect, are most Albanians, who practically control the border with Albania and Kosovo (which is, consequently, not much of a border). If the Macedonian government complains too loudly, it will be accused of "obstructing peace" – as the Treaty of Ohrid is called in official-speak. On the first anniversary of the Albanian rebellion, February 25, Reuters chose to air the insidious suggestions of the – who else? – ICG, that a new war depends on whether a conflict serves the interest of "those in power." That is, the Macedonian government. At the same time, a report in the British press claims the Albanians have rearmed thanks to Afghan heroin profits, and are ready to go. March is traditionally the beginning of campaign season in the Balkans. We will find out soon enough.

Too Many Cooks in the Kitchen...

No report on Balkans madness would be complete without the mention of current government in Serbia. Its eighteen components and countless appendages continue to flail about incoherently, singing praises to themselves while the country sinks into the mire largely of their making. Never mind that unemployment is close to 50%, or that the new EU proposal for a joint state with Montenegro (which both sides find loathsome) might be a back door for a protectorate. What really matters is that *The Economist* celebrates Zoran Djindjic's politically correct, "tidy Teutonic mind," presenting him as some sort of "good German" for the 21st century, or that *The New York Times* is enchanted with the charms of "liberated" Belgrade, whose bombing into the Stone Age it vigorously advocated just three years ago. The ultimate ironic twist might just be that *Germany* is lending Serbia money to repair and upgrade a power grid devastated by NATO, and used by the current regime to rob the people blind with outrageous and often fraudulent bills.

One almost wishes for the Serbian equivalent of western Bosnia mountains – bears, berries and all.

Nebojsa Malic

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Tegen Ohrid-akkoord Albanezen Macedonië liggen ²⁰⁰¹ dwars

SKOPJE, 31 OKT. Eén van de twee partijen van de Albanese minderheid in Macedonië neemt afstand van het akkoord van Ohrid, omdat ze zich niet kan verenigen met de amendementen die zijn aangebracht.

De Partij van Democratische Welvaart (PDP), de kleinste van de twee politieke partijen van de Albanese minderheid in Macedonië, liet gisteren bij monde van vice-voorzitter Ismet Ramadani weten volledig achter het akkoord van Ohrid te staan, dat zijn PDP en de andere grote partijen in Macedonië hebben ondertekend, maar tegen de amendementen te zijn die sindsdien in de tekst zijn aangebracht. Als de PDP in het parlement het akkoord afwijst, maakt het nog wel degelijk een kans met de vereiste tweederde meerderheid te worden goedgekeurd – de PDP heeft maar tien van de 120 zetels. Maar waarnemers gaan ervan uit dat het akkoord aanzienlijk wordt verzwakt als het niet door alle partijen wordt gesteund; de PDP zou bovendien een vergaarbak kunnen worden van Albanese hardliners die tegen het akkoord zijn.

Het akkoord van Ohrid, gesloten in augustus onder auspiciën van de internationale gemeenschap, is bedoeld om de status en de rechten van de Albanese minderheid in Macedonië te verbeteren. In ruil voor aanzienlijke concessies van de Macedoniërs staakte het Albanese rebellenleger UÇK zijn militaire strijd in de gebieden van de minderheid. Het leverde duizenden wapens in en ontbond zich. In principe had tegelijkertijd – eind september – het Macedonische

parlement het Ohrid-akkoord moeten goedkeuren, maar dat is nog altijd niet gebeurd.

De amendementen waartegen de PDP protesteert betreffen de omschrijving van de etnische minderheden in de preambule van de Macedonische grondwet. Tot dusverre worden de Albanese als „minderheid” omschreven. Ze eisten als „volk” te worden genoemd, net zoals de Macedoniërs.

In Ohrid werd men het daarover eens, maar later kwam het tot felle protesten aan de kant van de Macedoniërs, de Macedonische media en vooral de VMRO, de (regerende) partij van de Macedonische nationalist. President Boris Trajkovski van Macedonië concludeerde dat hij het akkoord niet door het parlement kon loodsen en sloeg alarm.

Afgelopen weekende werd na bemiddeling van topdiplomaat Javier Solana van de Europese Unie overeenstemming bereikt over een wijziging van de tekst. De Albanese en de andere minderheden worden in de nieuwe preambule van de grondwet nog steeds als volk bestempeld, maar niet in één adem met het Macedonische volk; dat Macedonische volk is volgens de huidige formulering belangrijker dan de minderheden.

De PDP weigert met dat compromis in te stemmen. (Reuters, AFP)

Opmars politie in Albanees Macedonië

SKOPJE – De Macedonische politie heeft gisteren haar gezag hersteld over twaalf dorpen die in handen waren van etnisch-Albanese rebellen. In drie andere dorpen hielden dorpsbewoners de politie echter tegen.

Regeringswoordvoerder Tanevski zei dat licht gewapende patrouilles, bestaande uit zowel Macedonische als etnisch-Albanese manschappen, het gezag in zeven dorpen bij de noordwestelijke stad Tetovo hadden overgenomen. Ook in vijf dorpen bij de stad Gostivar, ongeveer 25 kilometer ten zuiden van Tetovo, was het gezag van de centrale regering hersteld. De operatie vond plaats onder toezicht van internationale waarnemers en Navo-militairen.

Boze etnisch-Albanese bewoners van het dorp Florino blokkeerden de wegen naar hun eigen dorp en naar nog twee dorpen, alle drie in de omgeving van Gostivar, zei Tanevski. Een vertegen-

woordiger van de Europese Unie zei dat de dorpsbewoners geen vertrouwen stellen in de Macedonische politie. Twee andere dorpen konden niet worden bereikt vanwege hevige sneeuwval.

De operatie is een uitvloeisel van het in augustus gesloten vredesplan dat een einde maakte aan zes maanden van etnisch-Albanese opstand. Het plan is gebaseerd op herstel van het centrale gezag in de etnisch-Albanese gebieden in ruil voor meer rechten voor de etnisch-Albanese minderheid.

De regering heeft nu 59 van de honderd opstandige dorpen weer in handen. De etnische Albanese eisen dat het parlement een amnestiewet aanneemt voordat zij de overige dorpen overdragen.

Het is nog steeds onrustig in Macedonië. Zondag kwam een 37-jarige Macedoniër om door een bomontploffing in een voorstad van Skopje. Ook zou er zondagochtend zijn geschoten bij de noordwestelijke stad Tetovo.

Servië geeft regio Vojvodina deel autonomie terug

Door onze correspondent

BELGRADO, 24 JAN. Het Servische parlement heeft gisteren met uiterst krappe meerderheid ingestemd met de teruggave van een deel van de provinciale autonomie aan de regio Vojvodina. De Vojvodina raakte (met Kosovo) haar grondwettelijk gegarandeerde autonomie onder de Servische leider (en latere Joegoslavische president) Slobodan Milošević kwijt.

De krappe overwinning tekent de verdeeldheid binnen de Servische politiek. Van de 235 parlementariërs die hun stem uitbrachten stemden er 119 voor. 74 stemden tegen en 42 onthielden zich van stemming. Onder de voorstemmers bevonden zich leden van de partij van de Servische premier Zoran Djindjić, onder de onthouders leden van de partij van de Joegoslavische president Vojislav Koštunica. De aanhangers van oud-president Milošević stemden tegen.

Vojvodina zal zo'n tweehonderd juridische bevoegdheden terugkrijgen, onder meer op het gebied van landbouw en cultuur. De emoties liepen tijdens het twee dagen durende debat hoog op. De voorstanders bleken gevoelig voor het Vojvodijnse argument dat de landbouwregio te weinig eigen bevoegdheden heeft en te grote financiële offers brengt in vergelijking met de rest van Servië. In het sterk gecentraliseerde Servië kon de Vojvodina niet beschikken over de opbrengst van belastingen en haar industriële en landbouwproductie: alles moest aan Belgrado worden afgedragen. De tegenstan-

ders en de onthouders vrezen dat meer autonomie leidt tot een opsplitsing van Servië en soortgelijke eisen van andere Servische regio's, ook al hadden die in het verleden nooit de autonomie die de Vojvodina en Kosovo wel hadden.

Nenad Canak, de pro-autonomie-leider van de Vojvodina, verwelkomde gisteren de beslissing van het parlement. „Dit is een positieve stap in de richting van volledige autonomie.” Hij waarschuwde echter dat er meer nodig is. Hij hield ook de geringe marge tijdens de stemming. „Die laat zien dat we de nationalist nog niet kwijt zijn.”

Canak staat bekend als een opvliegende man. Onlangs scheurde hij in een tv-uitzending het logo van de publieke omroep van de muur uit onvrede met de bemoeienis uit de Servische hoofdstad Belgrado.

Ook andere leiders hekelden het geringe verschil tussen de verschillende groeperingen. „We zijn klaarblijkelijk nog niet bevrijd van de geesten uit het verleden, de nationalist”, aldus Jozef Kasa, vice-premier van Servië en leider van de Hongaarse minderheid in de Vojvodina. Hij zei zich „bitter” te voelen over de stemverhouding van gisteren.

De Vojvodina kreeg, net als Kosovo, in 1974, onder Tito, een grondwettelijk gegarandeerde autonomie. Maar in 1989 ontnam Slobodan Milošević beide Servische provincies die bevoegdheden, in het kader naar zijn streven naar een Servisch machtsmonopolie binnen Joegoslavië.

van holst en steijnen

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Press Release No. 01/31
June 11, 2001

International Monetary Fund
700 19th Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20431 USA

IMF Approves US\$249 Million Stand-By Credit for the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

The Executive Board of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) today approved a stand-by credit of SDR 200 million (about US\$249 million) for the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) through March 31, 2002 in support of the government's economic program. This decision will enable the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to draw SDR 50 million (about US\$62 million) immediately. Three installments of SDR 50 million could follow after the conclusion of quarterly reviews of the program.

Following the Executive Board discussion, Stanley Fischer, First Deputy Managing Director and Acting Chairman, said:

"The FRY authorities have embarked with impressive speed and commitment on the extremely difficult task of reconstructing their devastated economy. Maintaining this momentum will be key to building broad political support for the reform and securing its sustainability.

"The Fund-supported program provides for strong macroeconomic policies coupled with bold structural reforms. Adherence to the program's credit and fiscal targets will be important to reduce inflation and create an environment that is supportive of reform. Significantly, important structural reforms—including the liberalization of the foreign exchange and trade systems, and a radical reform of the fiscal system—have been implemented upfront. Moreover, the authorities have formulated and started to implement a bank resolution strategy in collaboration with the IMF and the World Bank, while a new transparent privatization framework is about to be adopted in the coming weeks.

"In Montenegro, significant institutional reforms have been introduced over the past several years, and the recent adoption of the DM (euro) as its sole legal tender has contributed to financial stability. However, the fiscal situation has worsened this year, which points to the need for strong corrective measures. There is also a need to make progress in bank restructuring and enterprise privatization.

"While the authorities' policy achievements so far have been impressive, their sustainability will critically require that the underlying causes of the macroeconomic imbalances are addressed, by restructuring the banking and enterprise sectors, improving financial discipline in the economy, and restoring fiscal sustainability. The authorities are aware of the challenges and difficult decisions ahead, and have appropriately emphasized the development of an adequate social safety net as a means of maintaining broad support for their reform policies.

"In addition to strong policy efforts by the Yugoslav authorities, progress toward sustainable growth and external viability will require strong support from creditors and donors, and external debt sustainability will not be achieved without concessional debt relief from bilateral creditors. The forthcoming Donor Conference on June 29 will provide the international community the opportunity to demonstrate its support by committing program and project assistance in line with FRY's estimated needs," Mr. Fischer said.

ANNEX

Program Summary

The program aims to achieve rapid disinflation and a moderate recovery in output. Real GDP is expected to grow by around 5

percent in 2001, owing mainly to a rebound in agricultural output after last year's drought. The rest of the economy will probably grow by 2-3 percent, with the positive effects from the removal of the economic sanctions being moderated by the effects of enterprise restructuring as well as capacity constraints. The program aims at lowering 12-month retail price inflation, by end-2001, to around 30-35 percent in Serbia and 6½ percent in Montenegro.

Macroeconomic policies in Serbia will be constrained by the severe demonetization and new burdens on the budget. Fiscal and monetary policies will impose strict limits on credit expansion to the government and the rest of the economy. Specifically, the fiscal program emphasizes reliance on foreign assistance and privatization receipts to meet the new burdens on the budget, and limits the government's recourse to the banking system to the equivalent of 0.6 percent of GDP in 2001. Montenegro is set to implement important policy measures, including on the fiscal front regarding expenditure cuts in the areas of subsidies, investment, and other discretionary spending.

Monetary policy will be geared to lowering inflation. The monetary program for Serbia cautiously assumes a gradual recovery of confidence in the dinar. Exchange rate policy will be reviewed on a quarterly basis owing to uncertainties about underlying external sector developments. In Montenegro, the reliance on the deutsche mark as the sole legal tender will contribute to financial discipline.

On the structural front, Serbia has already implemented a major budget and tax reforms to enhance fiscal efficiency and transparency; liberalized very restrictive foreign exchange and trade systems; freed most prices; generally raised public utility tariffs; and initiated a series of large increases in electricity prices. The Serbian authorities have started to carry out a bank resolution strategy and to improve legal and regulatory framework for privatization, and expect to make significant progress in both these areas during the life of the program. Montenegro intends to continue enterprise privatization, bank restructuring, and further fiscal and trade reforms.

Despite the envisaged strong policy effort and considerable commitments of external assistance, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia faces a sizable financing gap of about US\$10.7 billion in 2001, reflecting both large import needs and external debt servicing obligations (including external debt arrears of US\$9.6 billion). The current account deficit (before grants) is projected to widen to 17½ percent of GDP (about US\$1.8 billion) in 2001 from 8¼ percent of GDP (about US\$700 million) in 2000. The financing gap could be filled partly by program and project assistance, and partly by debt relief.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia joined the IMF on December 14, 1992; its quota¹ is SDR 467.7 million (about US\$583 million). The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia's outstanding use of IMF credits totals SDR 117 million (about US\$146 million).

Table 1. Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia/Montenegro): Selected Economic and Financial Indicators, 1996-2001 1/

| | 1996 | 1997 | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 | 2001 |
|---|------------------|--------|--------|--------|-------|-------------|
| | | | | | Prel. | Prel. Proj. |
| Real economy | | | | | | |
| GDP, in millions of US dollars | 14,455 | 16,556 | 13,889 | 10,155 | 8,071 | 10,231 |
| Average net real wage, 1994=100 | 120 | 146 | 150 | 129 | 150 | 150 |
| Average net wage in DM, at gray market exchange rates | 155 | 206 | 169 | 109 | 99 | 149 |
| | (Percent change) | | | | | |
| Real GDP | 7.8 | 10.1 | 1.9 | -15.7 | 5.0 | 5.0 |
| Industrial production | 7.6 | 9.5 | 3.6 | -22.5 | 10.9 | 0.0 |
| Retail prices (annual average) | 92.7 | 18.5 | 29.8 | 42.4 | 71.8 | 86-89 |
| Retail prices (end of period) | ... | ... | ... | 49.9 | 113.5 | 30-35 |
| Unemployment rate (in percent) 2/ | 25.8 | 25.8 | 25.1 | 26.5 | 27.3 | ... |
| | (Percent of GDP) | | | | | |
| General government finances 3/ | | | | | | |
| Revenue 4/ | ... | ... | ... | ... | 38.8 | 39.9 |
| Expenditure | ... | ... | ... | ... | 39.7 | 45.9 |
| <i>Of which:</i> Budget for reconstruction and recovery | ... | ... | ... | ... | 0.0 | 2.3 |
| Cash balance | ... | ... | ... | ... | -0.9 | -6.1 |
| Domestic financing | ... | ... | ... | ... | 0.1 | 0.6 |
| Foreign financing | ... | ... | ... | ... | 0.0 | 2.9 |
| Foreign grants | ... | ... | ... | ... | 0.8 | 1.2 |
| Privatization receipts | ... | ... | ... | ... | 0.0 | 1.4 |
| Commitment balance 5/ | ... | ... | ... | ... | -3.0 | -6.1 |

| Money supply (end-of-period) | (Percent change) | | | | | |
|--|-------------------------------|------|------|------|------|-------|
| M1 6/ | ... | ... | ... | 47.3 | 85.1 | 36.0 |
| M2 6/ 7/ | ... | ... | ... | 67.6 | 61.4 | 20.4 |
| Balance of payments | (In billions of U.S. dollars) | | | | | |
| Merchandise exports 8/ | 2.0 | 2.4 | 3.0 | 1.7 | 1.9 | 2.1 |
| Merchandise imports | -4.1 | -4.8 | -4.8 | -3.3 | -3.8 | -4.5 |
| Trade balance | -2.1 | -2.4 | -1.9 | -1.6 | -1.8 | -2.4 |
| Current account balance, after grants 9/ | -0.6 | -1.6 | -0.7 | -0.8 | -0.4 | -1.2 |
| (In percent of GDP) | -4.1 | -9.4 | -5.0 | -7.5 | -5.0 | -11.4 |
| Current account balance, before grants 9/ | -0.6 | -1.6 | -0.7 | -0.8 | -0.7 | -1.8 |
| (In percent of GDP) | -4.1 | -9.4 | -5.0 | -7.5 | -8.3 | -17.7 |
| Foreign debt (year-end) 10/ | ... | ... | ... | ... | 11.7 | 12.5 |
| Gross official reserves | ... | ... | ... | 0.3 | 0.5 | 0.7 |
| (In months of imports of goods and services) | ... | ... | ... | 1.1 | 1.5 | 1.7 |

Sources: Federal Statistical Office; National Bank of Yugoslavia; Ministry of Finance of the Federal Republic; Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Serbia; and Fund staff estimates.

1/ With the exception of money supply and foreign debt, data for 1999-2001 exclude Kosovo. GDP excludes Kosovo throughout.

2/ Excludes workers on "forced holiday" (about 20-25 percent of the labor force in recent years).

3/ Fiscal operations of all levels of government, except for Montenegro where it excludes local governments.

4/ Excludes foreign grants.

5/ Excludes arrears of local governments and most interest payments on foreign debt due but not paid.

6/ From 1999 onwards excludes Montenegro.

7/ Frozen foreign-currency deposits are excluded and other foreign-currency deposits are valued at parallel market rates until September 2000 and at YUD 30 per DM thereafter.

8/ From 1996, includes previously unrecorded exports of about US\$0.2 billion.

9/ In 2000-01, includes previously unrecorded transfers of US\$0.6 billion.

10/ Includes arrears on unpaid imports of fuel and gas.

¹ A member's quota in the IMF determines, in particular, the amount of its subscription, its voting weight, its access to IMF financing, and its allocation of SDRs.

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Parels tussen het gruis: een nieuw handboek

Parels tussen het gruis, dat is de titel van het Press Now handboek voor 'onze' trainers dat bijna gereed is. Het geeft informatie die van belang is als men een journalistieke training geeft op de Balkan, zeker als het 'de eerste keer' betreft. Hoe werk je met een tolk? Welke onderwerpen wil je aan bod laten komen tijdens je training? Hoe ontwikkel je een goede relatie tussen trainer en de mensen die getraind worden?

Het trainen van journalisten is essentieel voor de ontwikkeling van sterke onafhankelijke media op de Balkan. Press Now heeft jarenlange ervaring op dit terrein. Een aantal journalisten uit Nederland gaat met enige regelmaat op ons verzoek naar verschillende landen op de Balkan om een training te geven. Van verslaggeving tot onderzoeksjournalistiek. Veelal jonge, relatief onervaren journalisten van verschillende media komen één a twee weken bij elkaar om getraind te worden.

Hoewel we nog steeds van mening zijn dat dit een goede manier is, waarin met name geïnvesteerd wordt in de ontwikkeling van individuele journalisten kregen we steeds meer het gevoel dat deze aanpak niet langer genoeg was. De situatie op de Balkan is (of lijkt in elk geval) stabiel dan in de jaren '90. Media zijn bezig hun individuele positie te versterken en maken plannen voor de toekomst. Mediavertegenwoordigers uiten een toegenomen behoefte aan zogeheten *on-the-job* trainingen. Er is behoefte aan deskundigen die voor een langere tijd bij een bepaalde krant, radio- of televisiestation of aan een faculteit journalistiek meelopen om hun collega's vragen te stellen, te adviseren, te bekritisieren en te ondersteunen.

We besloten een poging te wagen ons trainingsaanbod uit te breiden en te variëren. In een advertentie in een aantal vakbladen voor journalisten en op onze website hebben we aangekondigd op zoek te zijn naar deskundigen die geïnteresseerd zijn in een dergelijke klus op de Balkan.

Zeer veel reacties waren het gevolg. Een bewijs dat journalisten in Nederland nog steeds heel betrokken zijn bij hun collega's op de Balkan.

In deze Nieuwsbrief vindt u een artikel van de hand van Tom Harkema, hoofd oplage van de Friese Pers. Hij is naar Zuid-Albanië geweest om met lokale kranten hun mogelijkheden op het gebied van marketing (oplagevergroting, advertenties) te onderzoeken. Een goed voorbeeld van deze nieuwe aanpak.

Anique ter Welle, hoofd trainingen Press Now

Impressies van achter het front – verslag van een bezoek aan Macedonië

Woensdag 28 maart. Skopje. Op de autoradio horen we dat het UCK (het Albanese Nationale Bevrijdingsfront voor Macedonië) een nieuw front heeft geopend, ditmaal vlak bij Skopje. De oorlog lijkt verder te escaleren. De etnisch Macedonische partijen dreigen hun aanhang te mobiliseren. 's Middags, op de terugweg vanuit Stip, passeren we een eerste busje volgeladen met stoere kerels, zwaaiend met de Macedonische vlag.

Maar niet alles is wat het lijkt. De stoere kerels blijken voetbalsupporters. Die avond wint Turkije met 3-1 van Macedonië. De supporters verlaten rustig het stadion, nog voor de wedstrijd is afgelopen. Gelukkig verliest diezelfde avond Albanië haar thuiswedstrijd van Engeland, zodat het evenwicht tussen Macedoniërs en Albanen - althans op het voetbalveld - hersteld is. In de bergen heeft intussen het Macedonische leger de overhand, gesteund door helikopters die hals-overkop uit Oekraïne zijn overgebracht. De rebellen worden teruggedreven naar de grens met Kosovo. De volgende dagen zal het leger bezig zijn de bergen ten noorden van Skopje uit te kammen op achtergebleven rebellen, zoals ze ook rond Tetovo nog enige tijd bezig is.

Rebellen, terroristen of - in het politiek correcte jargon van de VN - MAAG (Macedonian Albanian Armed Groups). Voor een buitenstaander

is het moeilijk een beeld te krijgen. Zelfs al praat je dagelijks met journalisten en hoofdredacteuren van de voornaamste Macedonische media - uiteindelijk ben je aangewezen op CNN of de samenvattingen op internet. Samen met collegae van zusterorganisaties als het Zweedse Helsinki Comité, de Soros Foundation en Medienhilfe (Zwitserland) reis ik enkele dagen door Macedonië om te kijken hoe we de media in deze omstandigheden kunnen steunen.

In Tetovo - de tweede stad van Macedonië en het centrum van Albanese nationalisme - hebben we een afspraak met de eigenaren van de diverse radio- en TV-stations uit de stad - Albanese en Macedonisch. Dagenlang is er gevochten in de bergen vlak bij de stad. Ook de stad zelf lag onder vuur van de rebellen. De hooggelegen zenders van de diverse stations zijn in de gevechten vernield. Dat betekent dat de inwoners van Tetovo al dagen voor hun informatie zijn aangewezen op de staats-TV of helemaal geen nieuws ontvangen. Ook de vele vluchtelingen uit de stad krijgen maar mondjesmaat informatie over hoe het er in hun stad voor staat. Er is een plan om snel noodzenders op te richten, maar het is vooralsnog te gevaarlijk om de bergen in te gaan.

Intussen worden de radio- en TV-stations overspoeld door buitenlandse journalisten, die informatie willen hebben, of even de telefoon willen gebruiken of internet willen raadplegen. Al dagen komen de lokale journalisten (etnisch Albanese en Macedonisch) nauwelijks aan hun eigenlijke werk toe. Bovendien hebben ze geen geld om de extra kosten te betalen voor al die internationale telefoontjes. En buitenlanders om geld vragen past niet. Dus vragen ze ons om geld. Ons kennen ze. Onze opmerking dat die journalisten heus wel in staat en bereid zijn om onkosten en tijd te vergoeden, vindt weinig gehoor.

De journalisten uit Skopje, waar we een paar dagen later mee praten, hebben andere problemen. De tegenstellingen hier zijn groter. In Tetovo zit iedereen in hetzelfde schuitje. Maar in Skopje komen de Albanese journalisten niet opdagen. Met de overige (etnisch Macedonische) journalisten bespreken we de veiligheid. Er wordt gesproken over het beschikbaar stellen van kogelvrije vesten en een veiligheidstraining voor journalisten. Ook hier praten we over de buitenlandse pers.

Aleksander Damovski, hoofdredacteur van het dagblad Dnevnik is woedend. Jarenlang werden aan Macedonische journalisten westerse media ten voorbeeld gesteld en nu lezen ze in diezelfde media over zichzelf, over 'orthodoxe Slaven, nauw verwant aan de Serviërs en met weinig gevoel voor humor' die vechten tegen 'Albanezen, voornamelijk moslims, slim, geestig en sluw'. Stereotiepen vieren hoogtij. In de zucht naar sensatie wordt het conflict opgeklopt tot een ware burgeroorlog - en zover is het gelukkig nog niet in Macedonië.

Steven Assies, projectmedewerker Macedonië en Montenegro Press Now

N.B. Press Now draagt in Macedonië onder andere bij aan het plaatsen van nieuwe zenders in Tetovo, de organisatie van veiligheidstrainingen voor journalisten, (financiële) noodhulp aan radio- en televisiestations, het opzetten van een tweetalig radiostation en training van journalisten.

'The South is ours!'

Strategie voor regionale kranten in Albanië

Via Trouw, waar ik van 1989 tot 1998 dagbladmanager ben geweest, nodigde Rudie van Meurs me begin 1999 uit voor een gesprek bij Press Now, een club die ik vaag kende. De kennismaking zou snel intensief worden. Ik was inmiddels hoofd oplage geworden van de Friese Pers, uitgever van de Leeuwarder Courant, en Press Now zag me als een sparringpartner bij hun streven meer te investeren in kennis op het gebied van marketing en management.

In september van dat jaar bezocht ik samen met Press Now project-officer Zoran Djukanovic diverse kranten en RTV-stations in Bosnië: een intensieve week voor iemand die vanuit de pers redelijk bekend was met de politieke situatie ter plekke, maar weinig wist van het mediaveld. Een goede kennismaking met de kansen en bedreigingen die uitgevers in Bosnië tegenkomen volgde, maar ik was over mijn eigen rol enigszins ambivalent. Waar moet je beginnen, wat hebben ze aan jou (theoretische) kennis en ervaring; ook leek het of niet iedereen zat te wachten op goedbedoelde adviezen uit Nederland.

In de contacten die ik daarna met Press Now had, kristalliseerde mijn rol zich verder uit. Dit leidde ertoe dat ik in februari jongstleden naar Albanië vertrok om daar een aantal regionale kranten te bezoeken en te praten met de uitgevers. Sinds een jaar worden deze, nog zeer kleine kranten, gesteund door Press Now. Het doel van mijn bezoek was tweeledig:

- onderzoeken of voortzetting van de steun gerechtvaardigd is;
- waar mogelijk de uitgevers ondersteunen in denken en doen op strategisch, management- en marketinggebied.

Samen met Saimir Misiri, de Press Now-vertegenwoordiger in Albanië reisde ik langs de kranten. Er is natuurlijk een wereld van verschil tussen een goed renderend bedrijf als de Friese Pers, waar de Leeuwarder Courant meer dan honderd journalisten in dienst heeft en een betaalde dagelijkse oplage kent van ruim 112.000 exemplaren en bijvoorbeeld de in Lushnje verschijnende 'Hapësirë Mendimi', met een wekelijkse oplage van zo'n 1.000 exemplaren en een staf van een of twee mensen die ongeveer vanuit de slaapkamer hun krant in elkaar zetten en daarnaast ook allerlei andere uitgeeftaken voor hun rekening nemen. Toch zijn er raakvlakken. Ook in Albanië moet een sluitend businessplan worden gemaakt met daarin heldere doelstellingen en een overzicht van de wijze waarop men die doelstellingen wil verwezenlijken. Via een goede distributie en de juiste verkooptechnieken moet je de oplage zien te vergroten. En omdat je als krantenuitgever nooit alleen van lezers kunt leven, zijn meer advertentiepagina's van levensbelang. Dus moet je potentiële adverteerders in kaart brengen, hen bezoeken en dit omzetten in volume. Allemaal gemakkelijker gezegd dan gedaan, maar toch moet het gebeuren.

Samenwerking is volgens mij het parool. Alleen door zo snel mogelijk een zodanige schaal te bereiken dat je interessant wordt voor (grote en kleine) adverteerders en je bovendien qua marktpositie een vuist kunt maken tegen landelijke dagbladen, kun je op termijn selfsupporting worden. Immers: onafhankelijkheid is niet alleen gekoppeld aan journalistieke principes maar ook aan financiële zelfbeschikking. Mijn Albanese gesprekspartners werken al samen door hun kranten

allemaal in Berat te drukken en ze zijn van plan ook gezamenlijk advertenties te werven. Het is de vraag of deze samenwerking ver genoeg gaat. Ook redactioneel valt er het een en ander te doen, lijkt me, om een echte factor van betekenis in de regio te worden.

Het is de bedoeling dat enkele vertegenwoordigers van de Albanese media binnenkort nader kennismaken met de aanpak bij Nederlandse uitgeverij. De Friese Pers is daarbij graag gastheer. Behalve de Leeuwarder Courant, geeft het bedrijf ook nieuws- en huis-aan-huisbladen uit. Juist die categorie kan interessant zijn voor regionale media met een nog beperkte oplage in een niet al te groot verspreidingsgebied.

Tom Harkema, hoofd oplage de Friese Pers

Brengt het Pact stabiliteit op de Balkan?

Het Stabiliteitspact, zo zei staatssecretaris Benschop onlangs, moet veranderen van een voornamelijk post-conflict instrument in een pragmatisch coördinerend mechanisme dat zich met name richt op de regionale invalshoek. Benschop was spreker op een Press Now debat in januari dit jaar. Volgens hem is het Stabiliteitspact nooit bedoeld als Marshallplan voor de Balkan.

Ook de tegenovergestelde opvatting bestaat dat het Stabiliteitspact, gelanceerd in Sarajevo in de nadagen van de Kosovo-oorlog, wel degelijk bedoeld was als Marshallplan. Met als doel steun te bieden aan de Balkan, omstandigheden te creëren om buitenlandse hulp te implementeren en vrede, stabiliteit, democratie en markteconomische hervormingen te bevorderen.

Hoe het ook zij, critici beweren dat, in tegenstelling tot de hulp die na de Tweede Wereldoorlog op gang kwam, het succes van het Pact wordt bemoeilijkt door discussies over leiderschap en donorcoördinatie. De belangrijkste reden voor de ineffectiviteit van het Pact is het gebrek aan een heldere strategie, aldus de directeur van het Open Society Institute in Brussel, Mabel Wisse Smit, tijdens het Press Now debat.

Er is geen plan, aldus Wisse Smit. De politieke rol van de Europese Unie is versterkt, met name Javier Solana's kantoor. Het Pact speelt geen politieke rol. Hulp coördineren? Dat is moeilijk volgens critici. Donoren die bijdragen aan het Pact willen volledige controle houden over hun fondsen, waarmee ze het Stabiliteitspact reduceren tot een distributiesysteem voor projecten. Het Pact heeft de bevoegdheid noch de mogelijkheid het werk van donoren en andere organisaties te coördineren, aldus Wisse Smit.

Volgens Benschop heeft het Pact desalniettemin een belangrijke rol te vervullen: als coördinator en initiator van regionale activiteiten. Het Pact kan financiering van geïdentificeerde projecten garanderen, aldus de staatssecretaris. En dat is precies wat het Pact tot nu toe heeft geprobeerd.

Het Stabiliteitspact is onderverdeeld in drie zogeheten werktafels: 1) democratisering en mensenrechten, 2) economische reconstructie en samenwerking, en 3) veiligheidszaken. Een van de afdelingen van werktafel 1 is de Media Task Force. De eerste taak van deze werktafels was om een selectie te maken van die projecten die voor snelle implementatie in aanmerking kwamen, de zogeheten 'quick start' projecten.

Het Stabiliteitspact heeft aanzienlijke mogelijkheden, met 34 landen en een aantal grote internationale overheidslichamen achter zich. Tijdens een regionale conferentie in maart 2000, werd 2.4 miljard Euro toegezegd door donoren voor de 'quick start' projecten. Veel meer dan de 1.8 miljard die nodig was voor de geselecteerde projecten.

Vanaf toen is begonnen met de implementatie van deze projecten. Kritiek is er nog steeds, met name dat de projecten te veel in het Westen zijn bedacht, dus onvoldoende geworteld zijn in de Balkanlanden zelf. Ook is de regionale aanpak niet zo geschikt voor een aantal sectoren van het Pact, zoals bijvoorbeeld media.

Dessi Damianova, onderzoeker Press Now

Press Now Jaarverslag 2000

In juni is het jaarverslag van Press Now over het jaar 2000 gereed. In het jaarverslag wordt een overzicht gegeven van door ons gefinancierde projecten op de Balkan en van de debatten en de activiteiten die we dat jaar in Nederland hebben georganiseerd. Tevens is een financieel overzicht opgenomen. Sympathisanten en donateurs van Press Now die belangstelling hebben kunnen een exemplaar toegestuurd krijgen (bel: 020-5962000 of stuur een e-mail: pressnow@pressnow.nl). Het jaarverslag is in het Engels. Overigens zal het jaarverslag 2000 ook integraal op onze website komen te staan. (www.dds.nl/pressnow)

Too early to get along

Romanschrijfster Els de Groen heeft nu een reportage-essay geschreven over de huidige situatie in Kosovo. Het boek is gebaseerd op tal van gesprekken met mensen uit alle etnische groepen tijdens een aantal reizen door Kosovo vorig jaar. De Groen laat zien hoe tergend langzaam verdraagzaamheid en tolerantie ontluiken, overschaduwde door wederzijds wantrouwen en afkeer. Het lijkt nog te vroeg voor Albanezen en Serviërs in Kosovo om elkaar aardig te vinden. Het boek verschijnt in Prishtina in drie talen; Engels, Albanees en Servisch. Press Now heeft het boek gefinancierd, deels met geld van andere organisaties. De Engelse versie is vanaf juni ook in Nederland beschikbaar en kan voor NLG 15 bij Press Now besteld worden.

PRESS NOW

Wibautstraat 3 - 5, 1091 GH Amsterdam

Tel. 020-5962000, Fax 020-5962001

e-mail: pressnow@pressnow.nl • website: www.dds.nl/pressnow

van holst en steijnen

From: Despotovic, Ruza <despot@wish.net>
To: Nico & Neeltje Steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>; Ksenija Sigulinski <sigu@worldonline.nl>; Jared Israel <Emperors1000@aol.com>; <Harald.Kampffmeyer@tfed.de>; <HKampffmeyer@aol.com>; Globalreflexion <office@globalreflexion.org>
Sent: maandag 2 juli 2001 14:43
Subject: Fw: Milosevic: Mockery of Justice, Democracy; America's Oil War in Macedonia (TiM GW Bulletin 2001/6-1, May 30, 2001)

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

From: TiM Publisher <publisher@truthinmedia.org>
To: TiM GW Bulletins <tim@tyr.marietta.edu>
Sent: Monday, July 02, 2001 4:29 AM
Subject: Milosevic: Mockery of Justice, Democracy; America's Oil War in Macedonia (TiM GW Bulletin 2001/6-1, May 30, 2001)

> FROM PHOENIX, ARIZONA

>
 > Thought you'd be interested in our latest Truth in Media Global Watch
 > Bulletin which is now available at our Web site, just click on the
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 > (green) THE NEWS button to go to our latest report.
 >
 > Of course, you can also click on the TiM Bulletins Index button in the
 > left
 > frame - to go to selections of our Bulletins archived by geographic
 > regions
 > and subjects, and in chronological order. Or click on any other button in
 > the left frame for other topics of interest.
 >
 > And now, here are the headlines of the latest TiM Bulletin. Just keep in
 > mind that our stories are CONSTANTLY updated, and that the e-mail text
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 > recommend that you keep checking the TiM Web site daily, so that you would
 > not miss out on some important news or commentary updates.

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 > Truth in Media's GLOBAL WATCH Bulletin 2001/6-1 30-Jun-2001
 > -----

> Topic: BALKAN AFFAIRS
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> HEADLINES

> Belgrade 1. Milosevic at the Hague: Mockery of Justice
 > and Democracy

> Skopje 2. U.S. Troops Rescue Albanian Terrorists,
 > Causing Anti-American Riot in

Macedonia

> Ottawa 3. America's War in Macedonia

> London 4. British Helsinki Human Rights Group:

> Anti-western Feelings in Macedonia Are No

Surprise

> Washington 5. Waste-deep in the Balkans and Sinking

> <http://www.truthinmedia.org/Bulletins2001/tim2001-6-1.html>

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 > UNSUBSCRIBE, followed by your e-mail address.

- > bring you in this issue Prof. Michel Chossudovsky's
- > st
- > analysis, also give fresh perspectives on Macedonia from the London-based
- > British Helsinki Human Rights Watch (BHHRW), and the Washington-based Cato
- > Institute. i Human Rights Watch (BHHRW), and the Washington-based Cato
- > as German banks
- > mark and take over the monetary system of
- > successor states.
- > 3
- > Moreover, in the wake of the 1999 war in Yugoslavia, the US has reinforced
- > its strategic, military and intelligence ties with Britain, while Britain
- > has severed many of its ties (particularly in the area of defense and
- > aerospace production) with Germany and France.
- >
- > Launched in early 2000, U.S. Defense Secretary William Cohen and his
- > British counterpart, Geoff Hoon, signed a "Declaration of Principles for
- > Defense Equipment and Industrial Cooperation". 22 Washington's objective
- > was to encourage the formation of a "transatlantic bridge across which the
- > DoD [US Department of Defense] can take its globalization policy to
- > Europe."
- >
- > The US defence industry --which now includes British Aerospace Systems
- > (BaeS)-- is clashing with the Franco-German defense consortium EADS --a
- > conglomerate composed of France's Aerospatiale Matra, Deutsche Aerospace,
- > which is part of the powerful Daimler group, and Spain's CASA. In other
- > words, a major split in the Western military-industrial complex has
- > occurred with the US and Britain on one side and Germany and France on the
- > other.
- >
- > Oil, guns and the Western military alliance are intimately related
- > processes. Washington's design is to eventually ensure the dominance of
- > the

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- >
- > In other words, the New World Order is marked by the
- > and America for "colonial control" over national currencies. And this
- > conflict between "competing capitalist blocks" will become increasingly
- > acute when several hundred million people from Eastern Europe and the
- > Balkans to Central Asia start using the Euro as their "de facto" national
- > currency on January 1st 2002.
- >
- > (See the map at <http://www.bsrec.bg/taskforce/SYNERGY/oilprojects2.html>).
- > Prof. Michel Chossudovsky, Ottawa (e-mail: chossudovsky@vidcotron.ca)
- >
- >
- > 4. British Helsinki Human Rights Group: Anti-western Feelings in Macedonia
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- > LONDON, June 26 - We received the following report from Daniel McAdams, a
- > former member of the British Helsinki Human Rights Group, who has reported
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- > This Group's observers detected unprecedented hostility towards Westerners
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- > crowds which stormed the Macedonian parliament in Skopje on the night of
- > June 25th after a group of Albanian rebels had been escorted to freedom by
- > Nato troops earlier in the day also vented their frustration on Western
- > journalists. The four month crisis in Macedonia provoked by an Albanian
- > guerrilla insurgency has led to repeated calls in the West for the EU and
- > Nato to act as "honest brokers," yet the widespread perception among
- > Macedonians that the insurrection has been facilitated at best by the
- > failure of Western troops to interdict weapons smuggling across the
- > Kosovo-Macedonia border and at worst that collusion between the Albanian
- > guerrillas and Nato's Kfor contingent provoked the violence means that any

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- > US military-industrial complex in alliance with the Anglo-American oil giants and Britain's major defense contractors. These developments evidently also have a bearing on the control over strategic pipelines, transport and communications corridors in the Balkans, Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.
- >
- > In turn, this Anglo-American axis is also matched by increased cooperation between the CIA and Britain's MI5 in the sphere of intelligence and covert operations as evidenced by the role played by British SAS Special Forces in
- > training KLA rebels.
- >
- > WAR, "DOLLARISATION" AND THE NEW WORLD ORDER
- >
- > "Protection" of the pipelines, covert activities and the recycling of drug money in support of armed insurgencies, militarization of strategic corridors, defense procurement to "Partnership for Peace" (PfP) countries are all an integral part of the Anglo-American axis and its quest to dominate oil and gas routes and transport corridors out of the Caspian sea basin and from the Black sea across the Balkans.
- >
- > More generally, what is happening in the broader region linking Eastern Europe and the Balkans to the former Soviet republics is a relentless scramble for control over national economies by competing business conglomerates. And behind this process is the quest by Wall Street's financial establishment—in alliance with the defense and oil giants—to destabilize and discredit the Deutschmark (and the Euro) with a view to imposing the US dollar as the sole currency for the region.
- >
- > Control over "money creation"—imposing the rule of the US Federal Reserve system throughout the World—has become a central feature of US expansionism. In this regard, Washington's military-intelligence ploy not only consists in undermining "EU enlargement", it is also intent upon weakening and displacing the dominion of Germany's largest banking institutions (e.g. Deutsche Bank, Commerzbank and WestDeutsche Landesbank) throughout the Balkans.
- >
- > In other words, the New World Order is marked by the clash between Europe and America for "colonial control" over national currencies. And this conflict between "competing capitalist blocks" will become increasingly acute when several hundred million people from Eastern Europe and the Balkans to Central Asia start using the Euro as their "de facto" national currency on January 1st 2002.
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- "peacekeepers" could face a "rough ride" rather than a friendly option.
- It most humiliated Macedonia by escorting armed guerrillas back to base whatever the sources of the conflict and however ill-advised the Macedonian security forces' response to it since 21st June, by escorting armed guerrillas to safety from their Aracinovo base, US-KFOR troops humiliated Macedonia and spurred the bitter resentment among ethnic Macedonians
- > against what they see as the abuse of their small and fragile country by the great powers of the West who use it as a logistical base and rest-and-recreation area with scant regard for its majority population.
 - > Western intervention and mediation has made matters worse
 - > EU and Nato leaders have flip-flopped on the Macedonian crisis since it started in March. Having condemned Albanian guerrillas in the strongest terms then, now the same leaders denounce the Macedonian security forces with equal intensity. Western meddling has kept the conflict simmering instead of encouraging clear resolution. Now it may be about to explode.
 - > If that happens, it is doubtful if it will remain a two-way conflict between ethnic Albanian rebels based in the hills that separate the country from neighboring Kosovo and the Macedonian army. Leaving aside the potential horrors of an inter-ethnic civil war, it would be naïve to think that Nato could intervene as an honest broker without facing resistance.
 - > Macedonia is not Serbia, the Kosovo model will not work
 - > Unlike Serbia which had faced a decade of sanctions and propaganda warfare for Belgrade's alleged complicity in the Croatian and Bosnian Wars, and was bombed by Nato for its refusal to countenance self-rule for Albanian-majority Kosovo, the suddenness of the crisis and the West's hostility has come as a great shock to Slav Macedonians. Their majority bitterly resents EU/Nato pressure to concede the de facto partition of their country and the abrogation of the norms of constitutional democracy in favour of a Lebanese style ethnic constitution.
 - > Given the widespread perception that the international community in the form of the US, EU and Nato actually caused the violence in order to plunge the country into ungovernability and provide a pretext for setting up an international protectorate on the lines of Bosnia and Kosovo, the fact that the EU has appointed a 'resident' envoy to the country can only compound Macedonian suspicions. A Nato-run protectorate may not be easily or peacefully installed.
 - > Internal or external causes?
 - > Although isolated incidents of racial tension between Macedonians and Albanians have taken place since the country's independence in 1991 Macedonia has been praised for its inclusive constitution and harmonious ethnic relations. Ethnic Albanians are part of the governing coalition in parliament. Only well-organized (and ill-intentioned) interference could have damaged the status quo. Many Macedonians believe that this interference comes from neighbouring Kosovo where c.38,000 Nato troops are based.
 - > Why should the West want to take over the running of a small, poor country like Macedonia with few natural resources? The answer is strategic. The country lies on the route to be taken by oil pipelines set to run from the Black Sea coast in the east to Albania's Adriatic coast. Control of the pipe-line is regarded as essential to the West's long-term energy plans.
 - > BHHRG representatives recently visited Macedonia. They went to Tetovo in the West of the country, to the outskirts of then rebel-occupied village of Aracinovo and nearby Kumanovo which has been without water for several weeks. Other members of the group traveled to Bitola to investigate the recent wave of violence against the small Albanian community in the town.
 - > They talked to politicians, police and journalists and to ordinary citizens both Macedonian and Albanian wherever they went.
 - > This Group has chronicled election fraud as the internal root of crisis
 - > The Group has published several reports since 1994 on Macedonia dealing with general human rights issues as well as conducting several election observation missions. They detailed the derailment of democracy by the post-1998 coalition between the ostensibly Macedonian nationalist party, VMRO, and the equally Albanian nationalist DPA. While Western-dominated institutions like the OSCE blandly endorsed rigged elections based on the manipulation of the ethnic Albanian vote in particular, this Group feared

- > long-term consequences for Macedonian-Albanian relations of basing power on votes provided in rigged circumstances primarily by one ethnic group. This has left President Trajkovski's government with little democratic legitimacy. It is with great sadness that the conclusions reached in this, its latest report, should be so pessimistic.
- > Western collusion with electoral fraud has been compounded by Kfor's collusive approach to policing the Kosovo-Macedonia frontier. This means that the recent tragic events in the country are not the fault of the majority of its citizens, both Macedonian and Albanian, who have found themselves since March the latest pawns in yet another Balkan power-play decided by forces out of their control.
- > The full report is available at <http://www.bhhrg.org/>. For more information, call +44 1865-439483; or contact Mark Almond (+44 07785-625415)
- > or John Laughland (+44208 7419749).
- > _____
- > 5. Waste-deep in the Balkans and Sinking (By Ted Galen Carpenter)
- > WASHINGTON, Apr. 30 - Was the current "Macedonia Crisis" predictable. You betcha. Nor was the TiM editor the only one to see it coming. Here's for example, an excerpt from a Cato Institute policy analysis paper, published on Apr. 30 of this year (you can read the full report by following the URL at the end of this excerpt):
- >
- > Waist Deep in the Balkans and Sinking: Washington Confronts the Crisis in Macedonia
- >
- > Executive Summary
- >
- > The eruption of fighting in Macedonia and in Serbia's Presevo Valley has underscored the bankruptcy of Washington's Balkan policy. NATO cited as its principal reasons for intervening in Kosovo in 1999 the need to stop ethnic cleansing and to prevent a wider war. Yet, since NATO assumed control of Kosovo, there has been a massive reverse ethnic cleansing as Albanian nationalists have driven nearly 90 percent of the province's non-Albanian people from their homes. And now the Kosovo Liberation Army and its offshoots have expanded armed conflict into southern Serbia and Macedonia.
- >
- > Even as the current round of fighting fades, there are ample signs of trouble ahead. By wresting Kosovo from Belgrade's control, the United States and its NATO allies gave Albanian nationalists a base of operations from which they can foment insurgencies across the borders. Their ultimate goal is to create an ethnically pure "Greater Albania" that includes not only Kosovo and Albania but large portions of Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia, and Greece.
- >
- > Rather than face that reality, proponents of current U.S. policy circulate far-fetched myths about the nature of the struggle in the Balkans. Having ignored the accurate warnings about the KLA issued by critics of the original Kosovo mission, interventionists are repeating the same kind of errors.
- >
- > If the United States insists on staying in Kosovo, it faces three unpalatable options. Option 1 is passive accommodation looking the other way while the KLA pursues its agenda. That approach might minimize the danger to American military personnel, but it would virtually guarantee a wider Balkan war in the long run. Option 2 is assertive mediation. That approach risks getting the United States into the middle of the dispute between Albanian nationalists and the governments of Serbia and Macedonia.
- > Option 3 is aggressive confrontation. The United States would conclude that the KLA is now the enemy and would try to crush the Albanian nationalist cause. That strategy would likely lead to serious armed conflict and American casualties.
- >
- > Instead of trying to choose the least dreadful option, Washington should extricate U.S. forces from Kosovo forthwith and transfer responsibility to the European Union. America has no economic or strategic interests that warrant the risks it is incurring. U.S. and European security interests are separable. The United States should disengage and let the Europeans

ple
with making the hard decisions.

Ted Galen Carpenter is vice president for defense and foreign policy studies at the Cato Institute. For the full text of Policy Analysis No. 397, check out <http://www.cato.org/pubs/pas/pa-397es.html>.

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The unruly reality

Up to now three tests have been performed in order to assert the abilities of a missile defence system. All three tests failed. President Clinton, in his final days, wanted to grant his approval to the limited system his administration envisioned, but refrained due to the complete failure of the third test in 2000. It is, of course, rather uncertain, if one is opposed to a NMD, to gamble on the continuous failing of the technology. Meanwhile the curious fact arises that the political debate with Europe, Russia, and China is in full swing while the technical basis for the system is not yet available. In itself this is not new, as with the Star Wars debate we were in a similar situation; but also due to the scepticism about the technology, Star Wars disappeared. It is, however, good to realize oneself in the discussion just how far technology has progressed.

The political necessity

How essential is protection against countries as North-Korea etc? In all cases the U.S.A., in military respect, dwarfs these countries. An offensive war against the U.S.A. is suicide, a possibility maybe only for Saddam Hussein. Authoritative persons as general Butler and former ambassador Gaham Jr. are of the opinion that a possible military threat from these countries can be met with conventional means. Several of these countries are trying to come into closer relations with the West. Only Saddam Hussein's Iraq is unpredictable, but the UNSCOM inspection and the liquidation of missiles and nuclear technology has set back Iraq at least ten years. So we deal with a mixed military-political situation and a limited military threat that can be dealt with by political means. Furthermore China and possibly also India can be provoked into a next round of renewal and construction of nuclear weapons. Already Clinton's concept was sufficient to render China's deterrence useless. For Russia this is not yet the case but even they don't know where it will end, especially with president Bush.

Background

One should realize that a discussion over the dream of invulnerability and its permissibility is too limited. In the end self-defence cannot be disapproved of and the non-aggressive country suffers no ill effects. Also, sensible politicians and soldiers in the U.S.A. will realize the limited threat from the aforementioned countries. The U.S.A. is the only super power in the world currently and the essence of the NMD is that the U.S.A. wants to protect its worldwide political influence, (see ref. 3). In a letter to the Dutch parliament and government several peace organizations point out correctly that the U.S.A. strives for an absolute security that contains an extension of the deterrence by nuclear weapons and detection systems that only the U.S.A. can afford. This causes a certain tension within NATO, where the European continental countries prefer a politics of consultation and negotiation, i.e. cosmopolitical security (see ref. 4). These major differences in political approaches require a fundamental choice of those European countries, either to join the U.S.A. or to hold to an independent course that puts less emphasis on military means.

Bart van der Sijde.
English summary bij Tjalling Tjalkens
For references see page 8.

A new arms race.

The United States of America and the European Union

The fall of the Berlin Wall caused great changes. However, much remains the same. Especially regarding the relations between the U.S.A. and Europe and within Europe. The U.S.A. isn't really in favour of a closer cooperation with Europe regarding Foreign policy and Defense. Within the E.U. France prefers its independent policy, while the U.K. follows the Americans. The Dutch change their alliances often.

Even though NATO and the E.U. do not have a new strategic concept the weapons technology continues to be developed. Think of the space programs and the unmanned weapon systems. The rule is that these developments determine the final strategic concepts. The defense industry is an important economical factor and both the U.S.A. and the E.U. recently strengthened their industries by creating new industrial alliances, Boeing and Lockheed-Martin in the U.S.A. and the EADS in Europe.

The Americans fear that a more united Europe with more modern defense industries will buy its weapon systems within Europe. So, the arms race speeds up. Another factor that increases the development of weapon systems is the formation of the European Intervention force where the idea of strategic equality with the U.S.A. requires the development of airplanes, satellites etc. The U.S.A. currently believes advancements in the area of gathering and processing intelligence and advanced weapon systems to act in this information is necessary. The wish list is endless.

Equality required?

The U.S.A. doesn't need these systems to stay on top of the enemy, but requires them to maintain the leading position in any coalition, NATO as well as the Gulf War. Does Europe really need to be the equal of the U.S.A.? France prefers this, and under its lead naturally. Consider the civil Galileo project, a navigation system like the American Global Positioning System (GPS). During the Gulf War, the U.S.A. blocked the civil use of GPS, so Europe needs its own system. Now it appears that Galileo should also be usable for military purposes to make Europe less dependent on the U.S.A. France is in favour of this while Great-Brittany and the Netherlands oppose it, the classical pattern. The fundamental question, whether Europe should become strategically equal to the U.S.A. has not yet been discussed. It has become time to choose.

Bram Stemerding
English summary bij Tjalling Tjalkens.

Geen oplossing

Vrij snel na de terugtocht van de Serviërs en het instellen van het tijdelijke VN-bestuur keerden meer dan een miljoen vluchtelingen naar (de ruïnes van) hun woonplaatsen terug. Wat dat betreft was de NAVO-operatie succesvol geweest. Maar ongeveer tegelijkertijd werden, min of meer onder de ogen van KFOR, 150000 Serviërs uit hun woonplaatsen verdreven, zonder dat KFOR in staat was dit te voorkomen. De multiculturele samenleving, officieel het doel van het NAVO-ingrijpen, is nog ver weg. Mede door gebrek aan politie-functionarissen is een herstel van de rechtsstaat een moeilijke zaak. De westerse mogendheden hebben steeds vastgehouden aan hun uitgangspunt dat Kosovo deel van Joegoslavië blijft, maar dat de autonomie van Kosovo hersteld moet worden, en de rechten van de minderheden gerespecteerd. Ook in Rambouillet was dit het uitgangspunt. Probleem hierbij is dat noch de Albanezen noch de Serviërs hier iets in zien. De auteurs concluderen dan ook bij dat het zeer de vraag is of Operation Allied Force bijgedragen heeft aan een duurzame stabiliteit. Bewaken van de grenzen blijft voorlopig een NAVO-taak. Een echte oplossing van het Kosovo-conflict is niet in zicht, en het oorlogsgevaar nog niet geweken.

Het boek is geschreven toen Milosevitch nog aan de macht was. M.i. zou het aantreden van Kostunica aan de conclusies weinig veranderen. Het boek is uitgegeven door Ashgate, kosten £40, ISBN 0-7546-1554-5.

Jan Emck.

Nieuw boek van Lafeber.

Enkele malen vond u in ons blad een boekbespreking van een boek van dhr Lafeber. In juli zal een nieuw boek van Lafeber verschijnen, onder de titel:
**BERICHT OVER HET RIJK VAN HET KWAAD.
GESCHIEDENIS VAN DE SOVJET-UNIE.**

Kan besteld worden bij de auteur (013 - 5430340). In een volgend nummer hopen we een boekbespreking te kunnen publiceren.

Stem uit de lezerskring

De taak van Onze Tijd

Zowel het Amerikaanse ('NMD') als het Russische ('Euro-Pro') plan voor de bouw van een raketterschild, getuigen van een schrijnend gebrek aan werkelijkheidszin over de overgangstijd waarin wij leven. Daarmee bedoel ik de periode tussen het recente verleden, "Het Tijdperk van de Koude Oorlog", en de nabije toekomst, "Het Tijdperk van de Warme Vrede". De wereld waarin de mensenrechten zijn verwerkelijkt. Om dit ultieme politieke doel in het vizier te krijgen is niet de bouw van raketterschilden vereist, maar het verbouwen van het partijpolitiek stelsel tot een stelsel gestoeld op consensus. Anders gezegd, op basis van het juiste inzicht over het tijdsgewricht waarin wij (als mensheid) leven, is het dringend geboden dat wij afstand nemen van het achterhaalde, uitzichtloze partij- of machtspolitieke denken uit de "Koude Oorlog Periode" en overschakelen op het bijdetijdse toekomstgerichte consensus-denken, dat oorlog uitsluit.

Deze broodnodige overschakeling brengt op termijn automatisch de alom beoogde wereld in zicht, waarin komende geslachten worden behoed voor de gesel van de oorlog (preambule VN-Handvest).

Het behoeft geen betoog dat met marktgerichte partijpolitieke roergangers van het kaliber Kok (om maar te zwijgen over spierballen-politici als Bush en Poetin) dit mondiaal vredesideaal langzaam maar zeker definitief achter de horizon zal verdwijnen, gelijk met het "Morgenrood" en de "Jongste Dag". Het voorkomen van dit doem-scenario, dat in wezen neerkomt op de bescherming van de mensheid tegen zichzelf (haar eigen ondergang), moet zodoende als "De Taak van Onze Tijd" worden beschouwd die 'op-ons-aller-bordje' (zo'n dikke 5 miljard) ligt.

Wouter ter Heide.

Een Balkan-realiteit

Bij ons thuis hangt een vrij lugubere tekening van Joh. Braakensiek uit 1903. We zien hoe wellustige Osmaanse soldaten weerloze mensen vermoorden. Eén soldaat heft grijnzend zijn geweer. Aan de bajonet is een kind gespiest. De Russische tsaar en de Oostenrijkse keizer, Franz Joseph, staan terzijde en bespreken be- daard de toestand. Franz Joseph zegt: „Wat een geluk, hoofd van de Griekse kerk, dat ons Christendom ons niet de verplichting oplegt dat bloed- bad te doen eindigen”. „Zeker, Aller- christelijkste Majesteit”, antwoordt de tsaar. De tekening refereert aan de opstand van Iinden (St. Elias- dag), 2 augustus 1903. Zowel Bul- garen die Macedonië bij hun land wilden voe- gen, als Macedo- niërs die onaf- hankelijkheid na- streefden, eisen de eer op toen te- gen de Osmaanse overheersers in opstand gekomen



KOCH

te zijn. In ieder geval werd de op- stand van Iinden bloedig neergesla- gen, zonder dat de internationale ge- meenschap ('het Christendom') in- greep. Wraak voor Iinden is jarenlang een Macedonische strijdkreet ge- weest. Historische wrok beheerst de politiek op de Balkan. Iinden kan nationalistische Macedoniërs ertoe inspireren om zich donderdag nog eens duchtig te roeren, tegen de Albanese minderheid, tegen de gema- tigde Macedonische regering en de westerse ambassades.

Braakensiek ergerde zich aan de internationale afzijdigheid. Dat is in ieder geval veranderd, maar het is de vraag of Braakensiek nu tevreden zou zijn. Meer dan tien jaar houdt de internationale gemeenschap zich nu al met de Joegoslavische troebelen bezig.

Aanvankelijk stuurde de EU onge- wapende waarnemers in keurige wit- te pakken, later kwamen VN-solda- ten met blauwe baretten, nog weer later kwam de Navo in gewoon leger- groen en ten slotte bombardeerden

Navo-vliegtuigen wekenlang het re- calcitrante Servië. Tegelijk met deze interventionistische activiteit esca- leerde het geweld, tienduizenden mensen werden gedood, honderd- duizenden op de vlucht gejaagd. Ik suggereer zeker geen oorzakelijk verband tussen het eerste en het laatste. Ik stel alleen vast dat inter- ventie van de internationale gemeen- schap op zichzelf niet voldoende is geweest om deze escalatie van ge- weld te voorkomen.

Gezien de bloedige geschiedenis van Macedonië was het bemoedi- gend te zien hoe gewelddoos dit land zich probeerde te ontwikkelen in de richting van een multiculturele en pluralistische samenleving. Zeker, Max van der Stoep drong enige jaren geleden als OVSE-commissaris in- zake nationale minderheden erop aan wat meer haast te maken met de re- alisering van de rechten van de Albanese minderheid. Maar de Macedoni- sche regering werd niet beheerst door extremistische nationalistes van het type Milosevic en Tudjman. En dan duiken in het vroege voorjaar Albanese rebellen op die na hun overwinning in Kosovo in het buur- land emploi zoeken. Hun program- ma is niet dat van gematigde strij- ders voor minderheidsrechten, de- mocratie en pluralisme, maar dat van extremistische nationalistes die een eigen etnisch homogene staat eisen. Aanvankelijk steunt het Westen de Macedonische regering, maar als er hard tegen de rebellen wordt op- getreden, wordt er op de rem ge- trapt. Dat is in het voordeel van de rebellen, die al snel als legitieme ver- tegenwoordigers van een ernstig on- derdrukte minderheid worden be- schouwd. Gesloten wapenstilstanden worden vervolgens even zo makke- lijk weer verbroken. De Macedoni- sche regering wordt in nationalistis- che richting gedrongen, wat weer het gelijk van de rebellen bewijst. Een compromis tussen pluralisten en nationalistes is onmogelijk. Een compromis tussen nationalistes on- derling, dat wil zeggen opsplitsing van Macedonië in etnisch homogene delen, is dat wel. De Navo is zeker bereid troepen te leveren om de de- marcatielijn te bewaken.

Koen Koch

mer 2001

Amerikaanse troepen nestelen zich in Kosovo

VAN DE REDACTIE

De Amerikaanse regering onderhandelt over een permanen- tere status van Camp Bondsteel, haar belangrijkste basis in Kosovo. De huidige juridische status is onduidelijk vanwege de vernietiging van de eigendomsaktes tijdens de oorlog.

De onderhandelingen dui- den op een langdurige aanwe- zigheid van de Verenigde Sta- ten op de Balkan ondanks de retoriek van George W. Bush tijdens de verkiezingscampag- ne. Volgens majoor James Marshall, woordvoerder van het Amerikaanse leger 'willen de Verenigde Staten dat UNMIK (de VN-interim-rege- ring) de eigenaren opspoort. Op dit moment is er een tijde- lijk akkoord onder de Militair Technische Overeenkomst tussen de Verenigde Naties en Joegoslavië'.

Onbevestigde meldingen spreken van het voornemen van de Amerikaanse regering een leasecontract voor 75 jaar af te sluiten, hoewel Marshall weigerde hierover medede- lingen te doen.

Hoofdkwartier

De basis (360.000 vierkante meter) ligt in de buurt van Urosevac, 25 km ten zuiden van de provinciehoofdstad Pristina. Het fungeert als hoofdkwartier van het Ameri- kaanse contingent en als logistieke basis voor de Ameri- kaanse sector in de provincie. Er zijn 4.800 man gelegerd in Bondsteel.

De omvang en het schijn- baar permanente karakter van

Camp Bondsteel is aanleiding voor speculaties in Kosovo. Hoewel er momenteel alleen faciliteiten voor helicopters zijn, is er voldoende ruimte om startbanen te bouwen voor B-52 bommenwerpers. In dat geval zou Bondsteel als basis kunnen dienen voor operaties in het Midden-Oosten. 'Onge- veer 55 tot 60 procent van het kamp is klaar', aldus Marshall. Het kamp beschikt over een commandopost, een zieken- huis, twee educatieve centra, drie fitness clubs, drie eetza- len, een bioscoop en twee kerkes.

Elektriciteit wordt ter plek- ke opgewekt en 2 miljoen liter water wordt per dag gezuiverd. Buiten het kamp genieten de Amerikaanse soldaten van het Burger King restaurant, terwijl ze naar muziek van Britney Spears en Eminem luisteren.

Amerikaanse obsessie

De tekenen wijzen op een langdurige aanwezigheid van de Amerikanen in Kosovo, hetgeen in schril contrast staat met de terughoudendheid waarmee de gevaarlijke vredes- taken worden uitgevoerd. De laatste tijd is er kritiek op de obsessie van het Amerikaanse leger zichzelf te beschermen ten koste van de kwaliteit van de vredesoperaties. In februari werd het Britse eerste Princess of Wales' Royal Regiment (1PWRR) opgetrommeld om in de Amerikaanse sector de Presevo vallei te vrijwaren van etnisch Albanese rebellen die van hieruit aanvallen uitvoeren op Zuid-Servië.

En eind maart, toen er gevechten uitbraken tussen Albanese rebellen en troepen van het Macedonische leger, moest het tweede Royal Tank Regiment (2RTR) vergering van het conflict smoren. In beide gevallen kwam het voor- al door de terughoudendheid van de Verenigde Staten om zich in gevaarlijke situaties te begeven dat de inzet van Brit- se troepen noodzakelijk was.

Het verschil van optreden tussen de Amerikaanse troepen en anderen is in Kosovo duidelijk te zien. De Britten patrouilleren te voet, dragen kogelvrije vesten aan. Dat ver- gemakelijkt het contact met de lokale bevolking.

De Amerikaanse soldaten daarentegen verlaten uiterst zelden hun Humvee 4x4s, ver- plaatsen zich in colonnes, dra- gen helmen en kogelvrije vesten en richten hun machi- negeweren op de omgeving.

Sommige KFOR-officieren vrezen dat dit Amerikaanse optreden voor de nodige irrita- ties onder de Albanese bevol- king zorgt en men vreest voor een verlies aan steun van de lokale bevolking.

Bush zei tijdens zijn verkie- zingscampagne dat hij de Amerikaanse rol op de Balkan in heroverweging zou nemen en Europa een grotere rol zou laten spelen. Maar Colin Powell zei recent dat er geen vertrekdatum vaststaat voor de Amerikaanse troepen uit Bosnië of Kosovo.

gakovs 'De meester en Margarita' heeft Dubravka Ugresic in Kroatië moeten nlerlaten. De in Amsterdam nende schrijfster put uit or geheugen.

11-5-2001

HET BESLISSENDE BOEK VAN: DUBRAVKA UGRESIC

'Boelgakov heeft een scherp oog voor absurditeiten'

Kroatië, nadat de pers haar tot vijand van het volk had uitgeroepen en haar van het werk aan de universiteit in toene- mende mate onmogelijk werd ge- maakt. Over de toestand in het voor- malige Joegoslavië schreef ze in haar vorige essaybundel, *Nationaliteit*. Ugresic woont sinds 1996 in Amsterdam; haar artikelen versche- nen in *Die Zeit*, *Letter International*, *Vrij Nederland* en *NRC Handelsblad*. Ugresic ontving een aantal prijzen, waaronder in 1997 de Verzetsprijs. In Nederland is ze waarschijnlijk het be- kendst van haar optreden in Wim Kayzers televisieserie *Van de school- heid en de troost*. Over het vijf uur du- rende slotgesprek, waar zij zwijgend aan deham, schrijft ze in *Verboden te lezen!* dat 'het produceren van beaai- teiten gebeurt vanuit de veronderstel- ling dat de kijkers het prachtiële vinden als verstandige mensen op televisie dingen zeggen die ze ook zelf fladden kunnen zeggen'.

Ugresic moet zich op haar herinne- ringen verhalen als ze vertelt over het belang dat *De meester en Margarita* van de Russische schrijver Michail Boelgakov (1891-1940) voor haar heeft. Haar boekencollectie heeft ze namelijk in Zagreb achtergelaten. Ugresic: „Ik las *De meester en Marga- rita* voor het eerst in 1968, toen de eer- ste editie verscheen in Kroatië. Boel- gakov heeft in het gebom aan het boek gewerkt van 1928 tot zijn dood. Het boek kon pas in 1966 verschijnen in de Sovjet-Unie, althans delen ervan verschenen in het literaire tijdschrift *Moskva*. Die eerste, door de censur- bekte versie werd onmiddellijk ver- taald in Kroatië, en rond 1973 was ook de volledige versie beschikbaar. Het was absoluut een ontdekking in die tijd. Ik studeerde Russisch en ver- gelijkende literatuurwetenschap, dus ik wist al van het bestaan af van de schrijver Boelgakov, maar dat *De meester en Margarita* in mijn handen was, kon ik niet vermoeden.



„Omdat ik een aantal dingen in het boek herkende die ik zelf had meege- maakt tijdens een verblijf in de Sovjet- Unie, vond ik het erg grappig. Boelga- kov heeft een scherp oog voor de ab- surditeiten van het alledaags bestaan onder een totalitair regime. Zie de be- schrijving van het clubhuis, waar de schrijvers die bij de machthebbers in de gratie zijn feestvieren. Het boek is zo wonderbaarlijk omdat het een syn- these is van zoveel literaire tradities, het steekt zo vernuftig in elkaar als een Rubik-kubus. Het is een satire, een liefdesverhaal, en een bijbels ver- haal ineen. En ondanks de rijkdom van alle intertekstuele verwijzingen is *De meester en Margarita* 'zoals de criticus van vandaag zouden zeggen. Als je niet alles begrijpt blijft het een amussant verhaal over de dwivel en zijn trawanten die in Moskou de boel op stellen zetten.

„Boelgakov staat in een sterke Rus- sische traditie, die begint met de gro- tesken van Gogol en voortgezet werd door schrijvers als Zoesjtsjenko en Da- niël Charms. *De meester* verwijst tege- lijk ook naar de Europese canon, Goethe's *Faust*, volksverhalen over de dwivel en de bijbel. Het heeft ook veel van de picareske, een van de mooiste literaire genres. Romans zijn in zekere zin bedoeld voor de massa, moeten populair zijn en gelezen wor- den. Fictie is niet van oorsprong een hoogstaand genre. In dit boek zie je ook circusachtige elementen, het be- valt zowel hoge als lage cultuur.”

In *Verboden te lezen!* schrijft Ugre- sic dat de regels van de markgerichte cultuur haar doen denken aan het so- cialistisch realisme. Bestaan er ook overeenkomsten tussen de wijze waarop de schrijvers van toen en de schrijvers van nu in hun werk aan de verserende ideologie proberen te ont- snappen? Het grote idee van *De meester* is dat de literatuur tel, niet de esthetisch-politieke-ideologische ei- sen, dat niet de leiders of de massa tel- len maar de kunstenaar. En kijk, geen van de schrijvers die zich conformeer- den aan het socialistisch realisme her- inneren we ons nog. De situatie tegen- woordig is toch wel wat anders. Toen Boelgakov schreef dat manuscripten niet branden, had hij gelijk. Als ik dat vandaag zou beweren, zou ik geen ge- lijk hebben. *De meester* werd geschre- ven toen de literaire instituties nog sterk waren. Literaire historici, critici, archieven, tijdschriften zorgden er- voor dat boeken als die van Boelga- kov niet vergeen werden.

MARTIJN MEIJER

Michail Boelgakov: *De meester en Margarita*, vertaald door H. Fomdeur en A. Prins. In: *Verzamelde Werken van Goethe*, 1997, f. 97f.

Sheriff' Clarke ruimt puin in Brcko

Klein Amerika op de Balkan

sept 2001

Door Cees van Zweeden
Brcko

Er is weinig dat de onnozele reiziger doet vermoeden dat hij in een ongewone stad is aangeland. Brcko heeft een gribushotel, een keur aan lege restaurants, en een betonnen centrum vol rondhangende werklozen.

Maar voor een stad in Bosnië heeft Brcko weinig puin, wat opmerkelijker voor een stad die in de burgeroorlog van 1992-'95 werd vernietigd. En Brcko heeft niet alleen een laag puingehalte, het beschikt bovendien over iets wat elders in Bosnië ongehoord is: rechters die onkreukbaar zijn en scholen die kinderen van alle etnische groepen welkom heten.

Er is in Brcko een man die zich over deze wonderen niet langer verbaast, al was het alleen maar omdat hij ze zelf tot stad heeft gebracht. Op zijn visitekaartje staat 'supervisor', maar Henry Lee Clarke weet wel beter. „Ja”, grijnst hij, „ik sta boven de regering.” Als hij 'regering' zegt, bedoelt Henry Lee Clarke niet de regering van Bosnië, het land waar Brcko in ligt. Hij bedoelt de regering van Brcko zelf, een stad aan de Sava met amper 83.000 inwoners.

Toen in 1995 bij het verdrag van Dayton het verwoeste Bosnië in twee kantons werd gehakt (een voor de Serviërs en een voor de moslims en Kroaten), werd voor Brcko een uitzondering gemaakt. Deze stad werd door de Serviërs geclaimd omdat ze de verbinding vormde tussen de twee delen van hun Republika Srpska, en door moslimleider Izetbegovic omdat hij er was geboren. Besloten werd in Dayton de status van Brcko open te laten tot een oplossing was gevonden.

Voogdij

Zaak toen vorig jaar die oplossing zich nog niet had aangediend, besloot de internationale gemeenschap dat Brcko een soort stadstaat moest worden onder voogdij van de Verenigde Naties. Brcko zou een eigen parlementje krijgen dat eigen wetjes mocht aannemen, en een eigen mini-regering. Maar bovenal: deze laatste loot aan de stam

Monaco wordt bestierd door een witte prins, Vaticaanstad heeft de paus. Maar er is op het oude continent geen plek zo bizar als Brcko in het verscheurde Bosnië. Hier worden de lakens uitgedeeld door een Amerikaan die in de stad als 'de sheriff' door het leven gaat. Henry Lee Clarke regeert met ijzeren hand over zijn 83.000 onderdanen.



der naties zou een Amerikaan als baas krijgen.

Henry Lee Clarke was daarvoor ambassadeur geweest in Oezbekistan, maar Brcko was leuker. Hij installeerde zich in een groot huis dat - jawel - wit was, en begon zich van de scepter te bedienen. Al snel was hij voor de stedelingen 'de sheriff', hoewel zijn staf op het witte huis hem 'Mr. Yes' of 'Mr. No' doopte. Dat 'misschien' geen woord was dat tot zijn vocabulaire behoorde, ontdekte Brcko begin dit jaar. „Ik wilde dat Servische, Kroatische en moslimkinderen bij elkaar in de klas kwamen”, zegt Henry Lee Clarke streng. „Maar daarvoor was in het parlement niet de vereiste meerderheid. Men wilde vasthou-

den aan gescheiden onderwijs voor de drie etnische groepen. Ik heb toen het multi-etnische onderwijs bij decreet bevolen.”

De bezem van Clarke reikte tot in de stoffigste uithoeken van zijn imperium. Tot puin gereduceerde gebouwen werden in oude luister hersteld, en corruptie werd met wortel en tak uitgerooid. „We hebben een boekje met gedragsregels gekregen dat ons verbiedt in contact te treden met advocaten”, zegt een rechter ietwat schlemielig. „We worden zelfs geacht plaatselijke restaurants en cafés te mijden.” Brcko slaat met 16 rechters bepaald geen modderfiguur, maar belangrijker nog dan hun aantal is hun kwaliteit. Clarke, die nu voor

hen het modernste gerechtsgebouw van Europa laat verrijzen, haalde de meesten van hen uit de diaspora. Maatstaven waren een onbesproken gedrag en een blanco strafregister.

De rechters genieten een salaris waar hun collega's elders in Bosnië slechts van kunnen dromen. Hun inkomen opvijzelen met smeergeld is niet langer nodig. Een rechter kan nu 4.000 mark per maand halen, twintig maal het gemiddelde salaris in dit deel van de wereld.

Brcko biedt de indruk van een Amerikaanse enclave in het hart van Europa. Het straatbeeld wordt bepaald door *hummers* en pantservoertuigen van het Amerikaanse leger, dat in de stad een grote basis heeft. En de 3.000 ambtenaren, allen goedbetaald, worden geadviseerd door een half dozijn Amerikaanse experts.

Budget

Clarke heeft een budget van 94 miljoen mark, wat ruim 1.000 mark per inwoner is (de stad Belgrado heeft nog geen 140 mark per inwoner). Hij doet geheimzinnig over de oorsprong van dat geld, wat doet vermoeden dat het meeste uit Washington afkomstig is. Waarom? Een van de speculaties is dat Brcko belangrijk is voor de VS, omdat de weg tussen de grote Amerikaanse bases in het Hongaarse Pécs en het Bosnische Tuzla er doorheen loopt.

Maar zo zou de sheriff het zelf niet willen stellen. „We zijn hier om vrede een kans te geven, om een nieuwe slag te voorkomen”, zegt hij zelvend. „Sommige mensen noemen Brcko een laboratorium voor vrede, maar ik zou het eerder als een model willen omschrijven.”

Dat het model zijn beperkingen kent, ervoer sheriff Clarke vorig jaar. Serviërs hadden uit een dorp bij Vukovar een beeld gestolen van Dragan Mihailovic (leider der royalisten tijdens de laatste wereldoorlog), en dat in het centrum van Brcko geplaatst. De moslims vonden dat Mihailovic niet in hun stad thuishoorde. Maar toen Clarke niets ondernam, kwamen zij zelf in actie. Zoals een sheriff zou hebben betaamd, gooiden zij een lasso om het hoofd van Mihailovic en trokken hem van zijn sokkel.

Als je maar lol hebt

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■ Over het televisieprogramma waarin Dubravka Ugresic in goed gezelschap een paar uur zat te zwijgen, waren veel mensen enthousiast: zo'n intellectueel stimulerend programma hadden ze lang niet gezien! Hoe kwam het dat twintig slimme, creatieve mensen het aflegden tegen het medium televisie? 'Een intellectueel moet tegenwoordig cool, hip en mega zijn, zich presenteren als een gematigd radicale, gematigd subversieve entertainer.'

Essay De 'buis' is een metafoor!

Enige tijd geleden zat ik als lid van een select, intellectueel gezelschap voor de televisiecamera's. Twintig intellectuelen met verschillende beroepen – wetenschappers, cultuurhistorici, schilders, schrijvers, filosofen, hoogleraren en freelance denkers – waren uitgenodigd om te praten over het onderwerp schoonheid. De leider van het programma was al even atypisch als het programma zelf. Er was voor het gesprek zo'n vijf uur uitgetrokken, maar als er gasten waren die nog langer wilden, kon dat ook. Enkele gasten waren gewend voor een televisiecamera op te treden en leken zich als een vis in het water te voelen, anderen waren wat gereserveerder, maar niemand was, waar het om contacten met de media gaat, geheel 'maagdelijk'.

Ik vroeg me met enig onbehagen af of ik misschien per abuis in dit gezelschap terecht was gekomen. Al spoedig bleek dat het inderdaad zo was.

Tijdens dat hele, vijf uur durende gesprek, zei ik geen woord. Daar zat ik, tussen mensen in wier gezelschap ik hoogstens had kunnen dromen ooit te mogen verkeren, maar ik deed geen mond open. Ik vermocht geen troost te putten uit het feit dat er nog een andere deelnemer was die er zwijgend en als verstard bij zat, terwijl een paar anderen slechts met pijn en moeite enkele zinnen wisten uit te brengen.

Wat gebeurde er? De gespreksleider stelde bijna geen vragen aan iemand afzonderlijk, alle vragen waren gericht aan ons allemaal, en het terrein werd ogenblikkelijk door de meest spontane sprekers in bezit genomen. Een schrijfster begon aan een lange monoloog over de depressies waaraan ze leed, hoewel het onderwerp van de discussie, dacht ik althans, alleen maar heel indirect met depressiviteit te maken had. Een bekende schrijver gaf uiting aan zijn persoonlijke, diepe bezorgdheid over de gebeurtenissen die zich van Oeganda tot in Bosnië afspeelden. Een beroemde zoöloge viel hem bij en sprak haar bezorgdheid uit over het lot van de met uitsterven bedreigde gorilla's. Een bekende, feministisch georiënteerde humaniste vertelde over zichzelf, terwijl ze de hele tijd de indruk maakte dat ze het over iets heel anders had.

Iemand probeerde iets uit te leggen en gebruikte daarvoor als metafoor het voetbal, waarna een paar anderen zich in een klassiestrijd stortten om voor deze sport op te komen, want ze meenden dat hier het vermaak van de grote massa ter discussie werd gesteld. Een bekende schrijfster begon te vertellen waarom ze toch zo werd geroerd door kinderen met aandachtsstoornissen en dat er, zo bleek uit de statistieken, steeds meer van zulke kinderen waren. Sommigen vatten dat op als een aanval op het internet en begonnen een verhitte discussie over het leven in cyberspace. De bekende humaniste – die inmiddels een spiegelkje uit haar tasje had ge-

pakt om haar rode lippen bij te werken – herhaalde iets over recht en moraal. De beroemde zoöloge – die uit haar tas een pluchen aap met in zijn hand een pluchen banaan te voorschijn had gehaald en vlak voor zich neergezet – uitte nogmaals haar bezorgdheid over het mondiale milieu. Drie personen sprongen daar meteen op in door te bekennen dat ze in God geloofden, hoewel dat voor ieder van hen een andere god was.

Niemand is immuun

Al met al bevonden we ons in een niet erg natuurlijke situatie en ieder van ons reageerde zo goed als hij kon. Sommigen begonnen uit onbehagen te spreken, anderen hielden uit onbehagen hun mond. Sommigen spraken vanuit een gevoel voor fatsoen, want dat was toch waarvoor ze hier waren uitgenodigd? Wie bleef zwijgen, had blijkbaar weinig te vertellen. Zo had ook mijn commentaar op deze hele episode kunnen luiden, en dan was voor mij de kous afgeweest. Maar daar koos ik niet voor, ook al was die hele toestand een slag voor mijn ego en blijkt de teleurstelling achteraf zelfs nog dieper te zitten dan ik op dat moment dacht.

Een groep intellectuelen die de volledige vrijheid bezat om een intellectueel discours te voeren, had de kans voorbij laten gaan om dat inderdaad te doen. Ze waren in de gelegenheid gesteld om tijdelijk de heerschappij over een medium uit te oefenen, maar het medium televisie heerste over hen.

Binnen de groep zelf werden de machtsverhoudingen onmiddellijk vastgelegd: de *fast thinkers* – de snelle denkers (een term van Pierre Bourdieu) spraken, en wie wat trager van geest was, kwam niet verder dan daartoe aanstalten te maken. Na hun gebied te hebben afgebakend, praatten de *fast thinkers* verder alleen nog over triviale onderwerpen, maar wel met een retoriek alsof ze het allemaal zelf hadden uitgevonden. Wie zich niet aan de opgelegde toonzetting en onderwerpen kon of wilde houden, had geen andere keus dan er zwijgend bij te zitten.

Zo had een bekende schrijver, die wist dat ik uit het voormalige Joegoslavië kom, best zo genereus kunnen zijn om mij de kans te geven een bijdrage aan het geheel te leveren en te zeggen wat men van mij meestal horen wil: een paar woorden over de oorlog in het vroegere Joegoslavië. Het verlangen om de dingen zelf te presenteren, bleek echter te sterk.

Hoe wordt een intellectueel een ster?

Een van de leden van onze intellectuele ploeg maakte na het eerste deel van onze discussie een grafiek. Het bleek dat hij niet alleen een vrij exacte lijst van *fast thinkers* had opgesteld, wat in wezen niet zo moeilijk was, maar ook per persoon had voorspeld hoe vaak die zou reageren; ook meende hij enkele subgroepen te kunnen aanwijzen die tijdens de discussie onder de *fast thinkers* waren ontstaan en echt, dan wel gespeeld met elkaar in de clinch gingen.

Ook ik doodde mijn tijd met wat rekenwerk (wat heeft een incompatibel lid van een groep anders te doen dan enige voldoening te zoeken in het arrogant analyseren van degenen die wel compatibel zijn!). Het bleek dat de *fast thinkers* in ons gezelschap behoorden tot de 'bekende persoonlijkheden' – de sterren van de media. Deze 'sterren' gedroegen zich agressief, maar op het scherm kwamen ze over als integere mensen die zich oprecht interesseerden voor het onderwerp dat aan de orde was, ze toonden aan over ruime sociale vaardigheden te beschikken en leken zich in het algemeen bewust van hun eigen, positieve image. Wat me het meest bezighield, was de vraag of de eigenschappen die een welkend persoon tot een 'ster' maken, waren te voor-

'INTELLECTUEEL ZIJN

BETEKENT TEGENWOORDIG

VOORAL DAT JE BEREID BENT

IE AAN TE PASSEN

AAN DE WETTEN

VAN DE MARKT'



verschrikkelijk dat hij dood is.' (Als ik zo'n tekst lees, denk ik dat de man die het zegt weer een tijdje in de bak zou moeten zitten.)

Chapman zegt ook nu weer wat hij al vanuit zijn cel liet weten: dat zijn woede kwam doordat hij zijn vader zo haatte. Die had hij eigenlijk willen doodmaken. Letterlijk werd uit zijn mond opgetekend: 'Mijn vader praatte nooit over het leven of over levensproblemen. Hij was uiterst praktisch.' Omdat Chapman wél voelde dat zijn moeder hem liefhad, voelde hij dus ook aan dat zijn vader dat niét deed. 'Ik wilde een pistool tegen zijn kop drukken, hem horen smeken. Hem van de aarde blazen. Ik was echt kwaad, omdat hij geen geld voor mijn moeder had, van haar ging scheiden, en het huis wilde verkopen en zelf het geld houden.' Het kwam er niet van en Mark Chapman verzoende zich later met zijn vader, vlak voor diens dood.

Waarom doodde hij Lennon? 'Omdat de stemmen in mijn hoofd mij dat opdragen.' Het waren satanische stemmen, die riepen: 'Do it. Do it. Do it.'

Op 8 december 1980 stond Chapman tussen de fans bij de ingang van het Dakota Building. Hij had een stuk karton in de zak van zijn lange overjas, zodat niemand kon zien dat er óók een pistool in zat. Hij had de platenhoes van *Double Fantasy* in zijn hand – om duidelijk te maken waarom hij er stond. 's Ochtends, toen Lennon naar de auto liep die hem kwam ophalen, vroeg hij: 'John, would you sign my album?' De oude Beatle zei: 'Sure', en gaf de hoes terug, met de vraag: 'Is that all you want?' Chapman loog (hij antwoordde: 'Yeah, thanks John'), maar gaf later toe: 'Ik wou zijn handtekening niet, ik wou zijn leven. Hij gaf ze allebei.'

(De gesigneerde hoes werd vlak na de moord gevonden door een Lennon-fan en aan de politie gegeven. Vorig jaar werd hij geveild – met de witgemaakte vingerafdrukken van Chapman er nog op. De verzamelaar die hem kocht – 'the most important piece of rock-memorabilia ever' – betaalde er 460.000 dollar voor.)

Zes uur na die handtekening gaf Lennon zijn leven. Yoko stapte eerst uit de auto, daarna volgde Lennon met in zijn hand cassettetapes. Toen spraken de satanische stemmen tot Chapman: 'Do it. Do it. Do it.' Dat is het refrein dat in de interviews – Chapman heeft een wachtlijst – de boventoon voert. 'Niets had me op dat moment kunnen stoppen: het daverde door mijn hoofd als een trein, een op hol geslagen trein. Niets had me op dat moment kunnen stoppen. Geen gebed, ook mijn eigen wil – zelfs de duivel niet.' Het refrein zal nog veel herhaald worden. Deze week wordt het interview uitgezonden dat al in juli van dit jaar werd opgenomen. Daaruit zal blijken dat Chapman een voorbeeldige gevangene was (in zijn cel een foto van zijn gestorven grootmoeder; afbeeldingen van Jezus; veel boeken, waaronder een aantal bijbels). De psychiatrische behandeling is al twaalf, dertien jaar geleden gestopt. Op de vraag hoe hij anders – dus zonder moord – zijn identiteit had willen zoeken, antwoordt hij, naar verluidt: 'Ik zou een alcoholist geworden zijn.' Op vragen van verslaggevers of de moordenaar van

Lennon iets te zeggen heeft tegen Yoko Ono, of tegen de zoons van John Lennon, Sean en Julian: 'Wat ik deed, was schandelijk. Ik heb het recht niet om wie dan ook te zeggen wat ze moeten denken.' Het zal Chapman ook niet verbazen als Lennons nabestaanden willen dat hij in de gevangenis blijft. Zeer binnenkort zal Ono gehoord worden door de instantie die beslist of en wanneer Chapman in vrijheid wordt gesteld: de New York Parole Board. (Toen in 1988 de sensationele biografie van Goldman

begin volgend jaar – als hij erop zitten – zal hij, berouwen lijkt, vrij man zijn. En een held.

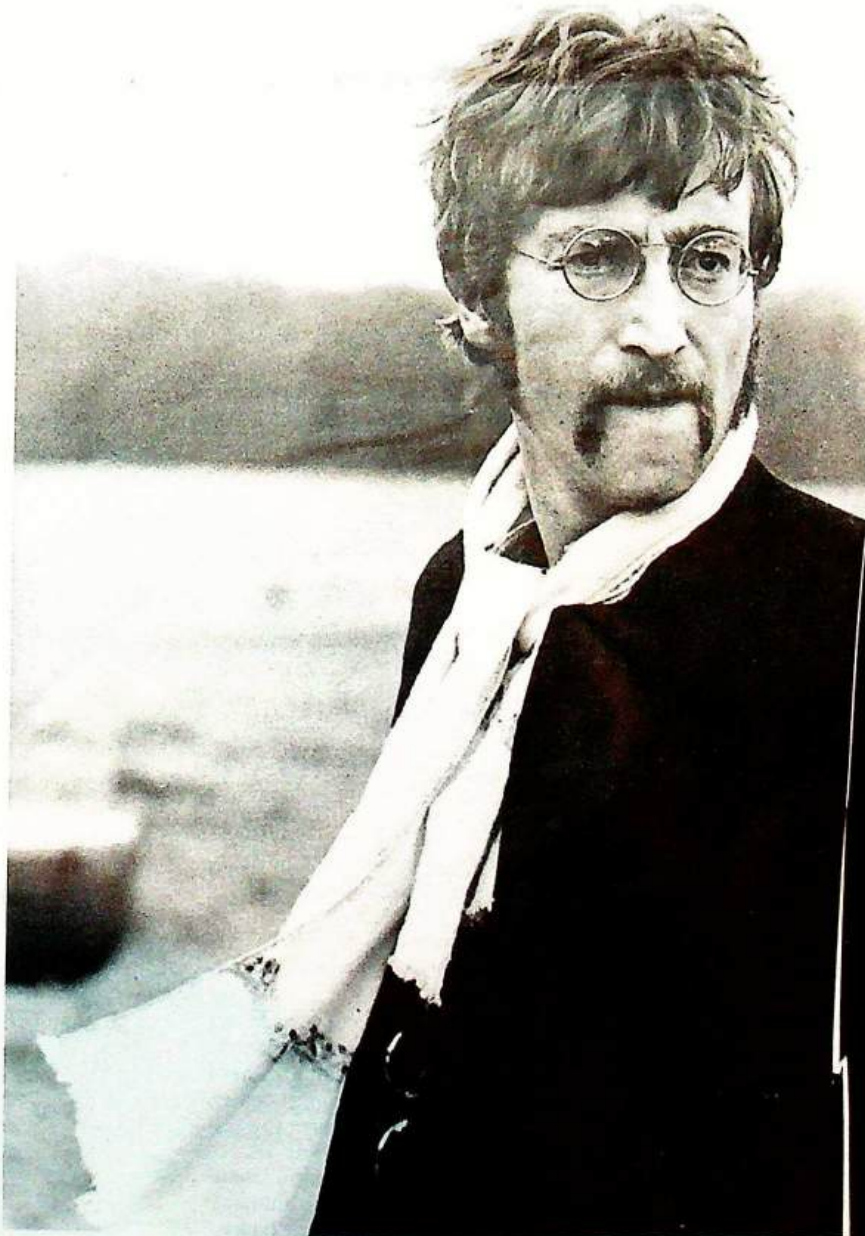
Voordat John Lennon werd doodgeschoten, waren er in 1980 al zeventienhonderd-New Yorkers vermoord. Maar bij hem, nummer 701, was er geen sprake van moord. Het doden van Lennon was een *assassination* – een (politieke) moord op een leidersfiguur. Met alle nationale emoties van dien. Iedereen weet nog wie Kennedy neerschoot, wie Abraham Lincoln in het theater doodde. Die moordenaars – Lee Harvey Oswald en John Wilkes Booth – zijn ook direct weer vermoord. Bij elk debat over vuurwapens wordt de naam genoemd van John Hinkley, de man die de aanslag op president Ronald Reagan pleegde. Mark David Chapman zal voorgoed een doelwit zijn, en nooit weten wanneer John Lennon gewroken zal worden. De vorige maand waren er al zes berichten, uit Engeland, Schotland en Amerika, van nog steeds bestaande Lennon-fanclubs dat het ontoelaatbaar is dat deze halve gek ooit vrij zal zijn.

Op 9 oktober wordt John Lennon zestig. Maar de naam die die dag het luidst zal klinken, is die van Mark Chapman. Strawberry Fields Forever.

De politie onderzoekt niks, Chapman had bekend, er was geen Proces van de eeuw

verscheen, met alle onthullingen over Lennons drugsgebruik, vertrok Yoko Ono met haar kinderen naar Zwitserland. Uit angst voor een nieuwe aanslag, uit angst voor 'weer een man met een boek'. Toen in december vorig jaar een man George Harrison met een mes aanviel, werd door iedereen – ook Ono – een vergelijking gemaakt met de aanslag op Lennon.)

Mark David Chapman zal, zo is de bedoeling, op dinsdag 3 oktober, als dit weekblad naar de drukker gaat voor het eerst door de Parole Board worden gehoord. Het wordt onwaarschijnlijk geacht dat hij dan meteen vrijkomt. Maar



deel lang gevochten. Ik ben er zeker van dat het grote deel van me Holden Caulfield is. Dat kleine deel moet de duivel zijn.' Dat was het: 'Voor een paar seconden won het kleine deel van me.' (Maar of die duivel hem verschenen was in de gestalte van een *mind controller* van de FBI is onbekend gebleven – Chapman heeft altijd gezegd dat hij alleen heeft gehandeld en echt onderzoek is nooit gedaan.)

Mark Chapman kreeg twintig jaar – hoewel de advocaat van Yoko Ono ervoor pleitte hem een veel langere gevangenisstraf te geven. In de cel sprak Chapman vaak met Jack Jones, een New Yorkse schrijver, die dan ook het boek *Let Me Take You Down. Inside the Mind of Mark David Chapman* schreef. En in alle artikelen over Chapman en in dat boek staat met nadruk dat Chapmans familie geen enkel contact met de schrijver heeft gezocht. Want alles kan meegevoerd worden als binnenkort besloten moet worden of Chapman – eventueel op proef – vrijkomt. Maar ja, in een interview met *The New York Express* (26-9-2000) zei Lennons moordenaar toch frank en vrij vanuit zijn cel 'dat hij vaak droomde van het Dakota Building, aan het Central Park.' In die vaak herhaalde droom 'wordt hij door Yoko Ono vriendelijk als huisgenoot onthaald'. Het treurige is natuurlijk al geschied: er is een vaste verslaggever, de al genoemde Jones, die 'rechten' op Chapman heeft. Er komt een al maanden geleden opgenomen televisie-interview. Aan de poort van de gevangenis zal het bij de vrijlating zwart staan van journalisten met cassetterecorders en notatieblokjes. Chapman heeft al gezegd: 'Ik zie John Lennon nu anders dan een Beatle, of als een beroemde musicus of zanger. Ik zie hem nu als een mens, een vader. Het is

De moeder van alle wijsheid

Denkers zijn intellectuelen die zich aan de regels van de media houden. De snelle denkers in onze tv-uitzending wisten het hele programma volkomen naar hun hand te zetten, ook al druiste dat misschien in tegen datgene wat de makers van het programma hadden bedoeld.

Wie de fundamentele regels van de televisie als het meest democratische medium aanvaardt, moet bereid zijn om met een gespeelde dan wel echte vanzelfsprekendheid over van alles en nog wat een simpele uitspraak te doen, met andere woorden: banaliteiten te produceren. Het produceren van banaliteiten kan men zien als een vorm van vriendelijkheid jegens de imaginaire gemiddelde televisiekijker, maar ook als een blijk van arrogantie (die gemiddelde kijker is een domoor). Het produceren van banaliteiten gebeurt vanuit de veronderstelling dat de kijkers het heerlijk vinden als verstandige mensen op de televisie dingen zeggen die ze zelf ook hadden kunnen zeggen, dus als ze op geen enkele wijze het zelfrespect van de imaginaire gemiddelde consument kwetsen.

Als de taal van het banale zich de taal van het intellectuele toeëigent met het doel zichzelf op de markt een zekere legitimiteit te verschaffen, dan komt dat ook doordat de intellectuelen zelf niet erg hun best doen om hun terrein af te bakenen. Meer nog: beide zijden komen elkaar tegemoet. Terwijl de markt regelmatig probeert aan het banale een intellectueel cachet te geven, wordt het intellectuele door de intellectuelen dikwijls tot iets banaals gemaakt. Waarom doen ze dat? Omdat ze niet willen dat niemand hen ervan zal beschuldigen dat ze belangrijk doen en een taal spreken die niemand begrijpt? Om de imaginaire, gemiddelde consument ter wille te zijn? Of gewoon omdat de media het denken bepalen?

Al met al hebben de intellectuelen tijdens dat hele televisieprogramma nergens over nagedacht, ze voerden een show op waarin ze deden alsof ze nadachten, een show waarin ze enkel hun vermogen toonden om ergens over na te denken. Bovendien gingen ze de 'culturele clichés van de massamaatschappij' niet uit de weg, integendeel, ze leken die te willen bevestigen (met hun gepraat over depressies, milieuvervuiling, morele verantwoordelijkheid, enzovoort). En zo voerden de intellectuelen bewust of onbewust een stuk intellectuele kitsch op, waarvoor ze misschien als rechtvaardiging konden aanvoeren dat het absurd is om op de televisie een taal te spreken die niemand behalve enkele uitverkorenen kan verstaan – of niet soms?

Infantiliserende of simplificatie is tegenwoordig in ieder openbaar discours een soort ongeschreven wet, de lingua franca van het openbare denken. Een korte, samenvattende beschouwing (wat niet meer is dan een netter woord voor *Tratsch*, zinloos geklets!) over een filosofisch inzicht in plaats van dat inzicht zelf, het imiteren van literatuur in plaats van de literatuur zelf, het gepraat over cultuur in plaats van de cultuur zelf, het zijn manifestaties van de intellectuele kitsch die tegenwoordig in alle aspecten van het openbare leven is terug te vinden.

Wat we nu waarnemen, is de steeds succesvollere infantiliserende van een cultureel segment dat twintig jaar geleden gold als de 'hoge cultuur', de Cultuur met een C. Je ziet daarvan de meest uiteenlopende voorbeelden, van de Icon Books met hun serie *For Beginners* (*Freud for Beginners*, *Fascism for Beginners*), via Jostein Gaarders megabestseller *Sophie's World* tot Alain de Bottons nieuwste bestseller *The Consolations of Philosophy*. De laatste titel is een bewijs te meer dat zinloos gepraat over filosofie beter verkoopt dan een echt filosofisch werk. Afgaande op de bestsellerlijsten zou men kunnen zeggen dat 'niet-authentieke' boeken beter verkopen dan 'authentieke'.

Wat dat betreft waren wij, zoals we daar voor de televisiecamera's zaten, zowel manipulators als gemanipuleerden, we waren overwinnaars en verliezers, authentiek en niet-authentiek, de verantwoordelijken voor de recente verandering in waarden en de slachtoffers daarvan. We hadden iets van al die moeders die ineens heel anders gaan praten als ze het tegen hun kind hebben en de taal van de volwassenen dreigen te verliezen als ze dat te lang blijven doen. Wat misschien niet eens zo erg is, want niemand lijkt zich meer te herinneren hoe de taal van de volwassenen eigenlijk zou moeten klinken: toen het televisieprogramma (waarin ik dus een paar uur lang had zitten zwijgen) werd uitgezonden, bleven

tallose mensen geboeid kijken, en ze waren dolenthousiast: zo'n intellectueel stimulerend programma hadden ze al in geen tijden meer gezien!

Hip & hipness

In het Amerikaanse academische tijdschrift *Lingua Franca* van november 1998 verscheen een vrolijke reportage, getiteld 'Advertisements for Myself', die ging over de interessante websites van enkele Amerikaanse hoogleraren. Het was duidelijk dat sommige professoren hun strijd om de gunst van de studenten voerden op een wijze waaruit bleek – om het ouderwets te formuleren – dat goede smaak niet hun sterkste kant was. Op hun sites waren namelijk foto's te zien van de hoogleraren zelf (soms in zwembroek of badpak), en je vond er details uit hun privéleven, korte bekentenissen over hun seksuele, religieuze of culinaire voorkeuren en meer van dat soort belangwekkende zaken. Ineens viel mijn oog op de beschrijving van de website van een vrouwelijke hoogleraar die ik persoonlijk ken. Ze had hem opgesierd met foto's waarop te zien was hoe ze de vermoeide slapen van haar studenten masseerde en hun met behulp van de tarot de toekomst voorspelde. Die twee dingen rekende ze tot haar favoriete sociale activiteiten.

Intellectueel zijn betekent tegenwoordig vooral dat je bereid bent je te conformeren en aan te passen aan de hypothetische wetten van de markt. Tegen deze wetten worden ook de academische intellectuelen niet beschermd, zeker niet in Amerika. Ze kunnen gemakkelijk hun baan kwijtraken of juist, aangelokt door een exorbitant jaarsalaris, overstappen naar een ander universitair team, zoals een voetballer overstapt naar een andere club. Het moderne image van de intellectueel komt niet meer overeen met het ouderwetse beeld van de eenling die opkomt voor *freedom of thought*. De intellectueel van nu is een sociaal dier dat zich aanpast aan de politieke, culturele en intellectuele richtingen van de mainstream en vooral vertegenwoordigt wat ieder fatsoenlijk en weldenkend mens wordt geacht te vertegenwoordigen.

Van de tegenwoordige intellectueel wordt verwacht dat hij cool, hip en mega is, wat er in de intellectuele praktijk op neerkomt dat hij frequent verwijst naar de (massa)cultuur van de *mainstream*, dat hij zich opstelt als gematigd radicaal (dat hij een show van onecht radicalisme opvoert), als gematigd subversief (dat hij een zogenaamd subversieve show opvoert) en dat hij zich presenteert als een intellectuele entertainer.

De colleges aan de universiteiten zijn tegenwoordig een soort montage van attracties, precies zoals de boeken steeds meer tot prentenboeken dreigen te worden. De professoren maken ruimschoots gebruik van de videorecorder, de projector, de computer en allerhande audiovisueel materiaal, opdat een 'saai' college iets krijgt van een televisie-uitzending, of vrij vertaald: amusement. Het al eerder genoemde *The Consolations of Philosophy* doet in opzet denken aan de colleges van een hoogleraar die met zijn tijd mee wenst te gaan. De visuele citaten uit de geschiedenis van de filosofie, gecombineerd met visuele citaten uit de moderne massacultuur en elementen uit de educatieve vormgeving van de populaire tijdschriften (zoals de vele vraagtekens), zijn een ideaal, intellectueel product en tegelijk een metafoer van deze tijd.

Are We Having Fun Yet?

'Readers Wonder. Are We Having Fun Yet?' luidt de titel van een artikel dat enige jaren geleden in *Time* verscheen. In dat artikel wordt beweerd dat de moderne Duitse literatuur saai zou zijn, want de Duitsers verslinden alles wat Amerika aan literatuur voortbrengt omdat ze dat niet saai zouden vinden. 'De Duitse naoorlogse literatuur lijdt onder een soort verbod op plezier en vermaak, veel onderwerpen zijn taboe en de grondstemming is uiterst melancholisch,' schrijft Dietrich Schwanitz, een veelgelezen Duitse auteur die als hoogleraar Engelse letterkunde aan de universiteit van Hamburg is verbonden. En hij vervolgt: 'Iedereen in Duitsland wil schrijven als Franz Kafka of Samuel Beckett.' Stefan Bauer, redacteur van het tijdschrift *Gong*, zegt dat de schrijvers die tegenwoordig in Duitsland als kunstenaars worden erkend, een 'onbegrijpelijk soort *highbrow*-fictie schrijven'.

Intellectueel zijn betekent vandaag vooral dat je niet saai mag overkomen. De beide hierboven geciteerde Duitsers bedienen zich in hun beschuldiging aan het

EEN VROUWELIJKE HOOGLERAAR

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adres van de moderne Duitse literatuur van een typisch vocabulaire: het gaat over 'highbrow', 'onbegrijpelijk', 'melancholisch' en 'geen plezier en vermaak'. Ook de constatering dat bepaalde onderwerpen taboe zijn, mag als typerend worden beschouwd. Want de massacultuur – ongeacht of het gaat over spijkerbroeken, MTV, Coca-Cola, een film, een spotje of een boek – maakt om zichzelf te promoten altijd gebruik van dezelfde mythe: ze verbreekt taboes, ze is onconventioneel, fris, avantgardistisch, subversief, brutaal en nooit, maar dan ook nooit saai. Wat natuurlijk niet helemaal waar is.

Het enige punt in het voordeel van die twee schrijvers die met enkele algemene uitspraken (zo algemeen dat je er als lezer onpasselijk van zou worden) de Duitse literatuur ervan beschuldigen zo saai te zijn, is dat ze behoren tot de 'jongeren'. Wie jong is, is gegarandeerd 'subversief', 'authentiek', 'onconventioneel' en gericht op 'plezier'. In de praktijk ontleent een jongere aan zijn jeugd de meest zekere garantie dat hij met zijn hele reclamepakket zal worden gelanceerd naar een prettige, opwindende en goed betaalde loopbaan in de cultuur van de mainstream.

Fun-loving culture

De broederschap op deze wereld zal via de kitsch tot stand komen, schreef Milan Kundera ooit. Waarschijnlijk al heel lang geleden, want ook die broederschap is allang een realiteit. Er bestaat geen groot verschil tussen een visverkoopster in de Lissabonse wijk Alfama en een barmeisje in een klein barretje ergens op een bovenverdieping in het Petersburgse hotel Oktjabrskaja. Ze kijken naar dezelfde Amerikaanse en Mexicaanse soap series. Alleen het woord 'kitsch', in de jaren zestig voorwerp van intellectuele belangstelling, is in onbruik geraakt. In plaats daarvan zijn er woorden in omloop gekomen als 'industrie' (film-, uitgeverijindustrie), 'entertainment' en verder nog 'plezier' (*pleasure*) en 'vermaak' (*fun*).

Twee jaar geleden gaf ik college aan de universiteit van Chapel Hill, North Carolina. Mijn studenten wisten niet wat het woord kitsch betekende. Onlangs, tijdens een college in Tübingen, vroeg een studente me wat er bedoeld werd met 'hoge literatuur' en 'triviale literatuur', twee termen die ik gebruikt had met daarbij mijn verontschuldiging omdat ze wat ouderwets waren.

Fun-loving culture, dat was de definitie die Neil Postman vijftien jaar geleden van de Amerikaanse cultuur gaf. Inmiddels heeft deze *fun-loving culture* de hele wereld veroverd. De Amerikaanse socioloog Todd Gitlin beweert dat de Amerikaanse populaire cultuur de laatste is 'in een lange rij van pretendentes die ons een wereldomvattende eenwording wilden bieden. Ze is de opvolger van het Latijn dat ons door het Romeinse Rijk en de rooms-katholieke kerk werd opgelegd, en van het marxisme-leninisme dat de communistische regeringen ons wilden opleggen.'

Terwijl ik dit schrijf, kijken miljoenen mensen in tweeënvijftig landen naar de teenagere serie *Buffie, the Vampire Slayer*, dansen jonge Vietnamezen op Amerikaanse muziek in de restaurants van de keten Apocalypse Now, de Iraniërs zijn helemaal weg van *Titanic*, van Zuid-Amerika tot China kijkt men naar *Baywatch*, Ophra Winfrey heeft over de hele wereld een trouwe en hechte aanhang van vrouwelijke kijkers en Jerry Springer is een soort icoon geworden van de algehele 'springerisatie' in het openbare leven: de politiek, de cultuur, de journalistiek, de televisie, enzovoort.

Alleen de Taliban kijken nergens naar. Niemand behalve zij wenst van de mondiale broederschap te worden buitengesloten. Niemand wil tot de Taliban gerekend worden. Want zij zijn fundamentalisten, ja toch? De angst voor buitensluiting vormt het fundament voor iedere vorm van fascisme. Het is deze angst voor buitensluiting waarvan ook onze gouden eeuw van het consumptendom profiteert.

Een andere metafoor: de trein

In juni en juli 2000 maakte ik een reis in een metaforische trein. In die trein zaten zo'n honderd, meest jongere schrijvers, uit drieënvijftig landen van het 'uitgebreide' Europa. We reisden in anderhalve maand van Zuid- naar Noord-Europa. Honderd schrijvers is niet veel, maar toch wel zoets als een specimen van dat deel van de menselijke bevolking dat zich bezighoudt met een activiteit die men literatuur noemt. We reisden door de meest uiteenlopende gebieden, waarvan som-

mige als 'problematisch' golden. Twintig jaar eerder zouden die honderd schrijvers geen moment hebben gearzeld om met elkaar een of andere petitie, verklaring of protestbrief op te stellen. In onze trein was van dergelijke activiteiten geen sprake. Het moet gezegd, aan het einde van de reis kwamen de schrijvers met een wat lauwe, gezamenlijke verklaring, maar die had te maken met de praktische kanten van het schrijversvak (zoals de eis dat de EU meer geld zou uittrekken voor het maken van vertalingen uit de ene kleine taal in de andere). De schrijvers leken meer dan tevreden met hun niche in het culturele milieu, met de plaats die ze innamen in hun landen, hun naties, de Europese Gemeenschap, Europa of de literatuur. We kwamen door twaalf landen, in de trein zaten schrijvers uit Rusland en Wit-Rusland, uit het Griekse en Turkse deel van Cyprus, uit Servië, Kroatië en Litouwen... Weinig van hen leken belangstelling te hebben voor politiek, voor bespiegelingen over Europa of voor het doen van onderzoek naar het begrip literatuur zelf. Waar de schrijvers wel warm voor liepen, waren onderwerpen als 'lobby', 'network' en 'cultural management'. Eco's aloude verdeling van intellectuelen in 'apocalyptici' en 'geïntegreerden' lijkt thans achterhaald. De meesten zijn geïntegreerd. De apocalyptici en melancholici, de aanbidders van 'hoe het ooit was' en de voorvechters van al wat elitair is, zijn vrijwel geheel van het culturele toneel verdwenen.

'Wat Orwell vreesde, waren de mensen die boeken wensten te verbieden. Wat Huxley vreesde, was dat er op een zekere dag geen reden meer zou zijn om een boek te verbieden, omdat er niemand meer was die überhaupt een boek zou willen lezen. Orwell vreesde degenen die ons van informatie verstoken wilden houden. Huxley vreesde degenen die ons daarmee wilden overladen, zodat we zouden vervallen tot een gezapige zelfingenomenheid. Orwell vreesde dat de waarheid voor ons verborgen zou worden gehouden. Huxley vreesde dat de waarheid ten onder zou gaan in een zee van irrelevante bijzaken. Orwell vreesde dat we een cultuur in gevangenschap zouden worden. Huxley vreesde dat we een triviale cultuur zouden worden, slechts geïnteresseerd in een equivalent van primaire lustgevoelens en onzinnigheden die tot een totale desintegratie zouden leiden. (...) Kortom, Orwell vreesde dat datgene wat wij haatten, ons zou vernietigen. Huxley vreesde dat datgene wat wij liefhadden, ons zou vernietigen,' schreef de apocalypticus Neil Postman vijftien jaar geleden, waarbij het zich liet ontvallen dat Huxley naar zijn mening weleens gelijk zou kunnen hebben. Wat mezelf betreft, ik voel me nog steeds geen geïntegreerde en ook geen apocalyptica. Ik behoor tot de 'geapogreerden' en heb besloten daarin te berusten. Net als Kundera denk ik dat men niet hoort te spreken over zaken die overal om ons heen aanwezig zijn. Ik heb dus besloten alle zinloze dingen te laten rusten en me aan te sluiten bij de broederschap waartoe ik misschien, zonder het zelf te weten, altijd al heb behoord. Maar het moet gezegd: ik heb geen enkel alternatief. Daarom houd ik nauwlettend de cultuurtrends en bestsellerlijsten in de gaten, ik kijk televisie, ik verbreed iedere dag mijn horizon van culturele referenties, ik heb zelfs een boek met citaten gekocht (omdat ik het nuttig vond een paar passende citaten op mijn repertoire te hebben) en ik wacht op het moment dat ik voor een televisie-uitzending word gevraagd.

Ik oefen om niet te luisteren naar wat anderen me willen vertellen als ze aan het woord zijn. Ik zal mijn best doen om ze zo snel mogelijk in de rede te vallen. Deze gehoorzame integratie in de wereldbroederschap vervult me van een metafysische vreugde. Ik wacht op het moment dat ik de stem van de massamedia hoor die aan mij vraagt: 'Are we having fun now?' Ik wacht op het moment dat ik eindelijk zal kunnen zeggen: 'Yes, we are...'

Vertaling Roel Schuyt

Dit is een fragment uit 'Verboden te lezen' van Dubravka Ugresic, dat januari 2001 zal verschijnen. Uitgeverij De Geus, 176 pagina's, f34,90
De tv-serie 'Van de schoonheid en de troost' op video: f400,- voor tien banden, f45,- per band, gironummer 92 860 t.n.v. VPRO Publieksservice, Hilversum.
Band 10: The Grand Final; Band 5: Gould, Ugresic, Schama

'DE UITZENDING VOELDE

ALS EEN SLAG

VOOR MIJN EGO

EN DE TELEURSTELLING

BLIJKT ACHTERAF

NOC DIEPER TE ZITTEN

DAN IK OP DAT MOMENT DACHT'

6-4-2000

deVerdieping

Trouw DONDERDAG 6 APRIL 2000

Drugshandel

Abe de Vries

Dealen on

leraar sociologie Djokica Jovanovic. „Het gaat te ver. In het zuiden van Servië zie je een massale vlucht in een vir-

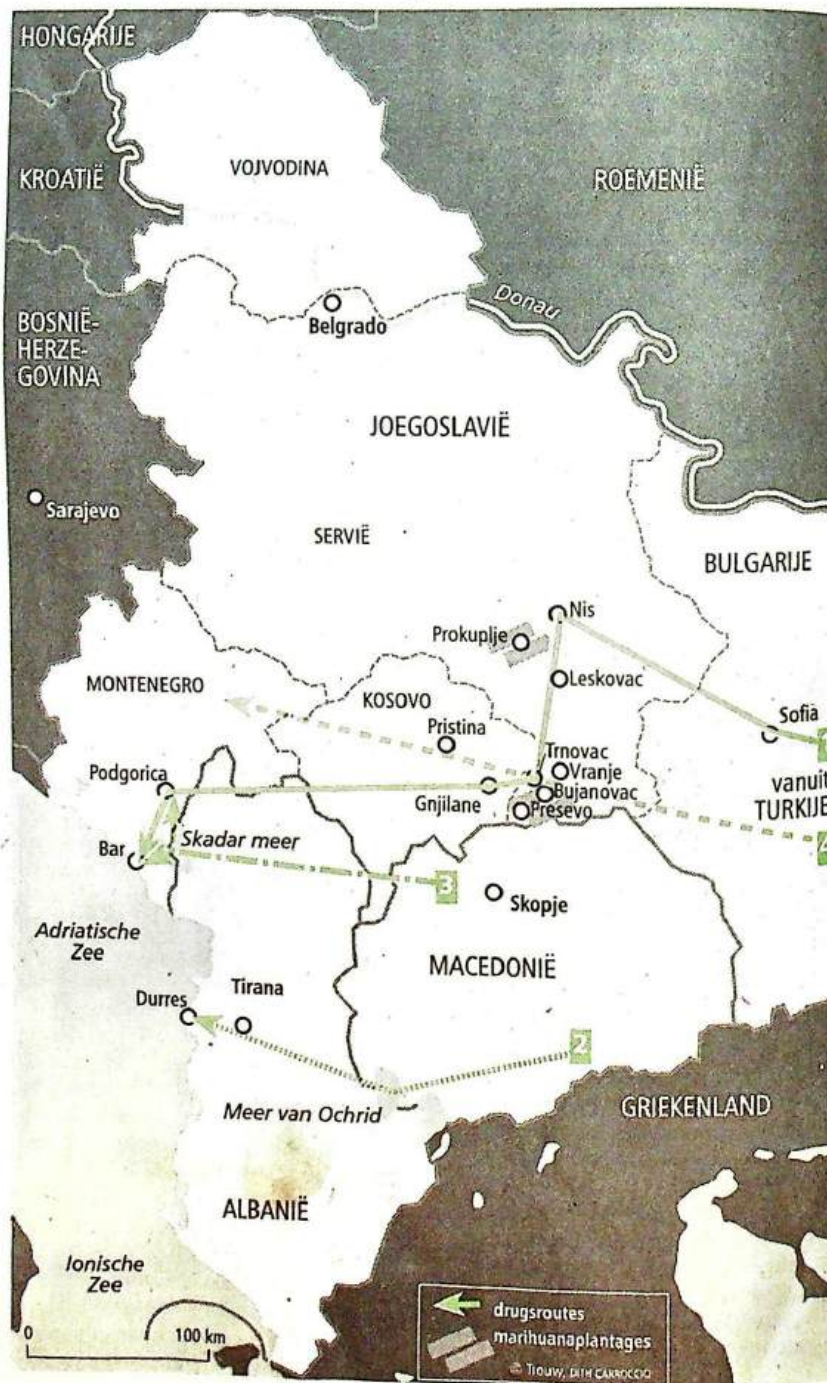
nese families de handel. Het stadje is een regionaal distributiepunt voor heroïne uit Bulgarije en Macedonië en

is zwaar onderbemand en heeft geen enkele ervaring met drugshandel in de regio.

FOTO ROBBERT BODEGRAVEN, HH

De Balkan

De zuidelijke Balkan ontwikkelt zich in hoog tempo tot een van de belangrijkste drugsregio's ter wereld. Smokkelroutes in deze 'heroïnepoort van Europa' lopen van Bulgarije in het noorden, via Macedonië, Albanië en Kosovo naar Montenegro aan de Adriatische Zee. De verpauperde bevolking zoekt steeds meer haar heil in marihuana. Een reportage uit de Zuid-Servische stad Nis.



Marko Sajic zat net vier dagen in dienst toen de oorlog uitbrak. Hij wist nog niet hoe je met een geweer moet omgaan of hoe je een uniform hoort te dragen. Maar over het bouwen van een joint hoefde je hem niks te vertellen. Hij was ingedeeld bij de militaire politie. Stond als altijd stond hij op de avond van 24 maart 1999 in de rij voor de militaire keuken in een klein dorpje bij Leskovac langs de grens met Kosovo. Daar had de opleidingseenheid de tenten opgeslagen. Bij het doffe gedreun van de eerste ontploffingen, ergens achter de bergen, dacht hij eerst aan een oefening. Uit de plotselinge paniek kon hij opmaken dat het menens was. „Ik keek naar de lucht. Explosies, lichtschitteringen. Ik rende en dacht aan niets. We lachten en lachten en vlogen, drie maanden lang.”

De wiet kwam van een plaatselijk vriendinnetje. Eigen teelt. In dat dorp groeien de planten in het seizoen overal, zegt Marko. De meeste gezinshoofden uit het plaatsje werken ergens in West-Europa. Hun zoons zien hun kans schoon met vaders afwezigheid en kweken maar raak; in de tuin, in het bos, op de akkers. Als de militaire politie in spe op mars was dan was het gewoonte even geblesseerd uit te vallen om snel een plantje achterover te drukken. Acht van de tien dienstplichtigen in Marko's eenheid blowden. De idylle in dit 'dorp van de goede grassen' herinnert hij zich als de mooiste van z'n hele diensttijd. „We vonden het vreselijk jammer dat de oorlog was afgelopen”, grinnikt hij.

Nis bluft om te ontsnappen aan de harde werkelijkheid en dealt om te overleven. De tweede stad van Servië telt 270 000 inwoners, minstens 15 000 vluchtelingen en heeft een werkloosheid van maar liefst 70 procent. Het gemiddelde inkomen ligt er onder de 70 mark per maand. In het groeiseizoen, dat de komende weken begint, zullen volgens lokale dealers vele honderden veldjes met twintig tot vijftig marihuana-planten te vinden zijn in de dorpen en gehuchten rond de stad. Jongeren die van het platteland naar Nis zijn getrokken, telen marihuana op de akkers van hun nietsvermoedende grootouders, meestal voor eigen gebruik, maar ook om wat bij te verdienen.

Grote plantages zijn in het voorjaar te vinden in de bergen bij de stad Prokuplje, niet ver van Kosovo en de streek rondom Bujanovac en Presevo, waar de meerderheid Albanese is. Wat niet bestemd is voor de straathandel in Nis, Belgrado of andere Servische steden, gaat naar het grensplaatsje Trnovac. Al sinds het begin van de jaren negentig houdt de Albanese maffia zich daar bezig met de handel in heroïne en marihuana.

„Er is reden voor alarm”, zegt hoog-

bruik van marihuana wellicht een manier van leven, een mode, denkt de uit Pristina gevluchte professor die nu in Vranje college geeft. In de jaren zeventig was dat in Joegoslavië ook nog zo, toen het land in het Oostblok voorop liep met Europese contacten. „Nu rookt iedereen marihuana. Zelfs mannen op middelbare leeftijd met kinderen beginnen er mee.”

De Servische overheid verbergt volgens de hoogleraar de omvang van het drugsprobleem. Omdat de autoriteiten niet in staat zijn er iets aan te doen, wordt er niet over gepraat. „Het zou het falen van de regering blootleggen. Dus blijft men stil.” Door de overheid bekostigde onderzoeksprogramma's om oorzaken en gevolgen van het drugsgebruik in kaart te brengen, zijn er niet. Maar volgens Jovanovic zwijgt de democratische oppositie ook, uit opportunisme. „Drugsgebruikers zijn kiezers. Het is een grote groep die men niet tegen de haren in wil strijken.” Een grote voorlichtingscampagne in Nis over de gevaren van drugs, drie jaar geleden, bloedde wegens gebrek aan belangstelling dood.

Sancties, uitzichtloosheid, geen werk en minder geld dan de Serviërs in het noorden van het land – Nis houdt zichzelf het liefst voor de gek. De ene helft van de stad doet alsof er niets aan de hand is en probeert krampachtig 'normaal' te bestaan; de andere helft verdooft zichzelf met drank of drugs. In Nis is het niet uitzonderlijk om tien tot twintig uur in de rij te staan voor een paar liter benzine. Autorijden is een van de weinige bezigheden die herinnert aan een normaal leven.

Er is meer van dat soort zelfbedrog. Het lijkt alsof werkelijk iedereen wedschappen op de voetbaluitslagen afsluit. Alle kiosken op straat verkopen voor een paar dinar de wedstrijdschema's van alle Europese competities. De toeloop op de bookmakers is massaal. De hoop op een extraatje, en dus op een beter leven – al is het maar voor een paar dagen – is groot.

Vladan Markovic handelt in dope. Hij heeft net zeven maanden in de gevangenis achter de rug, maar is alweer bezig. De heroïne krijgt hij van een Albanese uit Trnovac. Soms rechtstreeks, soms via een tussenpersoon in Vranje. Officieel heeft Nis 1100 geregistreerde verslaafden aan heroïne. Het werkelijke aantal gebruikers van harddrugs schat Vladan op vier- tot vijfduizend. Na de oorlog om Kosovo is het moeilijk om contact te krijgen met de Albanese leveranciers, zegt hij. „Je moet iemand kennen, of met een aanbeveling op zak komen. Iemand moet garant voor je willen staan.”

Tegenwoordig is hij meer geïnteresseerd in cocaïne. „vanwege de grotere winsten.” Ook zijn coke (belo in het Servisch, wat wit betekent) komt uit Trnovac. In het plaatsje, dichtbij Kosovo en Macedonië, beheersen een paar Alba-

Een van de grote drugsroutes op de Balkan loopt van Turkije naar de 'stapelmarkt' in het Bulgaarse Sofia, vandaar via Nis naar Trnovac, dan naar Gnjilane in Kosovo en verder naar Podgorica en Bar in Montenegro (1 op het kaartje). Langs deze route vindt het voornaamste multi-etnische contact tussen Serviërs en Albanese plaats bij de Servisch-Bulgaarse grens, als Albanese smokkelaars de Servische grenswachten omkopen. Vladan: „Onze corrupte douane pakt alleen de nieuwen, die voor het eerst werken.” Volgens de Internationale Crisis Groep, een door de Soros-stichtingen gefinancierde 'denktank' voor de Balkan, loopt een tweede route via Zuid-Macedonië en het meer van Ochrid naar de Albanese haven Durrës. Een derde gaat via Noord-Macedonië en het Skadar-meer naar Podgorica en Bar; een vierde (mogelijk de belangrijkste) loopt naar Montenegro via Kosovo (zie het kaartje).

Albanese controleren de handel langs alle smokkelwegen. Allereerst doordat zij behalve in Albanië en Kosovo ook in grote aantallen in Macedonië en Montenegro wonen. Daarnaast zijn zij goed georganiseerd door hun grote familieverbanden. Gecombineerd met de eigen taal van de Albanesezendeert dat geheimhouding en bescherming tegen verraad.

„Onze corrupte douane pakt alleen de nieuwen die voor het eerst werken.”

De hechte Albanese sociale structuur en de armoede in de zuidelijke Balkan maakt de Albanese maffia vergelijkbaar met de Siciliaanse. Volgens Interpol en andere Europese organisaties voor drugsbestrijding is Kosovo het afgelopen jaar uitgegroeid tot het grootste doorvoercentrum van heroïne naar West-Europa. Tachtig procent van de heroïne die in Europa aan de man wordt gebracht, zou via Kosovo lopen. Iedere maand wordt vier tot vijf ton vanuit Turkije via Kosovo getransporteerd.

Dat is ruim een verdubbeling in vergelijking met de periode voor de Kosovo-oorlog. De cijfers zijn afkomstig van Marko Nicovic, het voormalige hoofd van de narcotica-politie in Belgrado. De Serviër, tegenwoordig vice-voorzitter van de Internationale Politie-associatie van Drugsbestrijders in New York, heeft onderzoek voor Interpol gedaan waaruit blijkt dat vijf- tot zesduizend Albanese in Kosovo direct bij de handel in heroïne zijn betrokken. De explosieve groei is volgens Nicovic mede te wijten aan het vertrek van de Servische politie uit Kosovo. De internationale VN-politie die ervoor in de plaats is gekomen,

tree maakt, zal iedereen het weten op Sasha Djordjevic stamp met drie medewerkers in zijn kielzog het café-restaurant binnen. Zwartzijden overhemden broek, 23 jaar. Meteen wil hij ete op tafel zien. De duurberechtere Daarna geeft hij de ober opdracht twe-joints te bouwen. „Top-marihuana uit Albanië”, roept hij.

In de hoek oefent een zangeres op het melancholieke Turkse melos van de Zuid-Servische volksmuziek, begeleid door een zigeuner met een kleine syntthesizer. Sasha legt uit hoe hij zakenman is geworden. „Ik had simpelweg niets te eten. Er was een kans, die heb ik gegrepen.” Zijn eerste 200 gram verkocht hij binnen een week. Toen z'n broer besloot mee te doen, kochten ze samen hun eerste mobiele telefoon. Nu werkt hij de klok rond. Z'n wiet haalt hij uit Podgorica in Montenegro voor 150 mark per kilo.

Een tussenpersoon doet voor hem zaken met Montenegrijnse Albanese. Sasha is een van de vijf dealers in Nis die het aandurven om geregeld tien kilo te vervoeren. „De verpakking van het spul dat ik krijg is altijd nat. Dus ik vraag: hoe komt dat? Zeggen ze: vanwege de lekke bodems van de boten op het Skadar-meer.” Zijn collega's in Nis dealen ook in dope. Hij doet alleen marihuana en 'shit' (hasj). „We hebben de markt verdeeld. Zij kopen in Trnovac, ik niet.”

Bij zijn reizen naar Podgorica gebruikt hij iedere keer een andere smokkelmethode. Soms stopt hij de handelswaar in de banden van z'n auto, soms tussen de ski's op de imperiaal. Een vermomming als toerist werkt meestal goed. Altijd zorgt hij ervoor dat hij een meisje bij zich heeft. „Om de politie af te leiden.”

Wie in Nis wiet wil kopen, moet een leverancier kennen en hem op zijn mobiele nummer bellen; gelegaliseerde coffeshops met het assortiment op een menukaart zijn er in Servië niet. Wiet kopen betekent hier nog steeds in een donker straatje aanbellen, snel overleggen met een schichtig om zich heen kijkende dealer en dan wegwezen. Handel en bezit zijn strafbaar. Blown ook, al zijn er wel enkele kleine kafanas (cafés met muziek) waar de bediening het gebruik van marihuana toestaat.

Ondanks zijn ondergrondse werkwijze zegt Sasha 3500 mark per maand op te strijken. Dat is vijftig keer het gemiddelde inkomen. „Alles gaat op aan drank, eten en vrouwen.” Gebulder van zijn vrienden. Dan valt hij stil. Het liedje van de zangeres gaat over een aan lager wal geraakte vrouw, die zich haar dromen herinnert. Iemand merkt op dat uitbundige vrolijkheid in Servië heel vaak een uiting van wanhoop is. „Ik blow omdat ieder normaal persoon met ook maar een klein beetje hersens dit land al lang heeft verlaten”, peinst Sasha. „Ik zoek een ondergrondse tunnel naar de andere kant van de wereld.”

van holst en steijnen

From: Michel COLLON <michel.collon@skynet.be>
To: **NEDERLAND <michel.collon@skynet.be>; **PORTUGAL <michel.collon@skynet.be>; **RUSSIE <michel.collon@skynet.be>
Sent: maandag 22 juli 2002 06:57
Subject: What's Happening in Kosovo Today? A film that breaks the silence.

What's Happening in Kosovo today?
 A film that breaks the silence.

Interview:
 Michel Collon and Vanessa Stojilkovic on their new film
 The Damned of Kosovo

(Interview: Antoine Renard. Translation: Mick Collins)

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Chased from her apartment in Pristina, Maria would not have had a life except that she looked Albanian. Her nephew, an interpreter for the UN, was savagely murdered. Silvana's husband was kidnapped, and she hasn't had any news about him for two years. Stanimir's home was burned down. What do they have in common? They are Serbs and live, or rather survive, in Kosovo. Why don't the media talk more about this region occupied by NATO? The new film by Michel Collon and Vanessa Stojilkovic breaks the silence. And sounds an alarm to all people now threatened by these wars of globalization. . . .

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How did this film come to be?

Michel Collon. I did this report on Kosovo to get a first hand look at the current situation of the Serbs and other national minorities. I remembered what Bill Clinton said just as he began the bombing of Yugoslavia: "Our resolve is the only hope for the people of Kosovo to be able to live in their own country. Imagine if we closed our eyes and if these people were massacred, right on NATO's doorstep. It would be discredited."

Clinton spoke of the Albanians. But today, what about the Serbs and the other national minorities, the Roma [Gypsies], Gorans, Turks, Egyptians, Muslims . . . who have lived in Kosovo for centuries? Are they secure with 45,000 NATO troops in their country?

And what did you see?

Michel Collon. An accumulation of suffering that no one could imagine here.

But the media don't speak to us about Kosovo anymore. Isn't the situation there under control?

Michel Collon. Quite the contrary! What I saw was: bombing attacks, assassinations, expulsions and the destruction of homes, kidnappings and families in anguish, constant threats . . . The situation is overwhelming: A veritable ethnic cleansing that has run off a large part of the non-Albanian population and has terrorized those who've stayed.

What were you able to show concretely?

Michel Collon. About twenty interviews give the victims a chance to speak out. Their testimonies, dignified but full of emotion, brought tears to my eyes. It was absolutely necessary to pass on their tragic message.

To break the media silence that currently surrounds Kosovo. Their fate is a terrible warning to all people: an occupation by the US, or by the NATO powers, is in no way a solution. On the contrary, it guarantees terrible suffering for all the people of these occupied regions.

The presence of NATO troops has not put a stop to the violence?

Michel Collon. Not only has it not stopped the violence, but the film shows several exclusive documents that reveal NATO's complicity with the authors of this violence: the militias of the KLA separatists.

Did you have any problems in making the film?

Michel Collon. Of course, in such a climate of terror, a Serb cameraman is risking his life if he films in a 'non-Albanian' zone. But I had

good fortune to work with a very motivated crew. Some very courageous people to whom I owe a great deal.

Vanessa, how did you get involved in the project?

Vanessa Stojilkovic. At 25, I had already tried several different jobs in the photographic media, including being an editor. After a contact through the internet, Michel Collon offered me the opportunity to re-start the writing and editing of his film, which had broken down because of some health problems his previous director had. I accepted immediately.

Because you're French but from Yugoslavia?

Vanessa Stojilkovic. Yes and no. Yes, because in fact I had several members of my family who died or suffered terribly in this war. I was very distressed by it. Then, this film allowed me to fulfill the promise I had made to them down there: To bring the truth to the West. Unfortunately, many of them are already dead and others soon will be.

The stress of the war and the bombing provoked enormous problems of hypertension that they didn't have the means to treat. And cancer is growing at an alarming rate. People are dying in misery. The toll of the war for all of Yugoslavia is not just reflected by the number of dead, but also by the physical and psychological conditions of those who survived. And their lack of any future.

Michel Collon truly gave me a gift when he offered me the primary material of the interviews he put together. And his cogent analyses that tie this war, in such a clear fashion, to the movement for globalization. In assembling and shaping this material, I was able to give voice to my pain, to keep my promise, and to grieve.

Michel Collon. In fact it's Vanessa who gave me a marvelous gift. I worked four days on the filming. She worked four months on the editing. Not at all easy, as I am not a professional filmmaker, and what I brought to the film was in itself not really very significant. Thanks to her, thanks to her remarkable commitment, many people in the world will be able to discover a very important reality.

Does this film address itself only to the Serbs?

Vanessa Stojilkovic. Not at all! My principal motivation was above all to open the eyes of all the 'native' French or all the people of Western Europe who have been misinformed. To make them aware, for example, that we have been depriving the non-Albanians of decent health care: People are dying because they don't have anything to treat them with, because they don't have the necessary medical equipment. That Serb children don't have schools to go to. That a hundred churches have been destroyed. And that all this is still going on.

Is this a 'pro-Serb' film?

Michel Collon. No. First, it also states the case for other national minorities, those who have also been persecuted, 'cleansed'. The Roma (Gypsies), for example, chased off all over Europe, these days. And murdered in Kosovo. And also the Jews, Gorans, Muslims, Turks, Egyptians... Minorities about whom silence is dominating.

And then, many Albanians find themselves equally victimized by a mafia system based on terror. One of them was able to testify in front of our camera. He was persecuted because he married a Serb!

In fact, I am neither pro-Serb, nor pro-Albanian. I think that all these people find themselves victims of hidden strategies: The US wanted, just like their allies, to destroy Yugoslavia which they saw as too Leftist. They wanted to control the oil routes that pass precisely through there. They wanted to install their super-base, Camp Bondsteel. And they have succeeded, by utilizing –no, by themselves inciting– this conflict between the Serbs and the Albanians.

Do you know that presently Washington has signed 99 year leases for all the runways used by its bombers? Could someone explain to us how these bombers will help resolve the problems of the people of Kosovo?

A much wider strategic objective, then?

Michel Collon. Exactly. This military base brings the US bombers very close to Moscow and to the Caucuses. It is part of a larger plan of encirclement, because Washington doesn't think Putin and his current positions will necessarily last forever. And moreover, by breaking up Yugoslavia as part of a global plan they sent out this message to the people of the world: If you resist globalization, you will be destroyed.

An editorial in the New York Times on the eve of the war had already clearly stated this: "For globalization to work, America must not demure from acting like the omnipotent super-power that it is. The invisible hand of the market never functions without the hidden fist. McDonalds cannot prosper without McDonnell Douglas, the builder of the F-15 fighter. And the hidden fist that guarantees a secure world for the technologies of the Silicon Valley is called the US Army, Air Force, Navy and Marines."

You have written several books on these themes. Why a film?
Michel Collon. I realized that this medium allows one to touch those who don't read. And it is ideal for stimulating debate. Each person can easily give a cassette to a friend, a relative. Or organize at his home a little screening and discussion.

And this is urgent because Mr Bush has announced that he will attack a number of other countries. A great reason for progressives to resume the discussion of what happened in Yugoslavia. Did the results of the NATO intervention correspond to its promises? Are there other hidden interests here? Was public opinion manipulated by the media lies?

Yugoslavia, is this a preview of what will happen to Iraq, Palestine and others?

Michel Collon. Yes. Globalization, that's the war, essentially. The policies of the multinationals only widen the gap between the rich and poor on this planet. War became the number one method to break their resistance. The war against the Palestinians and the Iraqis, 'Plan Columbia', the interventionist aggression against the Congo, threats against Iran, Syria, North Korea, all that is part of the same global war.

Vanessa Stojilkovic. The young people organized against globalization must inform themselves more seriously on these wars. A country that has used chemical weapons like Agent Orange, depleted uranium bombs and other such filth can not be allowed to manipulate us and to make us believe that it waged this war for the liberties and the rights of Man. We can't let them rule the world and organize these wars in the financial interests of the multinationals. And I'm also angry at the European nations that were complicit and profited from this war.

This film is a testament, a warning, a call for help. For the people of Kosovo and for all the people who are threatened. The next time NATO or the Euro Army prepare to bomb another country, the people of the NATO countries must rise up and intervene on a mass scale to stop their governments.

A previous film, ³Under NATO Bombs², was translated into many languages. What about this one?

Vanessa Stojilkovic. I have just finished the Serbo-Croat version. And other translations are in the works. With the new technologies for editing on computer, you can easily replace one track on the editing, for example, the voice-over track or the subtitles, with another. We have already started for translations in Spanish, Russian, Dutch. And we think that the English and Arabic versions, maybe German and Italian, will also be very useful. For all that, and for a maximum distribution, we're looking for help.

Because the fate inflicted on Yugoslavia threatens other countries?

Michel Collon. Exactly. This film speaks to all the people of the world. Kosovo was a warning to the whole planet. All people who do not want to live on their knees, all countries who want to determine their own destinies, risk being hit by this global war that Mr Bush and his pals are planning. The only issue is to create a huge international front of resistance to this war.

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Wants to help make this film known :

Suggestion :

Send this back to :
michel.collon@skynet.be

For Spanish version (in Spanish, please!) :
To : Manuel Espinar <mepinar@nodo50.org>

van holst en steijnen

From: CDSM <cdsm_b@btopenworld.com>
To: <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>
Sent: zaterdag 18 mei 2002 01:35
Subject: Medical Health Care Crisis in Yugoslavia

Medical Health Care Crisis in Yugoslavia

>
 >
 >>
 >>
 >>
 >> THE HELLENIC MEDICAL SOCIETY OF NEW YORK
 >>
 >> URGENT REQUEST FOR HELP
 >>
 >> MEDICAL HEALTH CARE CRISIS IN YUGOSLAVIA
 >>
 >> HMS DRIVE FOR MEDICAL SUPPLIES AND MEDICAL EQUIPMENT
 >>
 >>
 >> The Hellenic Medical Society of New York, a
 >> leader nationally among ethnic medical societies is
 >> sponsoring a medical humanitarian drive in which medical
 >> supplies and medical equipment are being sent to
 >> hospitals in Yugoslavia where there is a serious and
 >> escalating health care crisis.
 >> Recently a 40 ft. medical container was sent to a
 >> leading pedlatic hospital in Belgrade the value of
 >> which was more then US \$ 150,000. We are now targeting a
 >> hospital in Pancevo for help.
 >> Pancevo is a highly industrialized, petrochemical
 >> center not far from Belgrade, that was bombed repeatedly
 >> in 1999, releasing toxic fumes and substances above and
 >> below ground. The result is an ecological disaster for
 >> the entire area in which there has been a 500% increase
 >> in mortality rate since 1999 and where cancer cases have
 >> soared from 2.000 to 10.000 new cases a year!
 >> Pancevo hospital is a full service hospital
 >> (Surgery, Internal medicine, Gynecology, Obstetrics,
 >> Pediatrics, Neurology, Oncology, Dermatology,
 >> Ophthalmology, and Dentistry). It has 750 beds and
 >> serves an area encompassing 200.000 people of various
 >> ethnic groups.
 >> Since the dissolution of Yugoslavia and after 10
 >> years of sanctions and the fall of the Milosevic's
 >> regime - the new democratically elected government finds
 >> itself bankrupt and unable to support the health care
 >> system, which is in a state of collapse. And, though
 >> humanitarian agencies and NGOs are trying to help, the
 >> needs far outstep current demands.
 >>
 >> BASIC NEEDS
 >>
 >> Pancevo hospital needs everything, from blankets
 >> and sheets to every kind of medical supplies and
 >> equipment, including dlagnostic equipment for detecting
 >> cancer.
 >> We are sending an URGENT REQUEST FOR MEDICAL
 >> SUPPLIES AND MEDICAL EQUIPMENT of every kind and type.
 >> We have a collection site and will transport any
 >> equipment or medical supplies that are donated. (ALL
 >> DONATIONS ARE TAX DEDUCTIBLE)
 >> Recently, our representatives in Belgrade met
 >> with the American ambassador, William Montgomery, who
 >> said he fully supported the efforts of HMS and would
 >> give us any help we needed. He agreed that the health
 >> care system was a disaster and he was grateful for the
 >> help HMS was offering.
 >> If you can supply us with any kind of medical
 >> equipment or supplies, you can be sure you are helping
 >> to save precious human lives. You will also bring some
 >> hope to a desperate population where individuals under
 >> the strain of economic hardship are even selling their
 >> kidneys in the black market in order to survive. The

- > > average life span in Yugoslavia is now 48 years old.
- > > As the Director of Pancevo Hospital said sadly
- > > after a recent tour of the hospital: "We have simply
- > > been forgotten."
- > > Medical supplies, new or used (but in working
- > > condition) medical equipment that is often discarded in
- > > this rich land of America can be life saving treasures
- > > for hospitals in crisis. For the nominal price of
- > > transportation, HMS can send a container valued at from
- > > US \$ 100,000 to US \$ 300,000 in medical help.
- > > We would like to be able to say to the people of
- > > Yugoslavia "You have not been forgotten"
- > >
- > > Will you join us in our effort?
- > >
- > > Please contact:
- > >
- > > Anthony Vasilas, M.D.
- > > Advisor Emeritus, Tel. (516) 627-1894; Fax: (516) 869-
- > > 1178
- > >
- > > Representatives:
- > >
- > > Mila Lazarevich - Nolan, Tel. (212) 570-5782; Fax: (212)
- > > 717-6088
- > >
- > > Dusan & Djina Dragic, Tel. (914) 946-2606; Fax: 946-
- > > 4649;
- > > E-mail: DDragic@aol.com
- > >
- > > Mark Milich, Tel. (516) 944-2733
- > >
- > > Please note:
- > >
- > > HMS is also accepting financial donations, which are
- > > also tax deductible. This money will go toward shipping
- > > expenses and to purchase medical supplies and equipment
- > > to supplement our shipments.
- > >
- > > Checks may be made payable to:
- > >
- > > Hellenic Medical Society of New York
- > > Attention: Dr. Anthony Vasilas
- > > For Yugoslav medical relief
- > > 80 Gristmill Lane
- > > Manhasset, NY 11030

van holst en steijnen

From: Paul Davidson <p.davidson@btinternet.com>
To: <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>
Sent: dinsdag 23 april 2002 13:15
Subject: Fw: djindjic - post modern man

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

From: canauk
To: Chossudovsky@sprint.ca
Sent: Tuesday, April 23, 2002 5:43 PM
Subject: djindjic - post modern man

Immediate release - Zoran Djindjic - Post Modern Man

In a speech this morning April 23rd 2002 at the London School of Economics ("Serbia on the Path to Europe") Serbian Prime Minister Zoran Djindjic criticised NATO for not letting him visit Kosovo.

"The German Prime Minister can visit Kosovo but not me. My application to visit Kosovo has been rejected on two occasions. Of course the German Prime Minister has an interest in Kosovo in that there are German troops there."

Zoran Djindjic said "Europe doesn't understand it has real problems in the Balkans" & he complained about "the absence of an exit strategy by NATO from the area."

He said NATO/EU were "damaging their interests" & had no strategy, & specifically "no exit strategy."

He pointed out that NATO had 30,000 troops in Kosovo & 50,000 troops in Bosnia.

"It is a real problem for Europe, so many troops in the area, & costing 2 to 3 billion \$ annually & there is no exit strategy."

"The best exit strategy for Nato = a Serbian entrance into Europe."

Instead of the UK Government having to pay military costs in the Former Yugoslavia it should "be involved in an investment for peace....which is better than ten years soldiering."

He said "it is not necessary for Europe to stay. We don't need other peoples' forces to keep stability in the region....For the first time people in the Balkans are able to govern themselves. " He called on Europe to "accept us as equal partners."

He remarked (ironically) "the Le Pen victory in France indicates western Europe was moving towards us - towards Balkanisation."

He called on the EU to support "democratic forces," & for "EU association this year," @ least in terms of "indicating what criteria Serbia has to fulfil in order to move Serbia closer to the EU. "

He complained that the 1999 Rambouillet Agreement, the rejection of which led to the 78 NATO bombardment of Yugoslavia, had never been shown to DOS.

"If it had been we could have persuaded people in Yugoslavia to think about it. DOS first saw it on the Internet. We had no chance to prepare the people. "

Mr Djindjic said there were many sources of destabilisation in the Balkans.

"All reforms have failed in the last 200 years. We are the first generation to have the opportunity of stability through democracy, after almost 600 years of undemocratic government. "

He said it was an age of transition.

In Yugoslavia it was a constitutional transition.

He welcomed the new constitutional arrangements between Serbia & Montenegro. He acknowledged that "many were disappointed" but said it was "better to have something real than something imaginary."

He said there was a transition in Kosovo. He said the claim to independence for Kosovo was "high risk" & "could lead to a chain

reaction with 2 or 3 Albanian states becoming independent", also with implications for Bosnia's multi-ethnicity. An independent Kosovo he said wd have "huge & dangerous consequences."

He said there was a transitional problem in Serbia itself, involving regionalism, & the balance between communities & autonomy. He was seeking for the first time "stability based on democratic institutions. "

Regionally it was a period of transition "with 2 or 3 unfinished states - Bosnia, Macedonia & Kosovo."

There was also a transition " from an agrarian to a post industrial & knowledge based economy. "

Although the expectations of the people are European, the GDP in Serbia is less than Iraq.

He said the so called Stability Pact hadn't worked " We have to deliver... "

He acknowledged that what he described as "the democratically elected Governments ...are losing elections all over Eastern Europe."

In reply to a question querying the legality of the hand-over of former President Milosevic to the Hague, Djindjic said the Court was established by the UN Security Council & co-operating with The Hague was a test of reality.

"This world is not justice. This is reality. We adapt to the climate. We don't try & change it. "

He added the national state doesn't matter in Europe now in the 21st century.

"For the nations of western Europe they have had several centuries to develop their nation states, but we haven't & it is now too late for us to build a nation state & we need to go straight into an integrated Europe."

The impression I received was that here is a thoroughly post modern man, @ the same time erratic, brilliant, & quite impervious to criticism. - someone to whom questions of morality & national identity are irrelevant.

The only important issue is GDP. The LSE audience listened respectfully, as always ... as good Germans.

WS

www.canauk.human-rights.org/

canauk@blueyonder.co.uk

van holst en steijnen

From: Paul Davidson <p.davidson@btinternet.com>
To: <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>
Sent: maandag 22 april 2002 13:43
Subject: GUARDIAN: US used Islamists to arm Croatia

US used Islamists to arm Croatia - (TWO ARTICLES)

Official Dutch report says that Pentagon broke UN embargo

Richard Norton-Taylor
 Monday April 22, 2002
 The Guardian

US intelligence agencies secretly broke a UN arms embargo during the 1991-1995 war in Croatia by channelling arms through Islamist jihad groups that Washington is now hunting down across Europe and Asia, according to evidence from the Netherlands.

The evidence surfaced in a hitherto unnoticed section of the official Dutch report into the 1995 Srebrenica massacre that led to the fall of the Dutch government and the resignation last week of its army chief.

The Dutch report reveals how the Pentagon formed a secret alliance with Islamist groups in an Iran-Contra-style operation.

US, Turkish and Iranian intelligence groups worked with the Islamists in what the Dutch report calls the "Croatian pipeline". Arms bought by Iran and Turkey and financed by Saudi Arabia were flown into Croatia initially by the official Iranian airline, Iran Air, and later in a fleet of black C-130 Hercules aircraft.

The report says that mohajedin fighters were also flown in, and that the US was "very closely involved" in the operation which was in flagrant breach of the embargo. British secret services obtained documents proving that Iran also arranged deliveries of arms directly to Bosnia, it says.

The operation was promoted by the Pentagon, rather than the CIA, which was cautious about using Islamist groups as a conduit for arms, and about breaching the embargo. When the CIA tried to place its own people on the ground in Bosnia, the agents were threatened by the mohajedin fighters and the Iranians who were training them.

The UN relied on American intelligence to monitor the embargo, a dependency which allowed Washington to manipulate it at will.

Last month, the US seized a number of Muslims in Bosnia whom it claimed had links with Osama bin Laden's al-Qaida network. They were arrested in defiance of the Bosnian courts.

The contents of the section of the Dutch report entitled Intelligence and the War in Bosnia, 1992-1995, are revealed in an article in today's Guardian by Richard Aldrich, professor of politics at the university of Nottingham and a leading expert on intelligence operations.

He also reveals that the secret services of Ukraine, Greece and Israel were busy arming the Bosnian Serbs. Mossad, Israel's secret service, was particularly active, concluding a substantial arms deal with the Bosnian Serbs at Pale in return for the safe passage of the Jewish population of Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital, Prof Aldrich says.

"Subsequently, the remaining population who could not escape was perplexed to find that unexploded mortar bombs landing in Sarajevo sometimes had markings in Hebrew," he writes.

Both the UN and the Dutch government distanced themselves from the secret services, depriving them of a crucial tool during the peacekeeping operations in Bosnia.

The operation also raises the increasingly urgent issue of how to monitor intelligence agencies, Prof Aldrich says.

"While oversight and accountability is developing on a national basis, this is not remotely matched by international cooperation [between the agencies]."

America used Islamists to arm the Bosnian Muslims

The Srebrenica report reveals the Pentagon's role in a dirty war

Richard J Aldrich
Monday April 22, 2002
The Guardian

The official Dutch inquiry into the 1995 Srebrenica massacre, released last week, contains one of the most sensational reports on western intelligence ever published. Officials have been staggered by its findings and the Dutch government has resigned. One of its many volumes is devoted to clandestine activities during the Bosnian war of the early 1990s. For five years, Professor Cees Wiebes of Amsterdam University has had unrestricted access to Dutch intelligence files and has stalked the corridors of secret service headquarters in western capitals, as well as in Bosnia, asking questions.

His findings are set out in "Intelligence and the war in Bosnia, 1992-1995". It includes remarkable material on covert operations, signals interception, human agents and double-crossing by dozens of agencies in one of dirtiest wars of the new world disorder. Now we have the full story of the secret alliance between the Pentagon and radical Islamist groups from the Middle East designed to assist the Bosnian Muslims - some of the same groups that the Pentagon is now fighting in "the war against terrorism". Pentagon operations in Bosnia have delivered their own "blowback".

In the 1980s Washington's secret services had assisted Saddam Hussein in his war against Iran. Then, in 1990, the US fought him in the Gulf. In both Afghanistan and the Gulf, the Pentagon had incurred debts to Islamist groups and their Middle Eastern sponsors. By 1993 these groups, many supported by Iran and Saudi Arabia, were anxious to help Bosnian Muslims fighting in the former Yugoslavia and called in their debts with the Americans. Bill Clinton and the Pentagon were keen to be seen as creditworthy and repaid in the form of an Iran-Contra style operation - in flagrant violation of the UN security council arms embargo against all combatants in the former Yugoslavia.

The result was a vast secret conduit of weapons smuggling through Croatia. This was arranged by the clandestine agencies of the US, Turkey and Iran, together with a range of radical Islamist groups, including Afghan mujahedin and the pro-Iranian Hizbullah. Wiebes reveals that the British intelligence services obtained documents early on in the Bosnian war proving that Iran was making direct deliveries.

Arms purchased by Iran and Turkey with the financial backing of Saudi Arabia made their way by night from the Middle East. Initially aircraft from Iran Air were used, but as the volume increased they were joined by a mysterious fleet of black C-130 Hercules aircraft. The report stresses that the US was "very closely involved" in the airlift. Mujahedin fighters were also flown in, but they were reserved as shock troops for especially hazardous operations.

Light weapons are the familiar currency of secret services seeking to influence such conflicts. The volume of weapons flown into Croatia was enormous, partly because of a steep Croatian "transit tax". Croatian forces creamed off between 20% and 50% of the arms. The report stresses that this entire trade was clearly illicit. The Croats themselves also obtained massive quantities of illegal weapons from Germany, Belgium and Argentina - again in contravention of the UN arms embargo. The German secret services were fully aware of the trade.

Rather than the CIA, the Pentagon's own secret service was the hidden force behind these operations. The UN protection force, UNPROFOR, was dependent on its troop-contributing nations for intelligence, and above all on the sophisticated monitoring capabilities of the US to police the arms embargo. This gave the Pentagon the ability to manipulate the embargo at will: ensuring that American Awacs aircraft covered crucial areas and were able to turn a blind eye to the frequent nighttime comings and goings at Tuzla.

Weapons flown in during the spring of 1995 were to turn up only a fortnight later in the besieged and demilitarised enclave at Srebrenica. When these shipments were noticed, Americans pressured UNPROFOR to rewrite reports, and when Norwegian officials protested about the flights, they were reportedly threatened into silence.

Both the CIA and British SIS had a more sophisticated perspective on the conflict than the Pentagon, insisting that no side had clean hands and arguing for caution. James Woolsey, director of the CIA until May 1995, had

Increasingly found himself out of step with the Clinton White House over his reluctance to develop close relations with the Islamists. The sentiments were reciprocated. In the spring of 1995, when the CIA sent its first head of station to Sarajevo to liaise with Bosnia's security authorities, the Bosnians tipped off Iranian intelligence. The CIA learned that the Iranians had targeted him for liquidation and quickly withdrew him.

Iranian and Afghan veterans' training camps had also been identified in Bosnia. Later, in the Dayton Accords of November 1995, the stipulation appeared that all foreign forces be withdrawn. This was a deliberate attempt to cleanse Bosnia of Iranian-run training camps. The CIA's main opponents in Bosnia were now the mojahedin fighters and their Iranian trainers - whom the Pentagon had been helping to supply months earlier.

Meanwhile, the secret services of Ukraine, Greece and Israel were busy arming the Bosnian Serbs. Mossad was especially active and concluded a deal with the Bosnian Serbs at Pale involving a substantial supply of artillery shells and mortar bombs. In return they secured safe passage for the Jewish population out of the besieged town of Sarajevo. Subsequently, the remaining population was perplexed to find that unexploded mortar bombs landing in Sarajevo sometimes had Hebrew markings.

The broader lessons of the intelligence report on Srebrenica are clear. Those who were able to deploy intelligence power, including the Americans and their enemies, the Bosnian Serbs, were both able to get their way. Conversely, the UN and the Dutch government were "deprived of the means and capacity for obtaining intelligence" for the Srebrenica deployment, helping to explain why they blundered in, and contributed to the terrible events there.

Secret intelligence techniques can be war-winning and life-saving. But they are not being properly applied. How the UN can have good intelligence in the context of multinational peace operations is a vexing question. Removing light weapons from a conflict can be crucial to drawing it down. But the secret services of some states - including Israel and Iran - continue to be a major source of covert supply, pouring petrol on the flames of already bitter conflicts.

Richard J Aldrich is Professor of Politics at the University of Nottingham. His 'The Hidden Hand: Britain, America and Cold War Secret Intelligence' is published in paperback by John Murray in August.

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From: Jovan Grbic <ssicc@EUnet.yu>
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Sent: zaterdag 12 januari 2002 07:45
Subject: "Balkan-Hilfe": Eindrücke aus Belgrad

From: jocsb@vorstadtzentrum.net
 Date sent: Sat, 12 Jan 2002 11:15:59 +0100
 Subject: "Balkan-Hilfe": Eindrücke aus Belgrad
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 Send reply to: "JOeSB Aktuell" <jocsb@vorstadtzentrum.net>

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Dieser Artikel wurde uns freundlicherweise von Hannes Hofbauer, Autor der Bücher "Balkankrieg - Die Zerstörung Jugoslawiens " und des jüngst erschienen Buches "Balkankrieg - Zehn Jahre Zerstörung Jugoslawiens", zur Verfügung gestellt.

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To: <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>
Sent: zaterdag 12 januari 2002 02:16
Subject: "Balkan-Hilfe": Eindrücke aus Belgrad

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Die aktuelle Situation in Jugoslawien stellt sich noch dramatischer dar. Allein zwischen 1992 und dem 9. Mai 2001, jenem Datum, an dem Belgrad nach vollbrachtem Regimewechsel feierlich wiederum in die Weltbank und den Internationalen Währungsfonds aufgenommen wurde - übrigens in eine von der Schweiz angeführte Gruppe "Helvetistan", in der Kirgisistan, Tadschikistan, Aserbaidschan, Usbekistan, Turkmenistan und Polen gemeinsam über 2,7% der Stimmanteile und damit des Einflusses in den internationalen Finanzorganisationen verfügen - vergrößerte sich die Auslandsschuld um knapp 4 Mrd. US-Dollar auf 12 Mrd. US-Dollar. Innerhalb dieser Zeit, in der Jugoslawien unter totalem wirtschaftlichen Embargo gestanden war und überhaupt keine nennenswerten finanziellen Transaktionen stattgefunden haben, stieg die Kapitalschuld um 30% an. Die Zinsen belasten nun das Budget der neuen Regierung.

Wer sich allerdings mit diesen makroökonomischen Zahlen nicht belasten will, der spricht vom Gegenteil. Die vorherrschende veröffentlichte Meinung geht davon aus, dass Westeuropa, insbesondere Deutschland, den Ländern des Balkans finanzielle Hilfe leiste. Im Duktus der Berichterstattung haben sich die südosteuropäischen Transformationsländer zu Entwicklungshilfe-Empfängern gewandelt, die den westeuropäischen Staatskanzleien und Finanzministerien gefälligst dankbar zu sein hätten. Die letzten Staaten, die dieser zweifelhaften "Hilfe" anheimfallen, sind Jugoslawien und Makedonien, beide erst kürzlich politisch neu strukturiert.

Jugoslawien konnte in den Kreis der Hilfeempfänger erst aufgenommen werden, nachdem die Bomben der NATO Industrie und Infrastruktur zerstört hatten, die 2000er Wahlen eine den westlichen Finanzorganisationen ergebene Führung etabliert haben und mit der Auslieferung von Slobodan Milosevic an Den Haag ein entsprechender politischer und juristischer Kniefall vor der "internationalen Wertegemeinschaft" erfolgt ist. Am Tag, nachdem der ehemalige Staatschef nach Den Haag überstellt worden war, fassten am 29. Juni 2001 in Brüssel die sogenannten "Geber" den Beschluss, dem neuen Serbien mit 1,3 Mrd. US-Dollar helfen zu wollen. Nur ein Bruchteil davon war als nicht rückzahlbares Darlehen vorgesehen, im wesentlichen ging es um Fragen der Umschuldung und der Liberalisierung von Handel und Investment. Mittlerweile sind von den einzelnen EU-Staaten versprochene 500 Mio. US-Dollar ausbezahlt worden, 350 Mio. davon wurden allerdings direkt aus den Budgets der westeuropäischen Länder an die Europäische Investmentbank überwiesen, um dort die Schulden Jugoslawiens auszugleichen.

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Nico Steijnen

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To: Nico & Neeltje Steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>; Hans Hupkes <hans.hupkes@planet.nl>
Sent: donderdag 24 januari 2002 14:42
Subject: Fw: Molba

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Sent: Thursday, January 24, 2002 11:37 PM
Subject: RE: Molba

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tour of duty

NATO LOSSES IN THE AGRSSION ON FRY,
 Until April 28.,

The following are the official NATO losses data released
 by the Press Service of the Yugoslavian army:

Aircrafts 46
 Helicopters 6
 unmanned aircraft 8
 Cruise missiles 182

The following is unofficial data gathered from
 various cross-referenced sorces.
 Until June 04:

March 24

1. 20:20 Mt. Cicavica
2. 20:35 near Titel NATO plane that was hit with an air to
 air missile fired by MiG-29 pilot Nebojsa Nikolic.
 Airplane crashed several minutes later.
3. 20:18 Mt. Jastrebac German Tornado.
4. Near Lazarevac One NATO aircraft hit with an AA missile
 fired by apilot Slobodan Peric. Further destiny of the
 plane is not known.
5. 21:30 Kosovo

March 25

6. 00:30 Adriatic sea According to Greek military sources,
 there were two registered "MAYDAY" calls from NATO
 aircraft.
7. Read 6.
8. 01:00 airfield Rajlovac, Sarajevo Emergency landing of

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WAR facts

9. 23:00 Mt. Fruska Gora 2 F/A-18 Hornets that crashed 11 km south of Ruma.
10. 23:10 Read 9.
11. 23:30 Area between Pristina and Podujevo

March 26

12. 17:20 village Donja Trnova, 15km southwest of Bijeljina, Republic of Srpska American F-15E. Crew was killed. The plane was shot down by a MiG-21.

March 27

13. Around 01:00 Mt. Maljen German Tornado. Crew ejected and landed in the vicinity of the village Konjevici, near Cacak, where they were captured.
14. Near Pec.
15. Around 03:00 area between Vrutak and Kremna, near Uzice.
16. Around 03:20 area between Vrutak and Kremna, near Uzice SFOR helicopter with 22 soldiers on board. After a short gunfight with the Yugoslav infantry unit, helicopter was destroyed by Strela-2M portable SAM. No survivors.
17. North of Sombor One NATO airplane hit. No further information.
18. Before morning Ion sea According to Creek military sources, there were three registered "MAYDAY" messages. One from Dutch F-16, one from American F-15 and a third from one French aircraft (probably Mirage 2000).
19. Read 18.
20. Read 18.
21. 15:50 Djeneral Jankovic, near Macedonian border Canadian F/A-18 Hornet. Plane crashed on the Macedonian territory.
22. Around 17:00 near Budjanovci.
23. 20:55 Budjanovci F-117A, serial number HO AF 82/806. Pilot Cpt. Ken 'Wiz' Dwelle was rescued, according to NATO. Aircraft shot down by Col. Cvozdzen Djukic's air defense unit.
24. 22:30 Macedonian border Rescue helicopter shot down.

March 28

25. 02:50 Zabrdje, near Bijeljina Most probably an American F-15. Pilot was killed. Some sources say that it was in fact an F-117!
26. 03:00 near Bijeljina SFOR helicopter HH-60 Pave Hawk with 12 soldiers on board. Only two crew members survived.
27. Loznica region. Pilot ejected.
28. 03:00 Gornji Milanovac. Pilot ejected.
29. 16:00 Bijeljina Aircraft hit over Yugoslavia crashed in Bosnia.
30. 22:30 Macedonian border Rescue helicopter shot down.
31. 23:50 Pristina.
32. 23:55 Mt. Pastrik, near Prizrena Aircraft crashed in Macedonia.

33. 03:00 village Cakovo, near Sombor. Possible UAV.
34. 01:30 near Pale, Republic of Srpska Some sources say that it was either F-15 or F-16, American. Pilot ejected but found dead later on. His neck was broken.

March 30

35. Around 01:00 near Virpazar British Harrier. Pilot ejected but was soon captured.
36. Around 01:00 near Virpazar With the second missile, one aircraft that was in Harrier's escort was hit. No further information.
37. 02:30 Mt. Cer Aircraft hit over Cer mountain crashed in Bosnia.
38. 08:00 Surcin
39. 16:30 near Vranje Tornado. Crew ejected.
40. 23:30 Prizren Airplane crashed on Mt. Sara (Sar planina).
41. Before midnight near Aleksinac (UAV).

March 31

42. Evening near Cnjilane F-117 crashed in Macedonia After being hit.
43. 18:00 Rescue helicopter with 20 commandos on board.
44. Sirig, north of Novi Sad German Tornado. Crew ejected and captured shortly After that.
45. 22:30 Mt. Tara. 46. 22:45 Mt. Tara NATO rescue helicopter CH-53 with 25 commandos. No survivors.

April 01

47. 01:00 Mt. Tara NATO (possibly SFOR) helicopter CH-53 Stallion with 25 crew members. No survivors.
48. 03:05 Airfield Pleco, Zagreb Crash-landing of one damaged F-117A.
49. 07:00 Kosovo Aircraft hit over Kosovo crashed into suburban area of Skopje.

April 03

50. 19:30 Banja Luka region One F-16 seen over the town spewing thick, black smoke.
51. 19:45 Novi Sad Aircraft damaged during the attack on Novi Sad's bridge "Most Slobode". Airplane crashed near Stara Pazova. Pilot captured.

April 04

52. Before midnight near Uzice One NATO aircraft damaged (most probably F/A-18 Hornet). Aircraft dropped two full fuel tanks and immediately After that, touched with one of its wings a power line. It is not known whether the plane crashed or not.

April 05

53. 02:20 Obrenovac

54. 03:03 Zlatibor

55. Evening between Dolovo and Banatsko Novo Selo, near Pancevo Aircraft downed by Lt.Col. Zoran Damjanovic's air defense unit. There are some indications that another plane was shot down as well.

56. 21:00 Mt. Fruska Gora One NATO plane downed. Pilot ejected near 'Pobeda' factory and was soon captured. Most likely F-117A.

57. 20:00 Novi Sad During the attack on Novi Sad's "Zezelj" bridge, one German Tornado was shot down. Crew ejected and was captured shortly After.

April 06

58. 02:30 Aleksinac Dutch F-16.

59. 04:20 Mt. Fruska Gora During the attack on Crveni Cot TV tower, one plane was downed. Pilot ejected and landed in the vicinity of village Remete. There is information suggesting that it was an F-117.

60. After midnight Pristina NATO plane was hit while over the town. Aircraft crashed on Mt. Sara, near Skopje.

61. 05:00 south of Fruska Gora Two NATO rescue helicopters with soldiers on board.

62. Read 61.

63. After midnight village Svinjarc, near Kosovska Mitrovica.

64. 11:10 Mt. Skopska Crna Gora Two NATO SAR helicopters with 10 commandos on board. No survivors.

65. Read 64.

66. After midnight Yugoslav-Albanian border (Montenegro) NATO helicopter with 20 soldiers and one rescued pilot on board. No survivors.

67. 23:30 Vozdovac, Belgrade Dogfight between Yugoslav Mig-21 and US F-15. F-15 crashed near Avala mountain. Confirmed by an eyewitness.

April 07

68. 00:00 Near Pristina One NATO aircraft hit which headed in flames toward Macedonia. Near Skopska Crna Gora, one plane was seen in flames and After that, a powerful explosion was heard with a huge blast. It is assumed that the aircraft crashed.

69. 02:00 Podgorica French Mirage 2000. Missile missed but pilot ejected anyway.

70. 22:30 Kosovo Airplane hit over Kosovo crashed near Skopje.

71. Before midnight near Pristina American UAV Hunter shot down by Lt.Col. Brajan Vukicevic's air defense unit

72. Before midnight Ljig

April 08

73. After midnight near Nis German Tornado. Crew captured.

74. 12:40 Kosovo Aircraft crashed near Skopje.

April 09

75. 23:30 Ivanovo, near Belgrade.

April 10

- 76. 02:00 Batajnica NATO rescue helicopter shot down and crashed into Danube.
- 77. 15:45 Suva Reka region Crashed near Kumanovo.
- 78. Before midnight near Nis.

April 11

- 79. 00:12 Backi Brestovac, near Crvenka German. Most probably Tornado.
- 80. 01:00 between Sombor and Odzaci.
- 81. 11:20 Kosovo NATO aircraft shot down by Major Stojan Simijonovic's air defense unit. Plane crashed in Macedonia.

April 12

- 82. 00:21 Between Belgrade and Pancevo.
- 83. 21:30 village Osmaci, near Tuzla British Sea Harrier. Pilot killed. Aircraft was hit over Zrenjanin, where he jettisoned its fuel tanks.
- 84. Before midnight Kosovo German UAV CL-289.

April 13

- 85. After midnight near Batajnica airfield.
- 86. After midnight Jabuka, north of Pancevo.
- 87. 01:00 Olujci.
- 88. After midnight near Srbinje (ex Foca), Bosnia Pilot killed.
- 89. After midnight village Kadijina Cesma, near Tuzla.
- 90. After midnight Bela Crkva, near Vrsac Probably Harrier.
- 91. 23:00 Jabuka road, Pancevo.

April 14

- 92. After midnight Kosovo Polje German UAV CL-289.
- 93. 00:10 Priboj.
- 94. morning Kosovo German UAV CL-289.
- 95. After midnight Yugoslav-Romanian border. Two fuel tanks and several other F-15 parts found. No further information.
- 96. 09:00 Crashed in Lopare, near Tuzla.
- 97. 10:00 Sirig, north of Novi Sad Aircraft crashed near Kamendin agronomic well. Pilot ejected and captured.
- 98. 10:05 Near Belgrade.
- 99. 11:50 Crashed near Mesaric.
- 100. 12:00 Debrca, Vladimirci district.

April 15

- 101. 00:00 Krusevac F-16.

102. 01:42 Dobovac, near Uzice.
103. 01:45 Avala mountain, south of Belgrade Confirmed by an eyewitness.
104. 01:59 Dobovac, near Uzice.
105. 02:00 Kula.
106. 02:00 Near Priboj.
107. 03:00 Mt. Bjelasnica, Bosnia.
108. 12:43 Vladimirci, near Sabac.
109. 19:30 Podgorica Tornado. Airplane shot down by Lt. Zdravko Bankovic, with L70 Bofors. Aircraft crashed into Lake Skadar. According to some other info, plane was shot own by Lt. Goran Ratkovic.
110. 19:35 Podgorica French Mirage 2000. Airplane shot down by Lt. Zdravko Bankovic, with L70 Bofors. Plane crashed on Rumiya mountain. Pilot ejected and captured shortly after. According to some other info, plane was shot own by Lt. Goran Ratkovic.
111. 19:45 near Podgorica One NATO aircraft shot down by soldier Predrag Dzonc with Strela-2M portable SAM. Pilot ejected and landed in the village of Kruse where he was captured.
112. 23:30 airfield Petrovec, Skopje Crash-landing of one heavily damaged A-10. Plane was hit with two portable SAMs.

April 16

113. 17:30 southern Kosovo A-10 shot down by soldier Dragan Petrovic with portable SAM. Plane crashed on Macedonian territory, near the border post Debelde.
114. 19:51 Podgorica Tornado.
115. 22:45 New Belgrade (Novi Beograd).
116. 23:11 Pancevo.
117. 23:15 Podgorica French Mirage 2000.

April 17

118. 03:17 Mt. Skopska Crna Cora, Macedonia British Sea Harrier.
119. 11:00 Milosev Do, near Prijepolja Probably British Sea Harrier.
120. 14:30 Urosevac Airplane crashed 4 km into Macedonian territory, near the village Tanusevci. Pilot killed.
121. 17:08 Bogatic One Tornado crashed on Fruska Cora mountain.
122. 22:10 Cerevic, Fruska Cora Several structural parts of Tornado aircraft were found. Plane was hit and damaged and headed in flames, while spewing thick, black smoke toward Croatian airspace, where it probably crashed.
123. 22:10 Loznica Aircraft hit with two missiles crashed in Bosnia.
124. 23:30 near Valjevo One aircraft hit with Strela-2M portable SAM. Immediately after that, plane jettisoned it's fuel tanks and headed for Ljubovija. Several minutes later, a powerful explosion was heard. Aircraft crashed near Bratunac, Bosnia. Crash confirmed by Yugoslav border patrol and local villagers.

April 18

125. 00:50 Mountain Skopska Crna Gora, Macedonia. One US A-10 crashed After being hit over Kosovo.
126. 00:51 airfield Petrovec, Skopje Crash landing of one heavily damaged A-10 Thunderbolt II.
127. 00:55 Kosovska Mitrovica.
128. 02:00 Pristina (UAV).
129. around 3:00 Mt. Povlen One Tornado was damaged. Aircraft headed toward Sarajevo airfield but crashed in the village Crvica, near Skelani, in the Republic of Srpska.
130. 16:10 Mt. Ciccvica, near Pristina Blew up while airborne. Most probably an F-16.
131. 16:15 Mt. Ciccvica, near Pristina Blew up while airborne.
132. 19:00 near Pristina Plane crashed on Mt. Cicavica.
133. before midnight near Tuzla American UAV Predator.
134. 22:30 Jelovski Kamen, near Tetovo Tornado.
135. 23:00 airfield Rajlovac, Sarajevo Crash-landing of one Danish F-16. Plane was damaged by a SAM.

April 19

136. After midnight village Jegunovce, near Tetovo. German UAV CL-289.
137. 10:30 Tetovo, Macedonia Tornado.
138. 14:01 Kumanovo, Macedonia.
139. Smederevo During the attack on the bridge in Smederevo, one aircraft shot down by a SAM.
140. 23:00 Mt. Veliki Jastrebac.
141. 23:30 Mt. Veliki Jastrebac NATO helicopter with rescue troops.
142. 23:15 Urosevac.

April 20

143. 02:30 Mt. Rudnik, Topola.
144. 03:15 Mt. Rudnik, village Cumic.
145. 19:00 Gornje Stanovce, near Vucitrn UAV.
146. 23:00 Near Vranje.
147. 23:30 Mt. Jastrebac Rescue helicopter.
148. 23:50 near Beocin Two F-15 fuel tanks found filled with bullet holes. Aircraft crashed in the area between Vukovar and Osijek.

April 21

149. 16:00 Mt. Fruska Cora One NATO plane damaged. Several parts were found. Aircraft crashed in Croatia.
150. 23:40 Vozdovac, Belgrade Hit with several 30mm AAA Praga rounds. Crashed into Lipovica forrest (Lipovicka suma) Confirmed by an eyewitness.

April 22

125. 00:50 Mountain Skopska Crna Gora, Macedonia. One US A-10 crashed After being hit over Kosovo.
126. 00:51 airfield Petrovec, Skopje Crash landing of one heavily damaged A-10 Thunderbolt II.
127. 00:55 Kosovska Mitrovica.
128. 02:00 Pristina (UAV).
129. around 3:00 Mt. Povlen One Tornado was damaged. Aircraft headed toward Sarajevo airfield but crashed in the village Crvica, near Skelani, in the Republic of Srpska.
130. 16:10 Mt. Cicevica, near Pristina Blew up while airborne. Most probably an F-16.
131. 16:15 Mt. Cicevica, near Pristina Blew up while airborne.
132. 19:00 near Pristina Plane crashed on Mt. Cicevica.
133. before midnight near Tuzla American UAV Predator.
134. 22:30 Jelovski Kamen, near Tetovo Tornado.
135. 23:00 airfield Rajlovac, Sarajevo Crash-landing of one Danish F-16. Plane was damaged by a SAM.

April 19

136. After midnight village Jegunovce, near Tetovo. German UAV CL-289.
137. 10:30 Tetovo, Macedonia Tornado.
138. 14:01 Kumanovo, Macedonia.
139. Smederevo During the attack on the bridge in Smederevo, one aircraft shot down by a SAM.
140. 23:00 Mt. Veliki Jastrebac.
141. 23:30 Mt. Veliki Jastrebac NATO helicopter with rescue troops.
142. 23:15 Urosevac.

April 20

143. 02:30 Mt. Rudnik, Topola.
144. 03:15 Mt. Rudnik, village Cumic.
145. 19:00 Gornje Stanovce, near Vucitrn UAV.
146. 23:00 Near Vranje.
147. 23:30 Mt. Jastrebac Rescue helicopter.
148. 23:50 near Bocin Two F-15 fuel tanks found filled with bullet holes. Aircraft crashed in the area between Vukovar and Osijek.

April 21

149. 16:00 Mt. Fruska Gora One NATO plane damaged. Several parts were found. Aircraft crashed in Croatia.
150. 23:40 Vozdovac, Belgrade Hit with several 30mm AAA Praga rounds. Crashed into Lipovica forrest (Lipovicka suma) Confirmed by an eyewitness.

April 22

- 151. 00:43 Orlovaca Rescue helicopter.
- 152. 01:20 Lipovica, near Belgrade Rescue helicopter. Crew killed, helicopter captured.
- 153. Sonta, near Apatin American UAV Predator.
- 154. 18:00 Kursumlija Wreckage found in town's vicinity.
- 155. 18:05 Kursumlija Wreckage found in Lebanc region.

April 23

- 156. 02:28 Makis, Belgrade.
- 157. 04:20 area between Surcin and Jakovo.
- 158. 04:40 Lipovica, near Belgrade Rescue helicopter.
- 159. 15:00 near Pristina One NATO plane damaged. Several parts were found on the scene. While spewing thick, white smoke, aircraft headed for Albania where it most probably crashed.
- 160. 15:10 Orlane, 15km northeast of Pristina.

April 24

- 161. 03:55 Fruska Gora mountain.
- 162. 04:40 Pristina.
- 163. 04:40 Dimitrovgrad.
- 164. 14:45 Pristina Crashed near the village of Businje.
- 165. 18:05 near Pristina Crashed near Liplje Selo.
- 166. Boka Kotorska (UAV).
- 167. Mt. Kukavica, near Leskovac Pilot captured.

April 25

- 168. After midnight near Pristina Crashed near the village of Lipovica.
- 169. 14:38 Novi Sad.
- 170. Kosovo One AH-64 Apache captured by Yugoslav army troops.

April 26

- 171. 00:37 mountain Zlatibor.
- 172. 04:30 Zenica, Bosnia Harrier (probably British).
- 173. 04:45 Macedonia
- 174. 12:50 Novi Sad One NATO aircraft hit and damaged while in low level flight. Immediately After that, a thick black smoke started spewing out of it. Plane crashed near Osijek, Croatia.
- 175. 22:00 40 km northeast of Tirana AH-64 Apache. Crew escaped uninjured. Helicopter was probably hit during the attack on Kosare border post.
- 176. Kumodraz, near Belgrade During the attack on business center "Uscc", one aircraft was shot down by Aleksandar Ruzic with Strela-2M missile (Lt.Col. Momir Ivkovic's air defense unit).
- 177. 23:30 Novi Sad

April 27

178. 01:45 Mt. Fruska Cora One damaged airplane dropped its payload near Croatian village Palaca, not far from Osijek.

179. 10:57 near airfield Petrovec, Skopje.

180. Around 17:00 near Prokuplje Pilot ejected and landed in the woods of Mt. Pasjaca, south of Prokuplje. Wreckage of the plane was found in the Jovine Livade region, on Mt. Pasjaca.

181. 17:15 Beli Kamen, near Prokuplje Wreckage found on the hill near Berilje.

182. Mt. Zlatibor region Pilot ejected.

183. 22:45 Pristina AH-64 Apache helicopter.

April 28

184. Around 14:00 near Podgorica Pilot ejected.

185. Around 14:30 near Berane.

186. Around midnight village Norovo, near Krusevo, Macedonia Crew of two ejected and landed on top of the trees. Later on, NATO rescue unit picked them up.

187. Afternoon region between villages of Velika Sabanta and Gornja Pcelica One NATO plane hit and damaged while in low level flight. Aircraft dropped its payload and headed for Crni Vrh. No further information.

April 29

188. 00:48 Topcider, Belgrade.

189. 00:56 Podgorica.

190. Region of Macedonian-Albanian border town Debar: Plane crashed in Albania.

191. Around 01:00 hill Vodno, near Skopje Plane crashed in the woods of Mt. Vedro, near Skopje.

192. Around 01:40 near Zemun According to stories of eyewitnesses, two NATO aircraft were shot down.

193. Read 192.

194. 11:15 Samokov, 40 km southwest of Skopje According to stories of eyewitnesses, the crew of two was found carbonized.

195. 16:05 Konjarnik, Belgrade According to some, this did not happen. However, there are plenty, both eyewitness and reliable sources reports.

196. 16:35 Pancevo.

197. Village Bistrica, near Veles, Macedonia According to eyewitnesses, one plane, spewing black smoke, dropped two missiles and headed behind the mountain. Immediately After that, a powerful explosion was heard from that direction so it is assumed that the plane crashed.

198. 22:40 Avala mountain, south of Belgrade.

199. 23:57 Simanovci, northeast of Belgrade Plane crashed in Kupinovo.

April 30

200. Around 23:15 Grocka, 20 km southeast of Belgrade According to eyewitnesses, there was also a parachute seen.

May 01

201. 11:50 Zvornik.
202. 14:15 Adriatic sea, 40 km from Brindisi American USMC AV-8B. Pilot ejected and was soon rescued.

May 02

203. Around 02:05 village Nakucani, southwest of Sabac American F-16CG. Pilot rescued, according to NATO. Aircraft downed by Col. Gvozden Djukic's air defense unit.
204. Around 4:00 village Nakucani 2 NATO helicopters with rescue troops.
205. Read 204.
206. Around 12:00 southern Kosovo A-10 Thunderbolt II. Plane was shot down by Cpt. Vojislav Krstovic (Lt.Col. Brajan Vukicevic's air defense unit) with portable SAM. Several structural parts were found (engine cowling and armor plates) and televised on national TV. Wreckage of the plane was found near Tetovo, in Macedonia.
207. 16:50 airfield Petrovec, Skopje Crash landing of one heavily damaged A-10.
208. 18:00 near airfield Petrovec Crash-landing of one A-10. Many eyewitnesses reported that the aircraft appeared to have serious damage to one of its engines (right engine relative to the pilot) and a wing. Several missiles were still attached to the underwing pylons, creating a danger of explosion and a panic among local residents. The pilot of the aircraft was reported to have been injured. Some 10 minutes after the crash, the aircraft was towed by a NATO vehicle to the Petrovec airport.
209. 12:15 Umka, near Belgrade According to eyewitnesses, two parachutes seen in the sky. From reliable sources, one pilot, an American, around 30-years old was captured in Mostanica, After 2 hours of pursuit. He was on a recon mission to photograph a bridge in Ostruznica.
210. 12:20 Read 209.

May 03

211. 21:45 Novi Sad During the attack on Novi Sad TV, one aircraft was hit and damaged. Shortly after that, a thick, black smoke started spewing out of it so it is assumed that the plane crashed in the vicinity.
212. 23:45 Lake Ohrid, Macedonia According to eyewitnesses, one aircraft crashed in Lake Ohrid. NATO forces later on, pulled the wreckage out of the water.

May 04

213. 02:10 airbase in Italy Crash landing of one heavily damaged F-117A Night Hawk. Later on, NATO's joint commission concluded that the plane is damaged beyond repair, hence recalled from active service.
214. 21:50 Srbinje (ex Foca), Republic of Srpska.
215. 23:10 Pristina A-10 Thunderbolt II.

May 05

216. 01:30 Bajina Basta One plane hit and damaged. Aircraft crashed on Bosnian territory.
217. Morning 75 km northeast of Tirana AH-64 Apache. Pilot and gunner killed. NATO's classified report cited a SAM hit as a possible reason for the crash.

May 06

218. Before midnight Presevo UAV. Remains found in the area between Bujanovac and Presevo.

May 07

219. 02:09 Skopje, Macedonia.

220. 14:30 Novi Sad One NATO aircraft during the attack on Iriski Venac. Plane continued its flight toward Sabac, spewing black smoke. It was confirmed later that the plane crashed in the vicinity of Sabac.

221. Between 3:43 and 4:30 area around Nis One plane crashed in the vicinity of Svrljig.

222. One plane crashed near Sicevo.

223. One plane crashed in the village of Malca.

224. One plane crashed near Pirot.

225. One plane crashed near Leskovac. Reports say that captured pilot was Canadian (probably CF-18 Hornet).

May 08

226. 03:45 Banjica, Belgrade.

227. Airfield Petrovec, Skopje Crash landing of one heavily damaged B-2A After a direct hit by Yugoslav air defense.

228. 14:00 Nis After the attack on the bridge in the center of Nis, one aircraft was shot down and crashed on Suva mountain.

May 10

229. 23:05 Avala mountain, Belgrade Confirmed by an eyewitness.

May 11

230. 00:00 Grdelica, near Nis One Tornado shot down.

231. 11:00 Batajnica, northwest of Belgrade Aircraft crashed north of Danube river.

232. 12:40 Gruza, 15km southwest of Kragujevac Aircraft crashed on Gledicke mountain, between villages of Bajcetine and Cestina.

233. 15:00 Area between Banovci and Jakovo.

May 12

234. 15:00 Nis.

235. 15:00 Kosovo.

236. 15:15 Nis 2 NATO aircraft, After being hit, crashed in Bulgaria.

237. Read 236.

238. 23:11 village Vaksince, near Kumanovo According to eyewitnesses, one out of four aircraft in formation, suddenly started losing altitude and with thick, black smoke spewing out of it, crashed.

239. 00:00 Loznica Aircraft crashed on Mt. Majevisa, in

Bosnia.

240. 00:00 Fruska Gora mountain.

May 13

241. 04:25 near Nova Pazova One B-52H hit and damaged. Aircraft then headed toward Dobanovci where it crashed. 17 people killed.

242. Around 5:00 Rakovica, near Belgrade Rescue helicopter captured. 17 soldiers killed, 3 captured.

243. 7:25 Kicevo, Macedonia.

244. Around 12:00 village Klokot, near Vitina French UAV CL-289 shot down by Lt.Col. Brajan Vukicevic's air defense unit.

245. 11:23 Stara Pazova One French Mirage (probably Mirage 2000) shot down. Pilot captured.

246. 16:00 Mountain Sara, Yugoslav-Macedonian border.

247. Around 19:00 village Biba, near Urosevac American UAV Predator. Downing footage shown on Radio Television of Serbia.

248. Mt. Mokra Gora, village Istok, 15km northeast of Pec American UAV made by Boeing Corporation. Video capture shown on Radio Television of Serbia.

May 14

249. 14:40 Mt. Rudnik region Two NATO aircraft hit. Immediately After that, they jettisoned their fuel tanks and headed toward Bosnian airspace. 250. Read 249. 251. Djakovica region American A-10, After being hit by Yugoslav air defense, crashed on Sara mountain, near Albanian border.

252. 19:20 Nis One NATO aircraft hit. Pilot ejected and landed in the vicinity of village Brenice.

253. 23:30 Nis One French Crecerelle UAV shot down.

May 15

254. 11:15 Banovci, near Belgrade Aircraft crashed near Lisicji Jarak.

255. 13:40 Padinska Skela, near Belgrade Aircraft crashed near Opovo.

256. Near Kurcumlija Danish F-16 hit and damaged. Aircraft probably crashed on Mt. Kopaonik.

May 16

257. Kosovo German UAV CL-289.

258. 20:00 village Izvor, near Veles, Macedonia One NATO plane crashed not far from the village. Pilot ejected and was soon picked up by the helicopters near the place called Cuka. Incident reported and confirmed by numerous eyewitnesses and local police HQ.

May 17

259. 01:30 Cacak.

260. 13:12 area between Beocmen and Ugrinovci One aircraft shot down while attacking Batajnica airfield.

261. 13:30 Skopje, Macedonia

262. Pester plateau American UAV, according to reports, a reconnaissance version of AGM-86 ALCM.

263. 15:30 area between Brestovik and Smederevo One French Mirage 2000 that crashed on a highway Belgrade-Obrenovac. Pilot ejected and captured shortly after.

May 18

264. 03:45 Fruska Gora mountain.

265. Zvornik. Rescue helicopter.

May 19

266. Around 17:00 village Talinovec, near Urosevac American UAV Predator serial number AF 95 021.

267. Around 19:00 Urosevac UAV that crashed in the city area.

May 20

268. 01:00 Vozdovac, Belgrade Confirmed by an eyewitness.

269. 01:00 Surcin, Belgrade One B-2A. Aircraft crashed near village Dec, Pecinci district, between Simanovci and Kupinovo.

270. 03:03 Borca, near Belgrade One large NATO aircraft. Story confirmed by numerous eyewitnesses. At 06:00 news, a source from the federal ministry acknowledged the downing of one large NATO bomber. Later on, it was acknowledged that it was a B-52H Stratofortress.

271. 03:10 Topcider, Belgrade 2 NATO jet fighters that were probably an escort for the bomber.

272. Read 271.

273. 03:25 Banjica, Belgrade Rescue helicopter with troops.

274. 03:35 Gradiste, 17km southwest of Vinkovci, Croatia F-16 (most probably US).

275. 4:00 Mt. Cer, southwest of Sabac One B-52H Stratofortress shot down along with its entire crew.

276. 15:10 airfield Slatina, Pristina German UAV CL-289.

May 21

277. 03:00 Mt. Avala, south of Belgrade Rescue helicopter.

278. 06:00 Pula, Croatia.

279. 08:25 village Buca, Gora district, Kosovo American UAV Hunter.

280. 12:00 Kosovo 2 aircraft shot down.

281. Read 280.

283. 18:00 Nis One NATO aircraft shot down in an air to air engagement with Yugoslav Air Force fighter. NATO plane crashed onto Suva mountain.

May 22

284. 00:30 area between Topcider and Rakovica, Belgrade.

285. 01:10 Rusanj, Belgrade Confirmed by an eyewitness.

286. 01:12 Fruska Gora mountain.

287. 01:27 area between Mt. Avala and Pancevo Confirmed by an eyewitness.
288. 02:35 Lipovica, near Belgrade According to reliable reports, one B-52H Stratofortress shot down.
289. 02:40 Kotez, Belgrade.
290. 03:26 Ub.
291. 04:10 Subotica One heavily damaged NATO plane crashed in Hungary.
292. 12:00 Cuncati, Belgrade.
293. Around 14:30 Leskovac One aircraft hit while attacking Leskovac sports airfield. Airplane started smoking and headed for Bulgarian airspace. Later confirmed that it crashed in Bulgaria.
294. Area of the village Klina, east of Pec A-10 Thunderbolt II.
295. 19:10 Prokuplje Aircraft crashed in the village of Vodice.

May 23

296. 01:00 Mandjelos, near Sremska Mitrovica.
297. Djeneral Jankovic, near Macedonian border American Hunter UAV that crashed on the Macedonian territory near Blace border village. Report confirmed by Macedonian TV Al and NATO command.
298. Yugoslav-Macedonian border One UAV shot down and crashed in the area between Tetovo and Gostivar, Macedonia.
299. Near St. Petka (Sveta Petka) monastery Canadian. Most probably CL-289.

May 24

300. 16:00 Novi Sad F-16.

May 25

301. 03:00 Belgrade.
302. Between villages Dragomance and Kaince, near Kumanovo, Macedonia Aircraft was spewing thick black smoke before it started losing altitude only to crash several moments later.
303. Around 14:30 Zeleznik, Belgrade Confirmed by numerous eyewitnesses and Radio Novosti.
304. 21:33 Zaplanje, near Nis.

May 26

305. 00:30 Novi Sad One aircraft shot down with a missile.
306. 01:10 Petrovac on river Mlava.
307. 01:10 Novi Sad One NATO aircraft hit by a missile. Immediately After that, plane started spewing black smoke and headed for Hungarian airspace where it crashed. Confirmed by numerous eyewitnesses.
308. 01:20 Novi Sad.
309. 01:35 Petrovac on river Mlava, near Pozarevac One Harrier shot down. Plane was hit and After that, it jettisoned its fuel tank over Aleksandrovac, only to crash several moments later near Petrovac. 310. 03:19 village

shot down. Reports say that the crew ejected Yugoslav-Romanian- Bulgarian border. NATO helicopters were flying intensively on the Romanian side of the border.

311. Area around Nis One plane shot down over the town. Aircraft crashed near Zaplanjske Toponice. Pilot ejected.

312. 11:10 area between Kosovska Vitina and Letnica One French Crecerelle UAV shot down.

313. 14:43 area between mountains Vodno and Kitka, near Skopje F-16. Pilot ejected and was soon transported by two NATO helicopters into a hospital in Skopje.

314. Around 23:00 village Credice, 5km east of Brcko, Bosnia. One SFOR helicopter crashed.

315. 23:18 Mt. Avala, south of Belgrade 3 NATO aircraft hit and damaged by air defese forces. Confirmed by an eyewitness.

316. Read 315.

317. Read 315.

318. 23:25 southeast of Mt. Avala.

May 27

319. 00:00 Karaburma, Belgrade.

320. 01:25 Ralja, south of Belgrade.

321. 02:05 Batajnica, near Belgrade.

322. 02:07 Vozdovac, Belgrade One NATO aircraft hit by a missile. Plane shot down After several AAA rounds hit it After that. Confirmed by an eyewitness.

323. 02:17 Mt. Avala, south of Belgrade.

324. Around 13:00 near Kumanovo, Macedonia One UAV crashed After being hit by Yugoslav air defense over Kosovo.

325. 17:30 Village Break, Kosovo One UAV shot down.

326. 17:30 Grebnica, Bosnia.

327. 12:32 Valdanos One UAV shot down by Yugoslav Navy forces. Aircraft crashed on the road Bar-Ulcinj.

May 28

328. 00:45 Nis Aircraft crashed 15km northwest of Nis. Pilot ejected.

329. 00:50 Nis Aircraft crashed several kilometers northwest of Nis. Pilot killed 330. 01:21 Nis 3 NATO aircraft shot down. Two of them crashed in the Bulgarian border region, southeast of Nis and the third near Razanj. Crashes confirmed by military border patrols and local villagers.

331. Read 330. 332. Read 330. 333. 09:15 Boka Kotorska bay One American Hunter UAV shot down by Yugoslav Navy air defence.

334. 13:40 Nis Aircraft crashed onto Selicevica mountain, southeast of Nis. Pilot ejected.

335. Around 16:00 Colubinci, near Stara Pazova One aircraft exploded in the air After a direct hit. Two planes from the escort quickly turned around and left for Croatia. Confirmed by many eyewitnesses.

336. 21:16 Skopje, Macedonia.

May 29

337. Around 02:00 between Batajnica and Ugrinoveci, northwest of Belgrade One aircraft hit over Batajnica and crashed near Vojka. Pilot ejected.

338. Around 02:00 area between Banovo Brdo and Batajnica One aircraft hit and damaged only to crash After several direct hits over Fruska Gora mountain.

339. 02:13 Cukarica, Belgrade One aircraft exploded while airborne After a direct missile hit and crashed near Borca.

340. 15:45 Nis Aircraft hit over the city. Plane headed for Sicevo, east of Nis but exploded on route. Pilot killed.

341. Around 17:00 Dramic, near Novi Pazar UAV shot down.

May 30

342. 01:45 South of Nis F/A-18 Hornet. Pilot killed. 343. South of Nis F/A-18 hornet. Pilot ejected and was captured near Zitni Potok, south of Prokuplje.

344. Around 12:00 mountain Kitka, near Skopje One F-16 crashed on the mountain slopes after being hit over Kosovo.

May 31

345. Around 04:00 near Belgrade 2 NATO planes hit and damaged.

346. Read 345.

347. Kosovo 2 planes reportedly shot down by Yugoslav air defense. One is reportedly A-10 Thunderbolt II.

348. Read 347.

349. Kosovo UAV.

350. Around 12:00 near Skopje One NATO aircraft shot down, most probably by Yugoslav Mig-29. Pilot ejected.

351. 14:10 Sabac One aircraft hit by a missile. Immediately After that, plane jettisoned its fuel tank and headed for Bosnia airspace. From the report of local villagers, plane crashed in the eastern part of Bosnia. By the remains of the fuel tank, the aircraft is an F-16. Whole incident was televised by RTS.

June 01

352. 22:30 Montenegro UAV shot down by Yugoslav Navy.

June 02

353. 01:45 village Drazevac, near Belgrade One aircraft shot down. Pilot ejected.

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

From: Despotovic, Ruza [mailto:despot@wish.net]

Sent: 24. januar 2002 17:01

To: Miroslav Antic

Subject: Fw: Molba

Miko,
treba mi podhitno ovaj hronoloski pregled na engleskom jeziku, da li ga Vi imate?
U ocekivanju Vaseg odgorora,
primite moj iskren pozdrav,
Ruza Despotovic

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

From: Despotovic, RuzaTo: Vlada K SPS

Sent: Wednesday, January 23, 2002 11:35 PM

Subject: Molba

KALENDAR NATO NAPADA NA SRJ

- 24. mart** Početak NATO agresije
- 25. mart** Leskovac - napad na Fabriku HI "Zdravlje"
- 27. mart** Pančevo - teško oštećena Fabrika aviona "Lola-Utva"
- 28. mart** Čačak - teško oštećena fabrika "Sloboda"
- 01. april** Novi Sad - srušen most "Varadinski most"
- 03. april** Novi Sad - srušen most "Sloboda"
- 04. april** Novi Beograd - gađana toplana, jedno lice poginulo
Pančevo - napad na Rafineriju nafte, dva lica poginula
- 05. april** Vranje - napad na grad, dva lica poginula
Aleksinac - napad na centar grada, sedmoro mrtvih
Niš - teško oštećena Fabrika duvana DIN Niš
Lučani - oštećena HI "Milan Blagojević"
- 07. april** Beograd - raketni napad, teško oštećena zgrada Vlade Srbije
- 08. april** Čuprija - napad na grad, jedno lice poginulo
Tornik - napad na SRC "Čigota", troje mrtvih
- 09. april** Kragujevac - teško oštećena DOO "Crvena zastava"
- 11. april** Merdare - u raketnom napadu pet lica poginulo
- 12. april** Grdelička klisura - u napadu na međunarodni voz Beograd-Solun, dvadeset mrtvih
- 14. april** Pavlovac (Vranje)-raketni napad, jedno lice poginulo
Pančevo - teško oštećena DP "Petrohemija" i Azotara"
Valjevo - oštećeni objekti "Krušika"
- 15. april** Rakovica - u raketnom napadu oštećene fabrike: "Rekord", "DMB", "IMR", "Minel"
Kruševac - oštećena Fabrika "14. oktobar"
Smederevo - srušen Most Smederevo - Kovin
Nova Varoš - srušen Most "Bistrica"
- 17. april** Batajnica -u raketnom napadu poginula devojčica Milica Rakić
Barič - u raketnom napadu, oštećena fabrika "Prva iskra"
- 18. april** Novi Sad - oštećena zgrada PIV-a
- 19. april** Niš - u napadu na grad, jedno lice poginulo
- 21. april** Beograd - teško oštećena zgrada GO SPS

22. april Beograd - u napadu teško oštećena rezidencija predsednika SRJ
Užice - srušena zgrada PTT-a
23. april Beograd - napad na zgradu RTS-a, 17 lica poginulo
25. april Novi Sad - srušen "Žeželjev most"
27. april Surdulica - raketni napad na stambeni kvart, deset lica poginulo
29. april Beograd - u raketnom napadu teško oštećene zgrade MUP-a, SMIP-a, Ministarstva odbrane i Generalštaba, Vlade Republike Srbije
30. april Beograd - napad na stambene zgrade u ulicama Maksima Gorkog i Vardarskoj, jedno lice poginulo
Trstenik - raketni napad, jedno lice poginulo
02. maj Sremska Mitrovica - raketni napad na grad, jedno lice poginulo
07. maj Niš - napad na centar grada, četrnaest lica poginulo
Novi Beograd - napad na Ambasadu NR Kine i Hotel "Jugoslavija", četiri lica poginulo
10. maj Čačak - napad na TRZ "Cer", četvoro mrtvih
11. maj Niš - raketni napad, jedno lice poginulo Doljevac - raketni napad, jedno lice poginulo
17. maj Zaječar - napad na skladište Jugopetrola, jedno lice poginulo
18. maj Valjevo - raketni napad, jedno lice poginulo
Vladičin Han - raketni napad, jedno lice poginulo
20. maj Beograd - raketni napad na KBC "Dragiša Mišović", četiri lica poginulo
21. maj Sombor - raketni napad na grad, dvoje mrtvih
25. maj Šabac - raketni napad, jedno lice poginulo
26. maj Rajča - Beograd, raketni napad, tri lica poginula
27. maj Cekavički most - Lebane, dva lica poginula
28. maj Aleksinac - raketni napad na uži centar grada, dvoje mrtvih
29. maj Cerovački most (opština Leskovac) - jedno lice poginulo
30. maj Varvarin - u napadu na most devet lica poginulo
Novi Sad - raketni napad, zgrada RTS potpuno uništena
Niš - raketni napad, dvoje mrtvih
31. maj Beograd - Ripanj, jedno lice poginulo
Obrenovac - u napadu jedno lice poginulo
Novi Pazar - raketni napad, jedanaest lica poginulo
Surdulica - trinaest lica poginulo
07. jun Boljevac - u napadu tri lica poginula
08. jun Novi Sad - raketni napad, jedno lice poginulo

Vlado, zamolila bih te da mi ovaj hronoloski pregled pošalješ na engleskom jeziku, treba mi za naše prijatelje i saradnike. Hvala, uz pozdrav od