

Milosevic & Aanklacht

Map 1D

van holst en steijnen

From: Despotovic, Ruza <despot@wish.net>
To: <speerpunt@wxs.nl>; Richard van Houten <richardenbeba@wxs.nl>; Ksenija Sigulinski <sigu@worldonline.nl>; Globalreflexion <office@globalreflexion.org>; Nico & Neeltje Steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>
Sent: maandag 25 februari 2002 13:03
Subject: Fw: Swans' Release: February 25, 2002

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

From: Gilles d'Aymery <aymery@ix.netcom.com>
 To: Swans' Readers <aymery@ix.netcom.com>
 Sent: Monday, February 25, 2002 1:58 AM
 Subject: Swans' Release: February 25, 2002

> <http://swans.com/>
 > February 25, 2002 - In this rendition:
 >
 > Did you notice by any chance Slobodan Milosevich's cross-examination of Mr. Mahmut Bakalli, the first witness of the prosecution in The Hague? If your only sources of information are the main media, it'd be fair to presume that you must not have noticed much, for "Officialdom" seems to have suddenly fallen rather silent in regard to the trial. Mr. Bakalli's testimony was properly dispatched, comprehensively demolished by Mr. Milosevich, much to the embarrassment of the court and the distress of the prosecution. Fortunately for Mrs. del Ponte, she need not prove much of anything. The Tribunal can convict Milosevich, whether or not the prosecution can assemble proof beyond a reasonable doubt that he masterminded this or that alleged crime, on the simple basis that he "should have known." Still, it appears that before the trial is over many people may wish that the "nefarious dictator" had never been abducted and spirited to The Hague, or that being in an unstable emotional condition, as it was so prominently reported, he had committed suicide. Upon the prodding by the Court to act swiftly, poor Carla del Ponte started whining:
 >
 > "There is no doubt we're going to do our utmost to achieve our aim, but what I've heard these days -- of course, I won't be able to be in the courtroom every day. It may well be that we have to call other witnesses, even crime-based witnesses. It all depends, Your Honours, on the arguments provided by the accused during the hearings and the testimony. We have to adduce evidence of the crimes alleged in the indictment, and I hope that we will be treated by the Court in the same way as the accused, so that we can fulfil our obligations, our duty, as best as we can. Therefore, Your Honour, we try to act as swiftly as we can. Still, you have to take into account the fact that this is an important mission that we have to carry out, and it will very much hinge on the arguments as provided by the accused when hearing witnesses. So I do have to make some reservations. I may have to produce other witnesses as the need may arise. Thank you, Your Honour." (Transcript, 02/02/19, page 653, lines 8-21.)
 >

As you can see, she's highly confident that she has a solid case!

> Anyway, this rendition of Swans is very much focused on the Yugoslav issue,
 > the collective Serbian guilt and this preposterous trial. Our correspondent in
 > Serbia, Stevan Konstantinovic, much to our delight, is back after a six-month
 > hiatus. In a potent essay, he places the Yugoslav tragedy in a wider historical
 > context that will undoubtedly stir a few controversies. Alma Hromic shares what
 > it has meant to her to be a Serb in the midst of such dismayed maelstrom.
 > Priestfield takes a serious look at the US notion of infinite justice. Gowans hits
 > more than a few nails right on their heads. Deckert shows what he's been up
 > against over the past three years. Lynching and intellectual cowardice are on
 > Gilles d'Aymery's mind. Michael Stowell presents his own balanced views and
 > Clark plays the contrarian that he often is. We also publish the famously
 > misquoted speech of June 28, 1989 by Slobodan Milosevich, as well as an
 > exchange of diverse opinions in regard to the IWCT. And don't forget about
 > poetry. Sandly Lulay grieves for the Earthlings who cannot be taught to see
 > beyond what they were taught to believe.
 >
 > As always, please enjoy this rendition, form your OWN opinion and let your
 > friends (and foes) know about Swans. PLEASE DO! It's your voice that makes
 > ours grow.

> Here below is the list of all the links:

> <http://www.swans.com/library/art8/skons005.html>
 > The Barbarians Stand Before the Gates of America, by Stevan Konstantinovic
 >
 > <http://www.swans.com/library/art8/alekp018.html>
 > Operation New Justice, by Aleksandra Priestfield
 >
 > <http://www.swans.com/library/art8/gowans22.html>
 > Munchausens At The Hague, Cowards At Woods Hole, by Stephen Gowans
 >
 > <http://www.swans.com/library/art8/aah019.html>
 > I Am Tired, by Alma A. Hromic
 >
 > <http://www.swans.com/library/art8/rdeck014.html>
 > The More Things Change, by Deck Deckert
 >
 > <http://www.swans.com/library/art8/ga125.html>
 > Such A Perfect Little Lynching!, by Gilles d'Aymery
 >
 > <http://www.swans.com/library/art8/mws018.html>
 > The First Stone, by Michael W. Stowell
 >
 > <http://www.swans.com/library/art8/mgc074.html>
 > History, Patterns, Differences. . . Not Again!, by Milo Clark
 >
 > <http://www.swans.com/library/art8/sandl019.html>
 > South of Jade, by Sandy Lulay
 >
 > <http://www.swans.com/library/art8/smilos01.html>
 > Kosovo Polje Speech, June 28, 1989, by Slobodan Milosevich
 >
 > <http://www.swans.com/library/art8/letter06.html>
 > To the Editor: Regarding the US Proposed Military Budget for 2003
 >
 > <http://www.swans.com/library/art8/letter05.html>
 > Diverging views regarding the IWCT and more

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> interest in Swans and the work of its team. If you wish not to receive
> these short notifications, simply reply to this E-mail and enter the word
> REMOVE in the subject line.

>
> Thank you for reading Swans
>
> Gilles d'Aymery
> --
> Swans
>
> "Hungry man, rush for the book: It is a weapon." B. Brecht
>

van holst en steijnen

From: ICDSM <pcnservedepresse@yahoo.fr>
To: <fight-the-right@yahoogroups.com>
Cc: <info@pcn-npc.com>; <lucmichelbxl@yahoo.fr>
Sent: dinsdag 26 februari 2002 10:46
Subject: RE: [FTR_Network]_Newsletter_FREE_SLOBO_!_-_n°_15

SUPPORT MILOSEVIC IS PART OF THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE!
 WHY MILOSEVIC, NOT NATO, IS ON TRIAL ?

The moneyed media throughout the United States and Western Europe are focusing much attention on the opening of what they call a "war-crimes trial" of former Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic on Feb. 12.

But those who want to know what's really behind this trial won't find it in the media of the very imperialist powers that pulverized Yugoslavia with merciless bombing raids and dismembered the former socialist country.

The International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in The Hague was authorized in 1993 by the United Nations Security Council under pressure from the U.S. government. Its officials decided it would not put U.S. or NATO generals on trial. Only those from the Balkans have been tried, and most of those charged are Serbs. This court is the antithesis of "justice."

The trial of Milosevic was set up by the victors of the imperialist war to put on trial those who defied their plans of domination. And Milosevic, the first head of state to face an international war crimes tribunal, is standing trial because he was the head of a country that resisted the dismantling of socialism and the surrender of the economy to the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

Milosevic was Serbia's premier for eight years before being elected Yugoslav president in 1997. He is also the leader of the Socialist Party of Serbia.

The judges accuse Milosevic of committing war crimes in three different struggles that dismembered Yugoslavia: the war in Croatia in 1991-1995, Bosnia in 1992-1995, and Kosovo in 1999. The charges are concocted for the sole purpose of creating a justification for wars that carved up the remainder of socialist Yugoslavia after the Cold War had succeeded in overturning the Soviet Union.

Who is providing the "evidence" to back up these charges? Court officials who spoke on condition of anonymity said that reports on Kosovo—a region of Serbia—came from the CIA. Washington and Berlin backed a right-wing terrorist group called the Kosovo Liberation Army that assassinated Serb and Albanian officials in Kosovo. The British MI-6 is supplying material on Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, two republics of the former Yugoslavia. (Associated Press, Feb. 13)

The U.S. and NATO powers, during a 78-day bombing campaign in 1999, dropped 25,000 tons of bombs and killed thousands of Yugoslavs, many of them seniors and children.

The anti-war movements in United States and Europe have organized independent tribunals to try the Pentagon and NATO brass in abstention and, after pouring over testimony and facts, found the imperialists guilty of war crimes against the peoples

of Yugoslavia.

In his Jan. 30 statement to an ICTY hearing, Milosevic said of the combined charges against him: "All three indictments really have a running thread ... which is the ongoing crime against Yugoslavia and against my people." He said the victims are being punished and the criminals let off "because they were backed by forces that wanted to establish control over the Balkans, so as to be able to use this strategic position to establish their control elsewhere."

SUPPORT MILOSEVIC IS PART OF THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE

By John Catalinotto

The trial of Milosevic in The Hague is therefore viewed by many in Yugoslavia and around the world as a continuation of the imperialist campaign in eastern Europe.

Milosevic, who is defending himself before the court, has refused to recognize the authority of the imperial tribunal. He is expected to politically rebut the charges against him on Feb. 14.

Milosevic's stand has aroused support in Yugoslavia.

Thousands marched in Belgrade on Feb. 9 demanding his freedom. The demonstration was organized by the SPS.

It took great courage to take to the streets in an anti-imperialist demonstration at this time.

More than 100,000 Serbs have already signed a petition demanding his immediate release. This petition will be sent to the United Nations and to the Hague Tribunal. Some 1,380 Yugoslavs volunteered to go to The Hague to testify in his behalf, according to a French Press Agency (AFP) report.

In The Hague, anti-war activists from Europe and the U.S. denounced the tribunal as "NATO's court" and called it a political tool of the U.S. and European NATO powers to shift blame for the Balkan wars from themselves to the Serb and Yugoslav people. Those present included members of the International Committee for the Defense of Slobodan Milosevic and a delegation from the International Action Center (IAC) from the United States.

Milosevic was first charged with war crimes by the tribunal in May 1999. It was part of NATO's attempt to pressure the Yugoslav government to surrender control of the Serbian region of Kosovo and Metohia to U.S./NATO occupation. Washington was trying to avoid a land invasion that could bring U.S. military casualties and spark more anti-war actions within the United States.

Deposed by a foreign-financed election and a coup in the fall of 2000, Milosevic was arrested by the new pro-NATO regime in the spring of 2001. The leaders of this government, President Vojislav Kostunica and Serbian Premier Zoran Djindjic, were unable to bring substantial charges against the former president.

Instead, they violated the Yugoslav Constitution and turned him over to NATO on June 28, 2001.

Even then the only charges he faced involved Kosovo. Only last fall, six to ten years after the events, did they add charges involving Croatia and Bosnia, where a bitter civil war had been fought between Croatian, right-wing Muslim and Serb nationalist regimes. The ICTY hoped it could make him responsible for alleged crimes of the Serb forces and make the more serious charge of "genocide" stick.

After the collapse of the USSR, right-wing ethnic nationalists in Croatia and Bosnia launched civil wars that were tearing the country apart. The U.S. and German governments and secret services backed these right-wing forces, especially the neo-fascist Franjo

Tudjman in Croatia and the Alija Izetbegovic regime in Bosnia.

Milosevic asked why "70,000 Muslim refugees sought sanctuary in Serbia during the Bosnian conflict? Do you think someone would flee their home and take refuge in the very territory from which they were endangered?"

The former president pointed out that, for all the phony charges, only "the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia," said Milosevic, "which now exists, retained its [multi]ethnic makeup. There were no expulsions, from the beginning to the end of the Yugoslav crisis." After the imperialist-backed forces won, "half a million Serbs were expelled from Croatia," Bosnia was split in three ethnic regions, and virtually all non-Albanians were driven from Kosovo.

Catalinotto is co-editor of a new book on Yugoslavia called "Hidden Agenda: U.S./NATO Takeover of Yugoslavia," published by the International Action Center. A full transcript of President Milosevic's Jan. 30 statement can be found at www.iacenter.org.

 --- Julie Lawell <julie@accessone.com> a écrit : >
 Why, in God's name, am I getting e-mails re freeing
 > a war criminal??? This
 > is sickening.
 > J Lawell
 >
 > ---Original Message---
 > From: ICDSM [<mailto:penservicedepresse@yahoo.fr>]
 > Sent: Tuesday, February 26, 2002 10:48 AM
 > To: info@pen-npc.com; lucmichelbxl@yahoo.fr
 > Subject: [FTR Network] Newsletter FREE SLOBO ! - n°
 > 15
 >
 >
 > FREE SLOBO !
 >
 > Newsletter of the ICDSM
 > (International Committee to Defend Slobodan
 > Milosevic)
 > Lettre d'information de l'ICDSM
 > (Comité International pour la Défense de Slobodan
 > Milosevic)
 >
 > <http://www.liberez-milosevic.fr.st/>
 >
 > N° 15 - 26 Février/February 2002
 > -----
 > Webmaster - Editeur responsable :
 > Luc MICHEL - email : lucmichelbxl@yahoo.fr
 >
 > This number 15 is send to 60.000 emails.
 > Ce numéro 15 a été envoyé à plus de 60.000 mailles
 > -----
 > SPECIAL ISSUE :
 > SYMPOSIUM IN BERLIN "THE MILOSEVIC CASE"
 > NUMERO SPECIAL :
 > COLLOQUE A BERLIN SUR « LE CAS MILOSEVIC »
 > -----
 >
 > ANNOUNCEMENT :
 > THE "MILOSEVIC CASE" - INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL
 > JURISDICTION AND THE NEW WARS OF THE GREAT POWERS
 >
 > A public colloquium on the "Milosevic Case" and its
 > meaning for current trends in international criminal
 > jurisdiction will be held in Berlin (Rathaus
 > Schöneberg, Room 195) on Saturday, March 2nd, 2002,

- > from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. The colloquium, including
- > lectures und discussions, is organized on the
- > invitation of the Berlin-Schöneberg/Tempelhof Branch
- > of the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS) by the
- > German Section of the International Committee to
- > Defend Slobodan Milosevic (ICDSM).
- >
- > The key note speech will be given by Norman Paech, a
- > professor of international public law at the
- > University of Hamburg, who will address the issue of
- > international criminal jurisdiction in the context
- > of
- > international law, defining legal criteria for its
- > proper use as well as exposing current abuses.
- >
- > The improper use of international criminal
- > jurisdiction under the auspices of "humanitarian"
- > military action and the "war against terrorism" will
- > be the subject of a contribution by Peter Koch, a
- > lawyer from Heidelberg.
- >
- > Another lawyer, Eberhard Schultz (Bremen/Berlin),
- > will
- > cover the main features of Milosevic's struggle
- > against the Hague "Tribunal"
- >
- > Excerpts from his latest book on "The Milosevic
- > Case"
- > will be read by Ralph Hartmann (Berlin), a former
- > GDR-Ambassador to Yugoslavia and the author of two
- > previous books on the destruction of Yugoslavia.
- >
- > Rolf Becker (Hamburg), a well known actor, who is
- > also
- > a trade union activist having organized several
- > solidarity missions to Yugoslavia, will speak about
- > "Yugoslavia after Milosevic".
- >
- > The meeting will be co-chaired by Gert Julius,
- > spokesman of the Berlin-Schöneberg/Tempelhof Branch
- > of
- > the Party of Democratic Socialism and by Klaus
- > Hartmann, vice-chairman of the International
- > Committee
- > to Defend Slobodan Milosevic (ICDSM) and spokesman
- > of
- > its German Section.
- >
- > With the participation of Luc MICHEL, chairman of the
- > Frenchspeaking Section (Belgium, France,
- > Switzerland,
- > Quebec) of ICDSM.
- >
- > The colloquium is supported by the European Peace
- > Forum
- >
- > ANNONCE :
- > LE "CAS MILOSEVIC" - LA JURIDICTION PÉNALE
- > INTERNATIONALE ET LES NOUVELLES GUERRES DES GRANDES
- > PUISSANCES
- >
- > Un colloque public sur le "Cas Milosevic" et son
- > influence sur les tendances actuelles dans le
- > domaine
- > de la juridiction pénale internationale sera
- > organisé
- > à Berlin (Rathaus Schöneberg, Salle 195) le samedi 2
- > mars 2002, de 10 à 17 heures. Le colloque qui
- > comprendra des conférences et des discussions
- > publiques sera organisé à l'invitation de la Branche
- > Berlin-Schöneberg/Tempelhof du «Parti du Socialisme
- > Démocratique» (PDS) par la Section allemande du

- > «Comité International pour la Défense de Slobodan
- > Milosevic» (ICDSM).
- >
- > La conférence principale sera donnée par Norman
- > Paech,
- > professeur de Droit international public à
- > l'université de Hambourg, qui parlera de la
- > juridiction pénale internationale dans le contexte
- > du
- > Droit international, en définissant les critères
- > juridiques de son application normale et en exposant
- > les abus courants.
- >
- > L'application abusive de la juridiction pénale
- > internationale sous les auspices d'actions
- > militaires
- > soi-disant "humanitaires" et de "la guerre contre le
- > terrorisme" sera le sujet de l'intervention de Me.
- > Peter Koch, avocat à Heidelberg.
- >
- > Un autre avocat, Me. Eberhard Schultz
- > (Bremen/Berlin),
- > présentera les caractéristiques principales de la
- > lutte du président Milosevic contre le "Tribunal" de
- > La Haye
- >
- > Une lecture d'extraits de son dernier livre "Le Cas
- > Milosevic" sera donnée par Ralph Hartmann (Berlin),
- > ancien ambassadeur de la RDA en Yougoslavie, et
- > auteur
- > de deux autres livres sur la destruction de la
- > Yougoslavie.
- >
- > Rolf Becker (Hamburg), un acteur très connu, et qui
- > s'est manifesté comme activiste syndicaliste en
- > organisant plusieurs missions de solidarité en
- > Yougoslavie, parlera de "La Yougoslavie après
- > Milosevic".
- >
- > La séance sera co-présidée par Gert Julius,
- > porte-parole de la Branche
- > Berlin-Schöneberg/Tempelhof
- > du «Parti du Socialisme Démocratique» et Klaus
- > Hartmann, vice-président du «Comité International
- > pour
- > la Défense de Slobodan Milosevic» (ICDSM).
- >
- > Avec la participation de Luc MICHEL, président de la
- > Section francophone (Belgique, France, Suisse,
- > Québec)
- > de l'ICDSM.
- >
- > Le colloque est soutenu par le «Forum Européen de la
- > Paix».
- >
- > DER "FALL MILOSEVIC" - DAS INTERNATIONALE STRAFRECHT
- > UND
- > DIE NEUEN KRIEGE DER GROSSMÄCHTE
- >
- > Partei des Demokratischen Sozialismus -
- > Bezirksverband
- > Tempelhof & Schöneberg
- >
- > Schöneberger Gespräche - Einladung
- >
- > für Samstag, den 2. März 2002 von 10.00 bis 17.00
- > Uhr
- > ins
- > Rathaus Schöneberg, 10820 Berlin, Raum 195
- > (ab 09.30 Uhr Anmeldung der Teilnehmer)
- >
- > zu Vorträgen und Diskussionen, organisiert vom

> Internationalen Komitee für die Verteidigung von
> Slobodan Milosevic - Deutsche Sektion - zum Thema:
>
> DER "FALL MILOSEVIC" - DAS INTERNATIONALE STRAFRECHT
> UND
> DIE NEUEN KRIEGE DER GROSSMÄCHTE
>
> Das Programm:
>
> Gert Julius, Bezirksverordneter der PDS Tempelhof &
> Schöneberg:
>
=== message truncated ===

Do You Yahoo!? -- Une adresse @yahoo.fr gratuite et en français !
Yahoo! Mail : <http://fr.mail.yahoo.com>



Een hechte familie

Niet alleen Slobodan Milosevic staat terecht. Er lopen -in Belgrado- ook aanklachten tegen zijn vrouw, dochter en zoon. Echtgenote Mirjana Markovic bestrijdt die in een exclusief interview vooral met sarcasme: "Het is eigenlijk niet eerlijk dat mijn kleinzoon van 2 niet is aangeklaagd. We zijn allemaal heel erg schuldig."

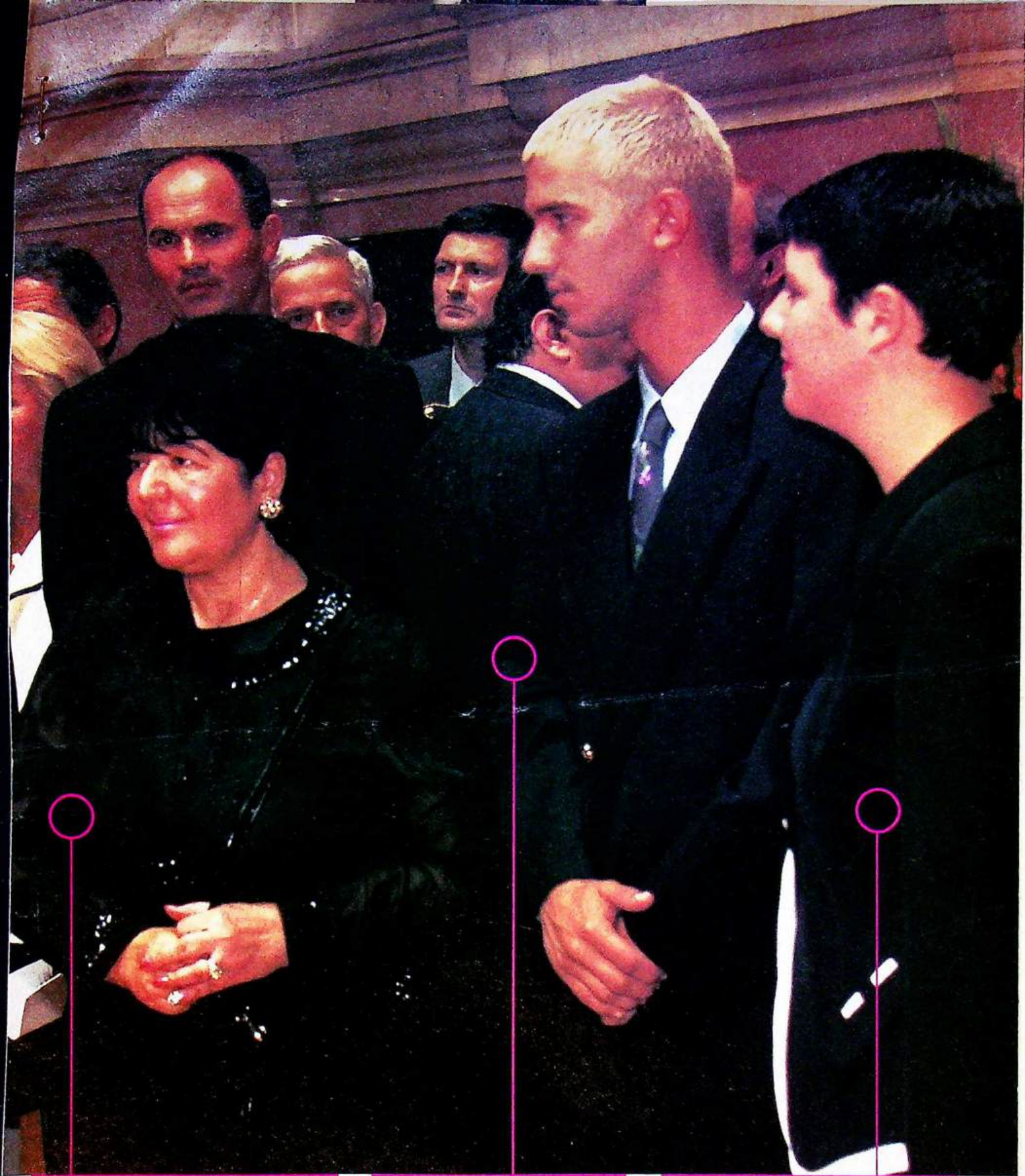
Door Blaine Harden © 2002 The New York Times Company

TOMISLAV PETERSEN CORBIS-SYGMA/ABC

Het gezin in betere tijden, tijdens de inhuldiging van Slobodan Milosevic als president van Joegoslavië, in 1997. Hier schudt hij de hand van de eveneens gezochte Bosnisch-Servische leider Karadzic.

MAR 2002

SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC
Aangeklaagd wegens
volkerenmoord



VROUW MIRJANA MARKOVIC
Aangeklaagd wegens corruptie

ZOON MARKO MILOSEVIC
Aangeklaagd wegens
bedreiging met de dood
middels een kettingzaag

DOCHTER MARIJA MILOSEVIC
Aangeklaagd wegens
illegaal wapenbezit

Ik ontmoet Mirjana Markovic, de vrouw van Slobodan Milosevic, deze winter in de bijna lege villa die het hoofdkwartier is van haar steeds marginaler wordende partij, Joegoslavisch Links (JUL). Ze was niet in een goed humeur. Ze kwam net terug van haar vijfde bezoek aan haar man in de gevangenis in Scheveningen. Na haar terugkeer hoorde ze bovendien dat haar zoon in staat van beschuldiging was gesteld, omdat hij iemand met een kettingzaag had bedreigd. Haar dochter moest terechtstaan wegens illegaal vuurwapenbezit. En zijzelf moest over drie dagen op de rechtbank verschijnen in verband met het appartement dat ze haar babysitter illegaal had toegewezen. Ik vraag Mirjana Markovic (ze is altijd haar meisjesnaam blijven gebruiken) waarom ze dacht dat de internationale en Servische rechtbanken haar hele familie vervolgen. Die vraag levert me een spottend lachje op. "Marko dreigde iemand met een kettingzaag in stukken te zagen? Dat is humor! Dat is humor!"

Mirjana is een stevig gebouwde vrouw met dikke vingers en grote, donkere ogen. Ze lispelt een beetje. "Weet u, het is eigenlijk niet eerlijk dat mijn kleinzoon van 2 niet is aangeklaagd," zegt ze sarcastisch. "We zijn allemaal heel erg schuldig." Mirjana (59) is een jaar jonger dan haar man. Ze waren als tieners al een stel en iedereen, zijzelf ook, zegt dat ze nog steeds het hartstochtelijk middelpunt van elkaars leven zijn. "We houden erg veel van elkaar; dat is algemeen bekend," zegt ze. In Belgrado organiseert ze zijn verdediging. Maar als we met elkaar praten, zegt Mirjana dat haar invloed op de carrière van haar man en het staatsbestuur in de jaren van zijn bewind te verwaarlozen was. Ik heb de indruk dat ze deze audiëntie vooral heeft toegestaan om me dat te vertellen. "Het viel me niet op dat we anders waren dan andere echtparen," zegt ze. "98 procent van de tijd spraken we over familieaangelegenheden."

Ze had het te druk met haar intellectuele bezigheden om zich met staatszaken te bemoeien, beweert ze. Ze merkt op dat ze als hoogleraar in de sociologie aan de universiteit van Belgrado veel boeken heeft geschreven, die in 25 talen zijn vertaald. Toch zien weinig anderen in Servië Mirjana als een hardwerkende geleerde die toevallig ook nog met een controversieel staatshoofd was getrouwd. Wetenschappers zeggen dat haar boeken onleesbaar zijn; belastingcontroleurs beweren dat zakenlieden die bij haar in de gunst probeerden te komen voor de publicatie en vertaling van die boeken betaalden. Haar belangrijkste geschrift was een dagboek dat ze in de jaren negentig in Joegoslavische tijdschriften publiceerde. Naast jubelende passages over zingende vogeltjes en pas gemaaid gras voorspelde dat dagboek vrij nauwkeurig wie de volgende vijand van haar man zou worden. Ze programmeerde de carrière van haar man, orkestreerde zijn opkomst en bespoedigde zijn val. Als Milosevic niet deed wat ze wilde, trok ze zich soms in bed terug tot hij van gedachten veranderde. Samen veranderden Mirjana en haar man de Servische regering in een crimineel bewind. Servische functionarissen zeggen dat ze verdacht wordt van poging tot moord op een politicus van de oppositie, de verdwijning van de communistische partijbonds die eens de mentor van haar man was en de moord op een prominente journalist in 1999. Het Servische publiek haat haar nog



Milosevic heeft de beschuldiging van genocide 'de ultieme absurditeit' genoemd. Met zulke uitspraken klinkt Milosevic precies zo als zijn vrouw

meer dan haar man. Bisschop Atanasije, leider van de Servische orthodoxe kerk Bosnië, noemde haar een "kwaadaardige psychopate."

Midden in ons gesprek stelt Mirjana me opeens een vraag. "Is het niet duidelijk waarom we allemaal zijn aangeklaagd - dochter en zoon en vader en moeder?" Na een korte stilte geeft ze zelf het antwoord. "De aanklachten maken deel uit van een vuile, mysterieuze oorlog tegen onze familie. Er zullen wel mensen achter zitten die zelf geen gelukkig gezin hebben. Ze zijn jaloers op ons en haten ons, omdat wij allemaal gelukkig zijn en goed met elkaar kunnen opschieten."

Ik vraag haar naar de beschuldigingen van genocide die tegen haar man zijn ingebracht. "Hij deed hetzelfde als wat president Bush nu doet," zegt ze. "Hij streed als staatshoofd tegen het terrorisme. Dat was zijn plicht. De regering-Bush heeft nu de kans om zich van de

wandaden van de regering-Clinton te distantiëren en mijn man in zijn strijd tegen het terrorisme te steunen." Het zou een mooi gebaar zijn, voegt ze daaraan toe, als Bush eist dat haar man wordt vrijgelaten.

Milosevic heeft de beschuldiging van genocide "de ultieme absurditeit" genoemd. Met zulke uitspraken klinkt Milosevic precies zo als zijn vrouw. Ze voeren ook dezelfde argumenten aan. Dat is geen tactiek om Milosevic vrij te krijgen. Het is een poging om de trots van de familie te redden. Die is enorm groot en in sommige opzichten bedrieglijk. Het privé-leven van de Milosevics werd net als hun politiek beheerst door zelfbedrog. Zo kunnen Markovic en Milosevic geen kwaad woord over hun twee beruchte kinderen Marko en Marija horen. Milosevic heeft tegen vrienden gezegd dat hij bewondering heeft voor Marko's zakelijk talent. En in ons gesprek zegt Mirjana: "Ik moet zeggen dat ik een erg leuk gezin en goed opgevoede kinderen heb."

Maar de nauwste familieband is die tussen man en vrouw. Sinds Milosevics arrestatie is ze drie dagen per maand bij hem in de gevangenis van Scheveningen. De Nederlandse regering heeft haar een visum gegeven en maakt daarmee een uitzondering op het reisverbod dat de Europese Unie haar, haar kinderen en ongeveer 300 leden van het regime van haar man heeft opgelegd. Toen ze haar man in de zomer van 2001 voor het eerst in Scheveningen bezocht, stond hij nog onder zelfmoordbewaking en was ze door een glazen wand van hem gescheiden. Tegenwoordig mag ze de hele dag bij hem zitten, met een bewaker binnen gehoorsafstand. Vergeleken met zijn cel in Belgrado zijn de omstandigheden in Scheveningen luxueus te noemen. Hij heeft een kamer met een koffiezetapparaat en satelliet-tv. Hij heeft toegang tot een uitgebreide bibliotheek en kan naar een fitnessruimte gaan of bordspelen met zijn medegegedetineerden doen. Sinds hij naar Nederland is overgebracht, is zijn gezondheid vooruitgegaan.

In de villa in Belgrado vraag ik Mirjana of ze haar man heeft geadviseerd het gerechtshof niet te erkennen en als zijn eigen advocaat op te treden. Ze ontkent dat niet - tenminste, niet meteen. "Waarom zou hij advocaten nodig hebben om namens hem te zeggen wat er in Servië en Joegoslavië gebeurd is en hoe hij strijd leverde tegen het

Rechte familie

terrorisme? Er is geen recht in Den Haag! Het is geen proces. Het is pure politiek." Mirjana zwijgt even. "Dat is natuurlijk

maar mijn mening," voegt ze er dan aan toe. "Hij heeft me die dingen niet uitgelegd. Maar ik neem aan dat hij dat denkt."

De misvattingen van Milosevic en zijn vrouw stonden dertien jaar centraal in het bestuur van Servië en haar 10 miljoen inwoners. De staatstelevisie en -radio, waarvan de directeur rechtstreeks aan het echtpaar rapporteerde, leerde de Serviërs zichzelf als slachtoffers van een eeuwige samenzwering te zien. Terwijl vier oorlogen werden gevoerd en verloren, werden zo langzamerhand bijna alle niet-Servische groepen in de Balkan tot de samenzwering gerekend: Albanezen, Slovenen, Kroaten, Bosnische moslims en Hongaren. In het complot zaten ook de rooms-katholieke kerk, alle islamitische landen, de Duitsers, de Britten en de Amerikanen. Feiten die niet in dit scenario pasten - zoals de massale verkrachting van Bosnische vrouwen of de verdrijving van 800.000 etnische Albanezen uit Kosovo door Serviërs - werden verzwegen of veranderd.

De mythen die de familie aan de macht hielden, speelden ook een beslissende rol bij de beëindiging van het regime. Milosevic had de door hem verloren verkiezingen niet hoeven uit te schrijven. Zijn vrouw drong daarop aan; ze overtuigde haar man ervan dat de kiezers hem als een oorlogsheld zagen. Op de verkiezingsdag, toen Milosevic van Vojislav Kostunica verloor, was ze stomverbaasd. Twee weken na zijn verkiezingsnederlaag werden Milosevic en zijn vrouw vooral door de opkomst van Otpor, een door jongeren geleide verzetsbeweging, uit het zadel gestoten. Niettemin zetten Milosevic's familie, zijn rijke vrienden en vroegere beschermers bij de politie in het democratische Servië ook in 2002 hun leven gewoon voort. Hoewel haar man is afgezet, woont Mirjana nog steeds in de officiële ambtswoning van de Joegoslavische

president, samen met Marko's vrouw, Milica Gajic, en haar 2-jarige kleinzoon, de kleine Marko (Marko zelf vluchtte meteen met zijn vrouw en kind het land uit, maar zij en het kind keerden al gauw naar Belgrado terug en trokken bij Mirjana in). Volgens een overeenkomst die werd uitgewerkt in de nacht dat Milosevic werd gearresteerd, is het familieleden toegestaan om - op kosten van de overheid - in de ambtswoning te blijven totdat ze geschikte andere woonruimte hebben gevonden. Ze zullen vertrekken, vertelt Mirjana me, als de aannemer klaar is met de renovatie van een particulier landhuis in de chique wijk Dedinje.

Dezelfde ziekelijke verschijnselen die kenmerkend waren voor het regime-Milosevic, vormen ook een trieste rode draad in de levens van de kinderen Milosevic. Terwijl hun ouders het land regeerden, groeiden Marija en Marko op tot verwenste gangsters. Marija, inmiddels 36, heeft altijd belangstelling gehad voor vuurwapens. Meermalen kwam ze zwaaiend met een pistool een nachtclub binnen om op zoek te gaan naar vriendjes van wie ze zei dat ze haar bedrogen. Vorig jaar schoot ze een hond

dood die van een vroegere minnaar was. Ze legde in een tijdschrift in Belgrado uit dat het dier haar honden lastigviel. 'Ik loop al jaren met een vuurwapen rond,' zei ze tegen een krant in Belgrado. 'Het staat me goed. Ik heb nooit over een huwelijk en kinderen gedacht. Een baby in mijn ene arm en een pistool in mijn andere hand - dat zou me te ingewikkeld worden.' Blijkbaar wordt Marija's levensgeluk de afgelopen twee jaar vooral bedreigd door haar moeder. Nadat haar vader naar Den Haag was afgevoerd, sloot Marija zich aan bij een ultraradicale nationalistische partij van Vojislav Seselj, een bekende Servische ophitser die van oorlogsmisdaden wordt verdacht.

De laatste twee keer dat Marija haar vader in de gevangenis van Belgrado bezocht, samen met haar moeder, schijnt ze haar woede de vrije loop te hebben gelaten (Milosevic's bewakers maakten aantekeningen van de familiebezoeken, en de gevangenisdirecteur publiceerde zijn herinneringen). "Het wordt hoog tijd dat je ophoudt je als een partizane te gedragen en je best doet rationeel te denken," zei ze tegen haar moeder. Daarmee verwees ze naar de communistische partizanen die na de Tweede Wereldoorlog de macht in Joegoslavië grepen. "Ik maak geen deel uit van jouw partizanenverhalen," schijnt ze tegen Mirjana te hebben geschreeuwd. "Ik hoor niet in jouw wereld thuis."

Daarna schold ze haar vader uit omdat hij laf zou zijn. "Als je je tegen je arrestatie had verzet, zou dit alles niet gebeurd zijn. Ik wil mijn vader bij me hebben. Jij hebt al besloten om naar Den Haag te gaan." Daarna weigerde Marija met haar moeder naar Den Haag te gaan. Ze is vaak in Montenegro gesignaleerd, en ook in delen van Bosnië die door ultranationalistische Serviërs worden beheerst. In een interview met een blad dat daar verschijnt zei ze dat Servië een 'concentratiekamp' is geworden dat wordt geleid door joden, zigeuners en 'Turken' (het Servische scheldwoord voor moslims). Maar ondanks haar problemen met vuurwapens, alcohol, drugs, mannen, haar geboorteland en haar ouders, denkt Marija waarschijnlijk rationeler dan alle andere leden van de familie Milosevic. Ze is ook het familielid voor wie de politie en de fiscale

recherche de minste belangstelling hebben. Ze zien haar gebruik van vuurwapens in april 2001 als een emotionele uitbarsting. "Het is geen reden om haar in de gevangenis te zetten," zegt Zoran Zivkovic, de Joegoslavische minister van Binnenlandse Zaken.

Vergeleken met zijn zus is Marko (27), veel succesvoller in het vergaren van geld - en vrienden. Rechercheurs zeggen dat hij een van de rijkste gangsters van Servië is geworden en ze zijn nog steeds op zoek naar zijn geld. Hij gebruikte zijn familieconnecties om de Servische markt van gesmokkelde sigaretten en taxifreeshops in handen te krijgen. Hij maakte naam door mensen in bars in elkaar te slaan en meer dan twintig dure auto's die hij van vrienden of zijn ouders had gekregen de vernieling in te rijden. Hij kwam nog meer in de schijnwerpers te staan toen hij met Milica Gajic trouwde, een vrouw met ravenzwart haar en met een schoonheid die nog eens geaccentueerd werd door operaties die haar borsten vergrootten en haar lippen voller maakten.



Mirjana Markovic: 'De aanklachten maken deel uit van een vuile oorlog tegen onze familie. Er zullen wel mensen achter zitten die zelf geen gelukkig gezin hebben'

Een hechte familie

God verhoede, voor mij en voor ik ooit thuiskom.' Een thuiskom onwaarschijnlijk. Maar dankzij het

dat hij in Servië heeft vergaard is Marko blijkbaar op zijn pootjes terechtgekomen. In december schreef een Servische krant dat hij een huis en discotheek aan het bouwen is in Almaty, de grootste stad van Kazachstan. Zijn vrouw heeft gezegd dat zij en de kleine Marko van plan zijn hem in zijn ballingschap te volgen.

Hield Slobodan Milosevic zich vooral met de oorlogen bezig, de activiteiten van zijn vrouw lagen dichterbij huis. Ze vond manieren om de familie te verrijken. Mirjana wordt volgens de hoofdaanklager bij het tribunaal, Carla Del Ponte, ook niet van oorlogsmisdaden verdacht en zal niet in staat van beschuldiging worden gesteld. Dat geldt ook voor de kinderen. Maar Milosevics familie heeft zich wel aan een breed scala van corrupte activiteiten in Servië schuldig gemaakt - aldus Alexander K. Radovic, directeur van de Servische belastingdienst en auteur van een dossier van 45 pagina's over zwendelpraktijken die met toestemming van de familie plaatsvonden. Radovic komt tot de conclusie dat Milosevics familie zich tijdens zijn bewind bijna goddelijke rechten aanmatigde. "U moet begrijpen dat ze het geld niet nodig hadden," zegt hij. "Ze hadden de absolute macht en dat betekende dat ze alles konden krijgen. Ze dachten dat ze nooit belastingen hoefden te betalen. Waarschijnlijk stalen ze meer dan 10 miljard dollar."

Ik spreek Radovic op een vrijdagavond in zijn kantoor in Belgrado. Er zijn bij vrienden van de familie Milosevic nog miljoenen dollars aan onbetaalde belastingen te innen en daarom maakt hij lange dagen. Hij vond de jacht op dat geld uitdagend genoeg om z'n succesvolle softwarebedrijf in Parijs achter te laten en in december 2000 naar Servië terug te keren en daar de hoogste belastingman te worden. Omdat veel van de Serviërs bij wie hij belastinggeld probeert te innen, rijk

en goed bewapend zijn, heeft Radovic twee lijfwachten. Hij pakt een stuk papier en tekent drie cirkels - een soort doelwit. In de middelste, kleinste cirkel, de roos, schrijft hij 'familie'. In een iets grotere cirkel 'vrienden'. In een veel grotere cirkel 'idioten'. Hij legt uit dat Milosevic en zijn vrouw vrienden gebruikten om geld uit de zakken van idioten te kloppen. Daar hadden ze allebei hun eigen bestemming voor. Slobodan Milosevic stal geld om zijn oorlogen te betalen en zijn machtsbasis te versterken. Mirjana Markovic stal geld "om rijk, rijk, rijk te worden." De Socialistische Partij van Milosevic had ook geld nodig voor de paramilitaire strijders die in Kroatië, Bosnië en Kosovo vochten. Functionarissen van de Nationale Bank schatten dat ongeveer een kwart van al het geld dat in de jaren negentig in Servië is gestolen naar de oorlogen ging. Het meeste van dat geld was afkomstig van grote bankfraudes, zegt Radovic.

De Servische leider - hij was tussen 1978 en 1983 zelf bankier - gaf bevel tot een aantal 'leningen' die miljarden aan de Nationale Bank onttrokken en die nooit werden terugbetaald. Hij gaf toestemming voor piramidespelen die

Marko kan veel beter met zijn moeder opschieten dan zijn zuster. En net als zijn moeder weet Marko de bloeddruk van veel Serviërs omhoog te jagen. Toen zijn vader in het najaar van 2000 werd afgezet, gingen menigten wraakzuchtige jonge mensen op zoek naar Marko, maar hij was al gevlucht.

Ik kwam Marko tegen in de zomer van 1999, toen hij het hoogtepunt van zijn beruchte carrière beleefde; hij werd omringd door lijfwachten. Het was een broodmagere, tamelijk knap uitziende man met kort wit geverfd haar. De ontmoeting was in Pozarevac, een sombere fabrieksstad waar zijn ouders opgroeiden en waar hij de mega-disco Madona en een recreatiepark runde. Daar, in Bambiland, schreeuwde hij tegen me: "Jullie zijn de agressor! Jullie hebben het huis van mijn vader platgebrand." Het was vlak na de NAVO-bombardementen op Servië. Nu staat Marko erom bekend dat hij onaardig is tegen de pers. Na de geboorte van zijn zoon in januari 1999 werd hij kwaad op een verslaggever van Glas Javnosti, een Belgradose krant. De journalist had een arts uit de verloskamer geciteerd die de algehele gezondheid van Marko's baby een 9 had toegekend, op een schaal van 1 tot 10. Op de dag dat het artikel werd gepubliceerd stuurde Marko een dreigende e-mail naar de journalist: 'De 9 van mijn zoon is in werkelijkheid een 10.' De volgende morgen stormde Marko het gebouw van de krant binnen. Hij werd vergezeld door een lijfwacht en had een pistool achter zijn broeksband. De journalist was nog niet op de redactie en Marko ging weg, nadat hij eerst nog had bedreigd de armen en benen te breken van de weinige mensen die aanwezig waren.

Zoran Milanovic, die als barkeeper voor Marko werkte, was minder fortuinlijk. Marko vatte het persoonlijk op toen Milanovic zijn baan bij Madona opzegde om zich bij Otpor aan te sluiten, de politieke beweging die het verzet van het volk tegen het regime-Milosevic leidde. Volgens een tenlastelegging uit november stuurde Marko zijn lijfwachten om zijn voormalige barkeeper op te halen. Ze schopten hem, sloegen hem met pistolen op het hoofd en brachten hem naar zijn disco waar Marko hem met een elektrische kettingzaag opwachtte.

Ik ontmoet Milanovic deze winter in Café Tref, een rokerige bar in Pozarevac. Hij is 22 en werkloos. Hij beschrijft de ontmoeting als volgt: "Marko kwam met die zaag aanzetten. Hij zei: 'Wat moet je, verrader? Stuk stront. Jij zult niet de eerste zijn die ik in stukken zaag en in de Morava-rivier gooi.' Marko bracht de zaag bij mijn hoofd en zette hem aan. Dat duurde enkele seconden. Toen zette hij hem af en legde hem op de bar. Marko zei tegen zijn jongens dat ze met me moesten afrekenen. Ik begon te huilen." Marko's mannen schopten en sloegen Milanovic nog een aantal keren, voordat ze hem voor zijn huis uit hun auto gooiden. Hij deed de volgende dag aangifte bij de politie en dook onder. Hij zegt aan chronische slapeloosheid te lijden.

Kort nadat de bedreiging met de kettingzaag in de openbaarheid kwam, stuurde Marko een brief naar de burgemeester van Pozarevac. Er stond in: 'Ik zou graag willen dat u alle zogenaamde slachtoffers van mij noemt die geen psychiatrische patiënten of junkies zijn.



Marko Milosevic tegen zijn slachtoffer Milanovic: 'Stuk stront. Jij zult niet de eerste zijn die ik in stukken zaag en in de Morava-rivier gooi'

geselecteerde banken werden georganiseerd en die honderden miljoenen dollars van rekeninghouders opslokten voor ze instortten. Mirjana zette een organisatie op die Joegoslavisch Links (JUL) heette en beweerde dat het een politieke partij was. Radovic zei dat het in werkelijkheid een dekmantel voor corruptie was. "Al haar vrienden waren bevoorrecht. Als iemand een exportvergunning nodig had, kreeg hij hem. Als iemand een appartement nodig had, kreeg hij het. Het werkte ook andersom. Als de familie geld nodig had, gingen ze naar hun vriendenkring en dan kregen ze het." Volgens Radovic had de JUL-partij van Mirjana geen ander doel dan geld verdienen en duur onroerend goed van de staat voor een appel en een ei in handen te krijgen. Er zijn tal van bewijzen voor aan te voeren dat Mirjana persoonlijk tussenbeide kwam om appartementen aan JUL-leden en andere vrienden toe te wijzen, zegt Radovic, en hij voorspelt dat honderden van die gevallen vervolgd zullen worden.

Vreemd genoeg maakte het echtpaar Milosevic zich niet erg druk om geld toen het nog in opkomst was. In de jaren tachtig leefde Milosevic als middenkadercommunist nogal sober. Hij en zijn vrouw ontvingen zelden gasten en gingen niet vaak uit. Ze woonden in een bescheiden appartement in een doorsneewijk van Belgrado. Dat alles veranderde in 1987, toen Milosevic de machtigste man van Servië werd. Het gezin verhuisde onmiddellijk naar een villa in het dure Dedinje. In het midden van de jaren negentig droeg Milosevic pakken van 3000 dollar en horloges van 20.000 dollar. Twee dagen voor het begin van de Kosovo-oorlog, toen zijn landgenoten voedsel hamsterden en NAVO-piloten voorbereidingen troffen voor de bombardementen, was Milosevic bezig de aankoop van een tweede villa te regelen.

Tegen het eind van ons gesprek praat Mirjana over de gevangenis. Per slot van rekening zal haar man waarschijnlijk de rest van zijn leven in de gevangenis doorbrengen. En als haar zoon wordt uitgeleverd, loopt hij grote kans om lange tijd in een Servische cel door te brengen. Marija zal waarschijnlijk niet lang hoeven te zitten - een paar maanden op zijn hoogst. Maar de belastingdienst en de politie in Belgrado zeggen dat ze hun best doen om Mirjana voor vele jaren achter de tralies te krijgen. Bereidt ze zich voor op de harde leefomstandigheden in een Servische gevangenis? vraag ik. Ze antwoordt kribbig: "Is een normaal persoon die niemand heeft vermoord en nooit de wet heeft overtreden daarop voorbereid?" Heeft ze spijt van de manier waarop ze haar leven heeft geleid? Na een lange stilte antwoordt ze: "Ik had voorzichtiger moeten zijn bij het kiezen van mijn vrienden. Waarschijnlijk zijn er mensen geweest die de wet overtraden en de namen van mijn man en mij noemden." En net als haar man vindt ze niet dat het Milosevic-regime zich voor iets zou moeten verontschuldigen. Van de vier Balkan-oorlogen die in het tijdperk van Milosevic zijn uitgevochten -waarin bijna 300.000 mensen omkwamen- zegt Mirjana dat alleen die in Kosovo "van betekenis" was. Want dat was het enige conflict dat de oorlog naar Belgrado bracht - die kruisraketten in haar slaapkamer. Als ze al ooit invloed probeerde aan te wenden, zegt ze, deed ze dat in



**Marija Milosevic:
'Een vuurwapen staat me goed. Ik heb nooit over een huwelijk en kinderen gedacht. Een baby in mijn ene, en een pistool in mijn andere hand zou me te ingewikkeld worden'**

het belang van de mensheid. "Zoals alle intellectuelen wilde ik andere mensen beïnvloeden. Maar ik deed dat met de hoop dat ik een bijdrage kon leveren aan de strijd van mensen om in waardigheid te leven en tegen armoede en onrechtvaardigheid in 't geweer te komen." Sinds de arrestatie van haar man leeft Mirjana steeds meer in een isolement. Een groot deel van haar tijd voert ze besprekingen met advocaten of wacht ze op telefoon van haar man en haar zoon. Mirjana weigert bijzonderheden over haar toekomst of haar dagelijks leven te geven. Het enige dat ze wil zeggen is dat haar leven "vervuld is van pijn." ●

Ondertussen in Den Haag

Medeschuldig aan de dood van 300.000 mensen, maar uiterlijk verveeld zit Slobodan Milosevic in de rechtszaal van het Joegoslavië-tribunaal.

Leunend op zijn elleboog, dan weer hangend in zijn stoel, luistert de voormalige president van Joegoslavië en Servië met toegeknepen ogen naar de aanklacht: oorlogsmisdaden in Kroatië en Bosnië en volkerenmoord in Kosovo. "Sinds de Tweede Wereldoorlog is er in Europa niet op zo'n systematische manier vermoord," fulmineert de aanklager. Twee dagen zijn nodig om de aanklacht voor te lezen, namen te noemen van Servische militairen, politieagenten en paramilitairen die als beesten tekeer gingen. Situaties te omschrijven hoe onschuldige mannen werden doodgeschoten, vrouwen verkracht, huizen verbrand en de overlevenden weggedreven. Maar de namen van dorpen en steden als het Kosovavarse Racak, het Kroatische Vukovar en het Bosnische Srebrenica waar zijn troepen doodden, raken hem niet. De vijf stoelen voor zijn advocaten zijn leeg, het Joegoslavië-tribunaal in Den Haag, opgericht voor de vervolging van mensen verantwoordelijk voor ernstige schendingen van het internationaal recht op het grondgebied van voormalig Joegoslavië vanaf 1991, erkent hij niet. "De westerse media hebben hun bevolking gedesinformeerd over wat in de oorlog is gebeurd. Kosovaren sloegen en doodden eigen mensen. Het waren de NAVO-vliegtuigen die bombardeerden. Het waren Servische individuen die zonder mijn opdracht misdaden begingen. Ik word verdacht van wat andere mensen deden." Strijdlustig kijkt hij bij zijn weerwoord de zaal in. Hij toont onverzettelijkheid. Nu hij opkijkt valt op dat zijn gewicht is toegenomen sinds op 29 juni 2001 de celdeur van de Scheveningse gevangenis achter hem sloot. Levenslang hangt boven zijn hoofd en ongetwijfeld zullen zijn wangen nog dikker worden. Toch voel ik iets van medelijden. Het is het proces van de verliezer waar de winnaar de aanklacht bepaalt. In de beklagdenbank zit niet de Verenigde Naties die het moorden liet plaatsvinden en pas na jaren ingreep. Noch de voormalige dictatoren van talloze andere landen als de Chileense dictator Pinochet of Ugandese leider Idi Amin. Bij opening van het proces dat naar schatting twee jaar gaat duren zei openbaar aanklaagster Carla Del Ponte: "Vandaag, zoals nooit tevoren, zien we internationale rechtspraak in actie." Prachtige woorden. Alleen jammer dat de wet nog niet voor iedereen gelijk lijkt.

DOOR ARNOLD KARSKENS

van holst en steijnen

From: <Freeslobo@aol.com>
To: <lcdsm@aol.com>
Sent: vrijdag 1 maart 2002 20:05
Subject: Hague 'Prosecutor' Calls Milosevic Unfair (to Liars?)

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 Hague 'Prosecutor' Calls Milosevic Unfair (to Liars?)
 [Posted 1 March 2002]

The excerpt below, from a news story by reporter Ian Fisher, sounds like a parody. But really, it is impossible to parody The Hague 'tribunal':

[Start quote from National Post]

"THE HAGUE - Prosecutors sought yesterday to clamp down on Slobodan Milosevic's lengthy cross-examinations, saying his grillings could deter future witnesses from testifying against him at his trial for war crimes.

"'We do have to have in mind the effect that questioning can have on witnesses yet to come,' the lead prosecutor, Geoffrey Nice, told the judges.

"'It would be foolish to pretend that this process isn't being given very wide publicity.'

"His comments came at the end of a day when Mr. Milosevic, at times sharply, questioned two ethnic Albanians who said they witnessed executions by Serb forces in the war in Kosovo in 1999.

"During the first six days of testimony, Mr. Milosevic, the former Yugoslav leader acting as his own lawyer, has taken vigorous advantage of his right to ask questions to make his own case: that his army and police were not responsible for atrocities."

-- End quote from National Post On-Line, February 27, 2002
<http://www.nationalpost.com/news/world/story.html?f=/stories/20020227/183738.h>

tml

Note that Mr. Fisher describes President Milosevic as taking "vigorous advantage of his right to ask questions," suggesting there is something illicit about a sharp cross-examination in which witness after witness is exposed as a liar.

Look at the balance sheet, if you will.

On the one hand, The Hague has virtually unlimited financial, organizational and communications resources.

On the other hand, Slobodan Milosevic has a tiny cell in the same prison "which was used by the Gestapo during the Second World War as a torture centre for Dutch resistance fighters." (National Post, February 11, 2002)

He is only permitted to see his wife once a month. (Other prisoners get to see family every day.) The prison food is inedible. He is not allowed to exercise when The Hague is in 'session.' (I put 'session' in quotes because this is not a real court.) He is not permitted to meet with his legal advisers, other than his Yugoslav attorneys and perhaps one Dutch lawyer. This ban includes the head of his legal team, Chris Black. It also includes most of his attorneys suing the 'tribunal' and Holland for denying President Milosevic basic rights. Whenever 'Judge' May wishes, he silences Milosevic by

ing off his microphone. He has access to no research library nor the internet. He cannot freely receive documents. He is not allowed to talk to the press although the prosecution holds regular press conferences. During much of his detention (though not at the moment) lights have been turned on in his cell, 24 hours a day.

I could go on. The point is, his rights are violated constantly and his living conditions are awful.

All Slobodan Milosevic has is his knowledge of what really happened in Kosovo and his brilliance, which enable him, despite widespread press censorship, to reach people around the world with the truth.

So why should witnesses be afraid? Why are they refusing to testify? Why did Agence France Press report, about one Mr. Zecqiri, that:

"Throughout his testimony, Zecqiri twisted in his chair to avoid facing Milosevic, who listened impassively and scribbled notes. The witness looked away even as the one-time Serbian strongman fired questions at him during cross-examination." (AFP, February 20, 2002)

Note that, even in this context, Agence France Presse feels the need to label Milosevic a "strongman." But in fact Slobodan Milosevic has no army, no police, nothing but his eyes and his words. On the other hand, the witnesses are part of the secessionist organization which runs Kosovo with the support of not only NATO but The Hague 'tribunal' as well.

President Milosevic doesn't yell at these witnesses. He doesn't threaten them. He just catches them in lies.

That is why the 'prosecutor,' Geoffrey Nice, is worried. As Mr. Nice says:

"It would be foolish to pretend that this process isn't being given very wide publicity."

The 'prosecution' wants to silence Slobodan Milosevic because he is proving that NATO's witnesses - and therefore NATO's 'tribunal' - are liars. This is causing would-be witnesses to think twice about appearing. Moreover, Slobodan Milosevic is showing millions of people around the world that a) we have been sold a pack of lies about Yugoslavia and that b) one principled leader of a small country is more than an intellectual match for the legal 'minds' of the NATO emperors.

And that translates: NATO can be defeated.

The so-called prosecution at NATO's so-called tribunal is worried because millions of people around the world are learning from President Milosevic that NATO can be beaten.

[Coming Soon: "Lies and More Lies at NATO's 'Tribunal'"]

-- Jared Israel

FURTHER READING

1) 'By Adding Three Lies, One Does Not Get the Truth - Only a Bigger Lie' - President Slobodan Milošević in The Hague, January 30th 2002 (transcript)

2) 'Why is NATO Decimating the Balkans and Trying to Force Milosevic to Surrender?'

By Jared Israel and Nico Varkevissier

3) 'Illegal Tribunal - Illegal Indictment,' by Dr. Hans Kocchler at <http://emperors-clothes.com/docs/prog2.htm>

4) How Madeline Albright Ordered The Hague 'Tribunal' To 'Indict' Milosevic at <http://www.icdsm.org/more/lovic.htm>

5) Official Statements Prove Hague 'Tribunal' Belongs to NATO

ward Israel at
<http://www.icdsm.org/more/bclongs.htm>

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van holst en steijnen

From: www.DeWaarheid.nu <de.waarheid@tiscali.nl>
To: <Undisclosed-Recipient;@rhea.tiscali.nl>
Sent: vrijdag 1 maart 2002 09:06
Subject: Primakov offers to defend Milosevic

Former Russian PM Primakov offers to defend Milosevic.

MOSCOW – Former Russian prime minister Yevgeny Primakov offered Thursday to appear as a defense witness for Slobodan Milosevic at his UN war crimes trial, praising the ex-president for his role in the Balkans.

"I can testify that Milosevic behaved in a most positive manner and enabled a peaceful outcome. I am thinking of Bosnia, where the bloodletting stopped thanks to Milosevic and his uncontestably positive role in Kosovo," he told ORT public television.

Primakov, who was prime minister between August 1998 and May 1999, sharply criticized the UN trial in The Hague as biased.

"I was prime minister of Russia at the time when Yugoslavia was bombed (by NATO during the 1999 Kosovo conflict) and I took an active part in the settlement of the Yugoslav problem," he said.

"To my mind the trial of the former Yugoslav leader is becoming one-sided," he added.

(AFP. 28 February 2002)

van holst en steijnen

From: PCN-NCP Service de Presse <pcnservicedepresse@yahoo.fr>
To: <info@pcn-ncp.com>; <lucmichelbxl@yahoo.fr>
Sent: dinsdag 5 maart 2002 11:45
Subject: INTERVIEW WITH VLADIMIR KRSLJANIN, INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF SERBIA (SPS)

Dépêche du Service de Presse du PCN-NCP
Press release from PCN-NCP Press Office
5 mars/march 2002
pcnservicedepresse@yahoo.fr

Milosevic's Courage Needs Our Solidarity
[Posted 3 March 2002]

INTERVIEW WITH VLADIMIR KRSLJANIN, INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF SERBIA (SPS), published on 2 March in the Internet addition of Halo Noviny (Czech Republic).

Interviewer Jan Hrobar. Kindly translated from the Czech by Colin Meade.

Q: You were recently in The Hague. Did you personally meet President Milosevic?

Vladimir Krsljanin: Unfortunately not this time. The 'tribunal' restricts Milosevic, who is the President of our party, to only one meeting a month, lasting a few hours, with members of the party leadership. One such took place about a month ago. I was present at the opening of the 'trial' as a visitor. We sat in the gallery behind a glass screen and could only wave to him.

Q: What impression did Milosevic make on you?

V.K. He made an absolutely superior impression not only on me, but perhaps on all those present. There were about a thousand journalists there from the whole world. I think we could agree on this assessment. This impression was certainly strengthened by the fact that Milosevic stood alone before the 'tribunal' which is a huge machine in the service of NATO, but with admirable fearlessness he put forward his defence and defeated everything which the staff of NATO experts, employing immense technical resources, had built up over a period of months. I think that it is impossible to exaggerate Milosevic's achievement.

Q: Milosevic has usually addressed the 'court' in English. What language did he use in his defence speech?

V.K.: Serbo-Croatian. He had spoken English in dealing with some procedural issues at the start of the process but gave up doing so and for the past few months has only used Serbo-Croatian before the 'tribunal'. He continues to do so, and it couldn't be otherwise because the main Serbian TV channel is broadcasting direct from the 'courtroom' and Milosevic is making full use of this to address the whole nation.

Q: How did his speech go down in Belgrade?

V.K.: Let me give you some figures, which speak louder than any words. At present, according to our polls,

... citizens of the FRY are behind Milosevic. ... he is defending not only himself but the ... nation, which has been denigrated and humiliated ... the Hague. 67% believe that Milosevic will win and ... together with him truth and justice, that the Serbian ... nation will be vindicated before the world.

Q: How long did Milosevic speak?

V.K.: For a total of eleven hours over three days. He started speaking at the end of the second day (13 February), but only for about half an hour before the 'court' rose. Three more days were given over to Milosevic's defence, but on two of those days, the 'court' only sat in the morning for three hours. An hour or so of that time was taken up with the showing of videos displaying crimes committed by NATO in the aggression against the FRY.

Q: The foreign media used superlatives in describing Milosevic's performance. Did you expect him to be so brilliant?

V.K.: We expected him to speak very effectively. We had seen how strongly he performed at his previous appearances before the 'tribunal', the great weight of each argument he used to show that the 'tribunal' is an illegal manipulated instrument in the service of NATO and of US policy in particular.

I have to say that Milosevic's cross-examination surprised both his friends and his enemies. Parts of his appearance were seen by an estimated billion people. It is especially important that it left a strong impression. The prevailing view now is that Milosevic is a politician without equal not only in Serbia but also the Balkans, that he is a political figure of international stature. Everyone could satisfy themselves of this.

Q: As a result of this impression, people have begun to speculate about who helped Milosevic to prepare such a convincing presentation. What do you think about this?

V.K.: I'm being asked this question a lot at press conferences. I think that two factors are working together here. The force of Milosevic's personality, his great intellectual powers, and the fact that he is not alone, that behind him stands the whole of our party, all genuine patriots and practically the whole nation, and many friends around the world. He feels this support and the responsibility to destroy with his words every lie.

Q: In his political career, he showed himself to be a capable economist and financier who succeeded in taming runaway inflation. Did he also study law?

V.K.: Yes, he studied in Belgrade and was an outstanding student. It is notable that the majority of professors from his faculty are supporting him. About 30 formed a group opposing the 'tribunal'. They show its violation of legal norms and therefore the illegality of the 'trial.' Many people from all walks of life want to support President Milosevic and are offering to testify to prove he is innocent and must be released.

Q: Some observers are surprised at the fact that Milosevic, even after long imprisonment, seems in excellent physical and mental condition..

...es, it's remarkable. When I met him about a
 ago, I was much impressed by his vitality. All
 more so because he is held in isolation in
 conditions which destroy people's strength. In a tiny
 cell with minimal facilities, exposed to constant
 physical and also psychological pressure. The
 awareness that he is struggling for justice for his
 people gives him the boundless moral strength to
 resist such destructive conditions.

You ask how I see the future of the 'trial'. I'm
 convinced that his jailers and their NATO paymasters
 are also preoccupied with these matters and are coming
 to the conclusion that the way to beat him is to break
 him physically. He has destroyed the prepared scenario
 for the 'trial', exposed the weakness of their
 fabricated arguments and the lies of their witnesses;
 he has dazzled the public and he has gained the
 backing of fair-minded people around the world. In the
 predictions being made by the Hague 'tribunal' that
 the 'trial' may last two years or even longer, I see
 an attempt, through endless delays, to wear him down.
 No one is made of iron; intolerable conditions can
 destroy anyone. Milosevic is waging a battle in which
 he deserves the support of all who believe in
 democracy and care about truth and justice. Demand his
 release so that he can defend himself in freedom! The
 International Committee to Defend Slobodan Milosevic
 is supporting this demand in the context of the
 broader demand that he be freed unconditionally and
 the Tribunal be abolished. His jailers know that other
 than physical abuse, they have no way to defeat him.
 Milosevic's courage requires not only recognition and
 admiration, but defence and support from all decent
 people.

Posted in Czech at :

<http://www.halonoviny.cz/encoding/toASCII/index.php?id=16090>

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van holst en steijnen

From: Christopher Black <bar@idirect.com>
To: D. Dostanic <dostanic@sympatico.ca>
Cc: Vladimir Krsljanin <vlada@sps.org.yu>; <Emperors1000@aol.com>; TARGETS <redactie@targets.org>; van holst en steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>; John Philpot <jphilpot@alarie-legault.qc.ca>; André Tremblay <agtremlay@videotron.ca>; Tiphaine Dickson <tiphainedickson@videotron.ca>
Sent: zaterdag 9 maart 2002 19:59
Subject: Re: the detectives

Daniel,

Thanks very much for this. I will pass it on to Vladamir Krsljanin in Belgrade who can get it to Milosevic. The assistance you are talking about would be invaluable. Perhaps we can meet next week some evening or for lunch. I have to leave for Africa again on the 18th re the Rwandan tribunal but maybe we can kick around some ideas to help Milosevic in his defence. This project of yours is excellent.

I was thinking of setting up Canadian branch of the Committee to Defend M here in Toronto. We could issue a press release, call a meeting and arrange for a couple of speakers including you and yours truly and see what we can do to keep it in the public eye here.

My cell is 416-456-6935.

Again I have to apologise for being out of touch so much but this travelling for weeks at a time kills me and when I am in town for a few days I just want to lay low.

Anyway, talk to you soon.

Chris

— Original Message —

From: "D. Dostanic" <dostanic@sympatico.ca>
To: "Chris Black" <bar@idirect.com>
Sent: Friday, March 08, 2002 4:11 PM
Subject: the detectives

> Hi Chris,

>
 > Some of the guys are following the kangaroo court with a jaundiced eye
 > and came up with the following:

>
 > The last Albanian to testify claims that 109 Albanians were killed in a
 > convoy on May 2, 1999.

>
 > A net search resulted in the following:

>
 > _____
 > many of the 109 Kosovars now in Utah plan to stay.
 > <http://www.rcagan.com/HotTopics.main/HotMike/document-6.28.1999.4.html>

>
 > 109 Kosovars hospitalised in Durres and Kruja
 > <http://www.hri.org/news/balkans/ata/1999/99-04-06.ata.html>

>
 > About 109 Kosovars passed Morine border in the early hours of Friday,
 > after having passed a night in the city of Kukës, Xhemail Shahu, UNHCR
 > coordinator, told ATA on Friday.
 > <http://www.hri.org/news/balkans/ata/1999/99-08-06.ata.html>

>
 > _____
 > The Home Office said that a further 109 Kosovars arrived on medical
 > flights
 > <http://www.unmikonline.org/press/wire/im291000.html>

>
 > _____
 > 109 Kosovo Albanians have requested asylum since 24 March 1999
 > <http://www.fas.org/man/dod-101/ops/docs99/990410-kosovo-unhcr.htm>

... carrying refugees from Kosovo has arrived in the Czech Republic,
... 109 ethnic Albanians on board.

<http://www.radio.cz/news/GB/1999/01.05.html>

> Head of the military police also said that since KFOR has overtaken
> control over Kosovo on 12. June, 295 persons were killed in the region
> -109 Albanians, 102 Serbs and 84 members of other nationalities,
> including foreigners.

> http://news.bcoograd.com/english/nation/news_990911.html

> And that's not all:

> The figure of 109 massacred is for the villages of Mala Krusa and
> Celini. Celini is mentioned by Albanian sources only.

> Most of the 109 bodies of the Albanian civilians massacred by the Serb
> forces in the village of Celina, Prizren district, were women and
> children KosovA crisis centre
> <http://www.alb-ncf.com/kcc/070299c.htm>

> They did a search of ICTY, OSCE, US State Department and media reports
> during the aggression and came up with the following conclusion: the
> Krusa case differs in all reports and in all significant details (time
> frame, location, number of attackers, number of victims, number of
> survivors).

> They are in the process of constructing a chart that would prove, in a
> graphic form, the lies the so-called tribunal is propagating through
> false witnesses

> Best, Dan

Where the number 109 came from?

/109 victims in each of Mala Krusha, Celine and Studime events/

March 11 2002

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What happened in Mala Krusa-----5

Road Maps, Studimlja, Mala Krusa-----6

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Executive Summary

Number of 109 Kosovo Albanian victims appears in various unrelated media reports about Mala Krusa, Celine and Sudimlja. The same number 109 also appears in media reports numerous Kosovo Albanian refugees abroad (Czech Republic, Albania, Utah, etc.)

The same number 109 was used by ICTY witness who spoke of May 2 incident although OSCE put the number between 90 and 160 and claim that 110 bodies were buried.

A case of orchestrated disinformation media campaign and groomed witness or pure coincidence? A statistician is in the process of testing other series of numbers.

Further comparison revealed inconsistencies between OSCE, ICTY and State Department reports as well as differences from media report.

Most notably, in interview for RFERL, witness Lufti Ramadani who lost 3 relatives claims that Mala Krusa massacre can be attributed to single special policeman.

This is in stark difference to ICTY indictment.

This might be a good example of how claims by ICTY prosecution witnesses when checked against recorded media reports from 1999 to the present day, present events with vivid details.

Bob Petrovich
bojanp@rogers.com

Comparison chart of data from various sources

source	Where	Date/time	Total #	Killed	Survivors	Perpetrators
Radio Free Europe. 5 April 2000 Author: Jolyon Naegle	Mala Krusa, three-room house."	"the morning after the NATO strikes began"	109	103	8 escaped, 6 still alive	(Lufti)"Ramadani says the actual massacre was committed by a single Serbian special policeman who used a machine gun to kill the men before setting the house on fire."
OBSERVER John Sweeney June 20, 1999	Mala Krusa, barn	March 26	109		Yes, interviewed, more than one	"the Serbs of Little Krushe machine-gunned, then set fire to, their Albanian neighbours."
ICTY indictment	Mala Krusa	Morning March 26	Not specified	"approximately 105"	Not specified	"the forces of the FRY and Serbia opened fire with machine guns"
OSCE As seen as told report	Mala Krusa, a Serb-owned house	"on or around 26 March"	"more than 100"	Not specified	Not specified	"Police then opened fire on the group" A/1090 (identified the group who opened fire on the men and boys as four paramilitary members of the "Grey Wolves", of whom he named the apparent leader, and a "Gypsy"(Maxhup)
USDOS	Mala Krusa	-	Not specified	"112"	Yes, at least one	Not specified
KOSOVA CRISIS CENTER	Celina	some days after NATO air campaign		109	Not specified	
NEW YORK TIMES ONLINE	Not specified	May 2 1999		109		
Kosova Live Via medioclub report	Studime			109		
OSCE	Studime	May 2		between 90 and 160		

WHAT HAPPENED IN MALA KRUSA?

1. How many people were killed? 101,103,105?
2. How many survived? 3 or 6?
3. When it happened ? The day after NATO bombing started (March 25) or March 26 1999?
3. Was scene of the crime a barn, an unfinished house or 3-room house?
4. Who were the perpetrators? "FRY police and military forces" as stated in ICTY indictment, single special forces policeman as witnessed by Lufti Ramadani or 4 paramilitaries from Gray Wolves unit as stated by OSCE witness?

The number "109" appears in reports about two other alleged massacres (Celina, Sudimlja/Studime) although OSCE and other official documents provide different numbers.

It has been often said that statements taken from Albanian refugees in Albania are credible because they are fairly consistent. This comparison shows the consistency may be due to dissemination of data from a single source.

Fig.2 Gornja and Donja Sudimlja

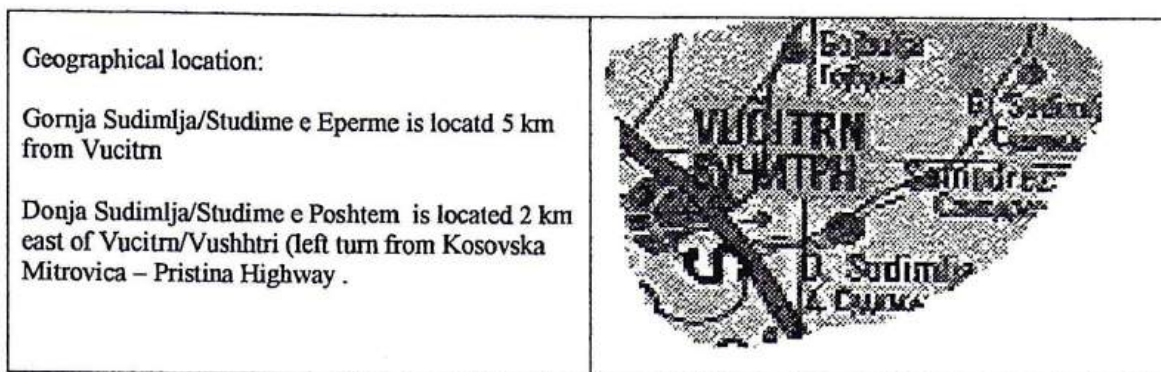
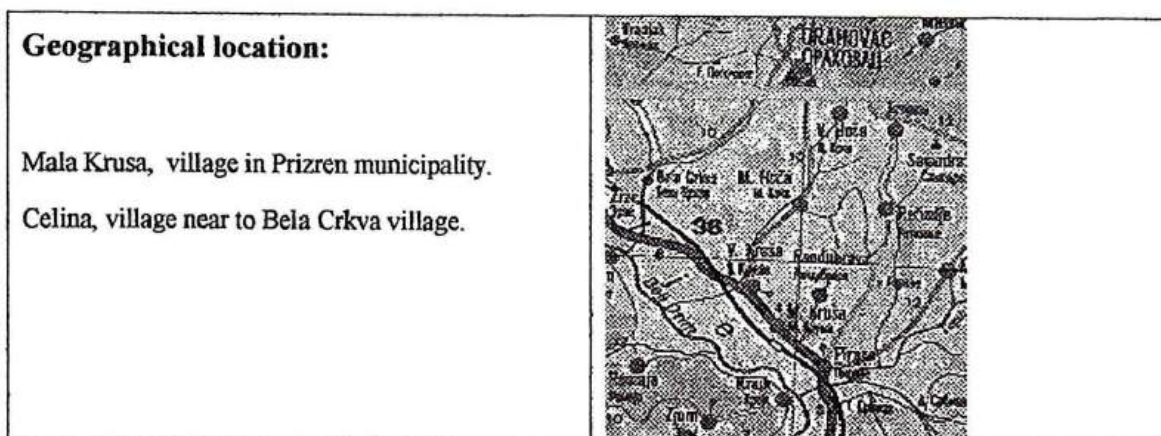


Fig. 3 Mala Krusa, Celina



Appendix

MALA KRUSA

RFERL

Little Krusa (Mala Krusa/Krushe e Vogel)

<http://www.rferl.org/balkan-report/2000/04/24-050400.html>

Kosova: Living With The Legacy Of Massacres. This article is the last in a series by RFE/RL's veteran correspondent Jolyon Naegle on Kosova one year after the NATO intervention began (see "RFE/RL Balkan Report," 31 March 2000). It deals with the problems facing ethnic Albanian individuals and families who lost loved ones in the systematic killings conducted by Serbian forces as part of Operation Horseshoe in an effort to empty Kosova of Albanians.

Krushe e Madhe, 23 March 2000 -- Many of the victims of the massacres in the villages northwest of Prizren, Kosova, in the first days after NATO launched its air strikes are still unaccounted for.

The Serbs carted off or burned many of the bodies and disposed of some of the remains in the nearby Drini i Bardhe River. Nevertheless, many women continue to hope that their men are alive in prisons in Serbia.

But the few witnesses to the Serbian atrocities, such as truck driver Selman Gashi from the village of Krushe e Madhe, say they have given up trying to explain to survivors that their loved ones are gone for good. He said:

"You can't just tell [survivors], 'look, I saw your father and son being killed.' This is a problem--we can't tell anyone. We told them not to bother searching. I told them the names [of the dead], but they still hope to find more than 30 people who are still missing. But they can't find them. They are no longer alive."

To add to their burden, survivors of the massacre in the neighboring village of Krushe e Vogel continue to face a whispering campaign by their Albanian neighbors that they must have been Serbian spies because they lived through the massacres.

One survivor declined to grant RFE/RL an interview on the grounds that everyone thinks he is a spy. Two other survivors of the same massacre agreed to talk. Lutfi Ramadani says his son comes home from school every day crying because his classmates taunt him for being what he calls a "son of a spy."

Ramadani lost two sons, a brother and a nephew in the massacre. He says the police and military surrounded the village the morning after the NATO strikes began. The Serbs shelled the village and then started setting Albanian-owned homes on fire. The Serbs ordered the women, girls, and boys aged 13 and under to leave before putting the men in a house, where they demanded money and personal documents.

Ramadani says the actual massacre was committed by a single Serbian special policeman who used a machine gun to kill the men before setting the house on fire. Ramadani says although most of the men were killed, eight managed to escape from the house and six are still alive.

Ramadani adds some 30 Serbian residents of the village were present with 15 policemen during the massacre of their Albanian neighbors: "I did not recognize the policeman with the machine gun, but the Serb villagers were in uniform and armed. They were together with them [the police and soldiers] there. We were 109 [persons], all in one three-room house."

Ramadani says 103 people were killed and only six survived. He says the Serbs killed an additional 10 Albanian villagers, including a 13-year-old boy, at other sites in the village, bringing the death toll at Krushe e Vogel to 113. He says Serbian officials refused to explain why they joined in the massacre. The Serbs completely demolished the house where the massacre occurred in a bid to remove any remaining evidence of the crime.

Ramadani also says he knows of no Serbs from the village who were killed or harmed by Albanians before or during the war. He says there were no problems between Albanian and Serbian residents there until 1998, when fighting erupted.

Among Krushe e Vogel's approximately 900 residents, Albanians outnumbered Serbs more than two to one. Now, all the Serbs have fled and their homes are destroyed. The Albanians' homes were also largely gutted by fire and mortar shells, but the newer ones have been repaired sufficiently to make them livable. The older mud-brick homes are beyond repair.

The massacres in these villages are specifically cited in the indictment issued last May by the UN war crimes tribunal at The Hague against Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic and four other senior officials.

Milain Bellanica managed to make a video recording of a massacre site at Krushe e Madhe before the Serbs removed the bodies. He smuggled the videocassette to Albania as the fighting and killings continued. Bellanica says he feels let down by the Hague tribunal, which he says promised him protection from reprisal but has done nothing.

Selman Gashi, the truck driver, talks about the days following the initial massacre. He says three busloads of what he thinks must have been Serbian paramilitaries from the Serbian towns of Krusevac and Pirot arrived in Krushe e Madhe accompanied by tanks. He says they started firing from the road toward a mosque on March 26. The villagers fled in three directions, mainly to the hills east of the village.

Gashi says Serbian forces rounded up the villagers in the nearby hills, took pictures, and asked them if they liked NATO. The Serbs told the women and children to walk to Albania and later told the men--Gashi says there were 46--to march to the village of Nogavac.

In Gashi's words, "We heard them say 'fire.'" He says he survived by jumping into a ditch, but that other men were shot from behind. Forty-three from that group were killed, and three survived.

Another survivor was Krushe e Madhe's librarian, 58-year-old Bajram Nalli. He lost at least one son--the other is still missing. He also lost a brother and two nephews.

He describes his brush with death as follows: "Then we were ordered to stand and were told that whoever is older than 60 or younger than 17 had to go out. I was not 60 and I remained. But my eldest son told me, 'Dad, go ahead. The children are alone.' I had to go out. The police stopped me, but then let me go. But they took my youngest son, Blerim."

Nalli insists all those who were rounded up, robbed, beaten, and executed were unarmed civilians. He rules out any chance of ever living together again with Serbs. "On the orders of the highest-ranking politicians, Yugoslavia committed crimes against Albanian civilians in Kosova, and after all that has happened, it is impossible to accept living within Yugoslavia or Serbia. Until today, no Serb politician has denied the crimes the Serbs committed in Kosova." Serbian politicians have tried--unsuccessfully--to pin responsibility for the deaths on NATO bombings.

In addition to the identities of the victims, what remains unclear a year after the massacres is the motive. Were the killings intended as the start of a genocide campaign--Operation Horseshoe? Were they retribution for the air strikes? Or was it a terrifying warning to other Kosovar Albanians to leave the province immediately or risk the same fate?

With Milosevic and the four other indicted leaders indicted for their roles in these war crimes still at large, it may be some time before we learn the answers. (Jolyon Naegle)

MALA KRUSA, OBSERVER JUNE 20 1999

OBSERVER

<http://www.observer.co.uk/milosevic/story/0,10639,517972,00.html>

The killing fields

Who gave the order? Sickening evidence of Milosevic's organised campaign of mass murder is emerging from the ruins of Kosovo

John Sweeney in Prizern

Sunday June 20, 1999

The Observer

Imagine opening a book at random and finding horror on every page. That is Kosovo. Imagine taking in so much horror that you begin to realise that what you are looking at is not random violence but something really monstrous: systematic, orchestrated evil. That is what Slobodan Milosevic's willing executioners have done to Kosovo.

He had a great heft of fat riding his bull neck and a head as round and hairless as a cannonball. He came out of the Serb cafe, the strut of his walk signalling trouble. His attention had been caught by a small road crash, one little car banging into another outside the cafe in Lipljan during the Serbs' panicky exodus from the place they have so remorselessly pulverised. The hairless man started shouting at one of the drivers, then pulled out a gun and brought it down hard on the driver's face. There was a crack, and the driver crashed down on to the road. He kicked the driver in the head, savagely. He pointed the gun towards him and it cracked once more.

The victim was a Serb heading north out of Lipljan on the road out of Kosovo. That may have been his crime. He wasn't dead, but his face was a red mush of blood and bone, and he was trembling from the shock and the kicking. The hairless man was Sava Markovic, a member of the Serbian Radical Party, whose leader, Vojislav Seselj, declared in 1991 that he would willingly pluck out the eyeballs of the Serbs' then enemies, the Croats, with 'a rusty shoehorn'. Last year Markovic drove his car into a crowd of Albanians protesting against Serb persecution and started firing his gun in the air. Markovic, the Albanians said, was one of Arkan's cutthroats.

Markovic must have felt unease and the first twitches of fear when the British soldiers arrived. The Royal Engineers searched the pub, but Markovic had escaped through a window in the lavatory.

And witnesses? One thick-set man, not quite as bald as Markovic but similar in build, said: 'Bullets? I didn't hear any bullets.' Not one of the regulars in the Serb cafe had seen Markovic pulp the driver's face. But we had witnessed it with our own eyes.

Markovic was - is - a psychopath. Everyone in Lipljan knew that. For years, the lads in the bar watched him terrorise. They were - are - complicit in his violence. For years the Serb special police, the MUP, let him act with impunity.

The stink caused us to slow, then stop, one kilometre east of Kijevo on the road from Pristina to Pec. On the top of a bank, blooming with poppies and blue and yellow summer flowers, the flies buzzing above her, lay an old woman - frail, thin, with worn peasant's slippers on her feet. A yard from her torso was her hair, thin grey swirls against the rich green grass. A yard further on lay her skull, clean of flesh. Killing the old lady would not have been hard work. But scalping her, and cutting off her head? Serb paramilitaries - the gangs of Arkan, the 'Frankis', and Vojislav Seselj - have been mutilating their victims since the Croat war in 1991. The Serb police have let them do so, with impunity.

It had been such a nice house. For once, the Serbs had not burnt it, only trashed it, throwing tomato paste at the wall, smashing the television, daubing the Cyrillic letter 'S' four times in a cross, standing for 'Serbs United Will Never Be Defeated', in shaving foam. But it was enough to make Antigona Deda weep. She opened the door to her kitchen and almost gagged at the smell.

They had killed a neighbour's cat and left it there, a feast for the maggots writhing in its fur. On the wall of a nearby house, one of them had written: 'Never come back.'

The arsonists have been energetic. You can tell an Albanian village because the homes are gutted a Serb village because the homes are intact. Chunks of Pristina, the whole of the Drenica valley, Pec, the old town in Djakovica, have all been systematically put to the torch. Oddly, Prizren is almost entirely untouched. For Kosovo, that is almost a shocking sight - until you learn that the German army discovered a memo in the Serb police station explaining that the beautiful Ottoman town was to be torched in mid-June. The Serbs ran out of time.

But not before they had given the Albanians registration papers, the better to pick them out. That Prizren was untouched but about to be gutted is evidence that the arson was calculated - part of the mechanism of ethnic cleansing.

It simply adds to the overwhelming evidence of central planning: the torture centres in police stations, the piles of registration cards, the systematic attacks on those who had worked for or housed monitors of the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe and the singling out of the Albanian intelligentsia from lists prepared by Milosevic's killers.

The road to the massacres was inexorable. It was not Nato's fault. Remember that 2,000 ethnic Albanians were slaughtered in the months before Nato lost patience with Milosevic. The final onslaught was planned down to the last detail. Intellectuals, doctors, journalists and human rights lawyers were targeted. Ethnic cleansers from outside Kosovo were called up and invited to meet at the bus station in Nis in southern Serbia. When Nato attacked at 8pm on the night of 24 March, Milosevic was prepared and gave the order to send in the cleansers.

No one should be surprised at this. It had all been planned back in September, codenamed 'Operation Horseshoe' - the systematic ethnic cleansing of Kosovo. German intelligence, the BND, knew about the plan back then, and a senior Yugoslav Army officer, one General Lukic, let the cat out of the bag when he told officials from the Kosovo Verification Mission: 'Give us a week and we will clean the terrorists out of Kosovo.' The plan, postponed by the makeshift ceasefire deal worked out by Richard Holbrooke, kicked in again when Milosevic declined to sign the Rambouillet accord. The plan required terror to shift the Albanians, and the Serbs supplied that on an industrial basis. You could, truthfully, report the cruelties of the Kosovo Liberation Army - for example, the sniper attack in Pristina and the torturing to death of a 70-year-old man in Prizren whom they accused of collaboration. The old man's prone form was found in the old Serb police station, his hands handcuffed behind his back. All of it is disgusting, but these are eddies of violence against a strong, tidal flow.

The difference can be seen in dozens of ways - for example by looking at how the Serbs and the Albanians have treated each others' religious sites. At Devic, in the Drenica valley, Serb nuns show what the KLA did in three days of their occupation: one icon scratched with the letters 'UCK' (Albanian for KLA), some broken icon frames, a wooden cross snapped off. But the monastery is pretty much intact the nuns were frightened but untouched, and are now protected by Nato. By contrast, the ancient Ottoman mosque in the old town of Djakovica is blackened and burnt. Down the road, a moon rocket lies on the ground - the minaret of another mosque, dynamited by the Serbs.

Or you can look at the refugees. What's the difference between a Serb and Albanian tractor-trailer? A Serb tractor is full of fridges an Albanian tractor is full of people.

And then there are the massacres. The Observer only had time to look at four sites. At Makovc, north-east of Pristina, are shallow graves, blood on the floor of a garage, still sticky two decapitated men further off. At Kacanik, about 10 miles north of Kosovo's Macedonian border, lie 35 freshly dug mounds, with bodies clogging a well higher up. At Little Ribare, east of Lipjan, 25 bodies, the youngest born on 11 July 1992.

The bodies, one of the Albanians said, had been buried in the cemetery after the massacre, which had taken place in early April. A day after Slobodan Milosevic had signed the peace accord, the Yugoslav Army dug up all the bodies, placed them in the mosque, photographed them all and then reburied them. That was an organised attempt to muddy the evidence and to distance the high command from the butchery.

The fourth, and for me the most terrible, massacre site is at Little Krushe. In what had been a pretty little village are soot-stained walls, broken roofs, butchered cows and, in one yard, the remains of a dog, its head, paws and body in three places, haloed by flies. The Serb homes are intact.

Grannie Batusha is the matriarch of Little Krushe, still living in a cramped, joyless room in Albania, waiting to return to her yard. It is more awful than you could possibly imagine. We missed it at first. Her home is next door to the barn where, survivors said, 109 men were massacred. One of them had drawn us a map but the barn was not there. After half an hour we realised our mistake. The barn was no longer there because it had been dynamited. Two huge holes and chunks of rubble are all that is left of the place where the Serbs of Little Krushe machine-gunned, then set fire to, their Albanian neighbours.

The dynamiting of the massacre site at Little Krushe is hard evidence of a cover-up - of the Serbian state's attempts to hide the evidence of a war crime, a trail which leads all the way back to the man indicted for his part in the massacre here: Slobodan Milosevic. The human cost of what Milosevic and like-minded Serbs have done is unbearable. We found a little lad in the empty ruins of Little Krushe who said he was 14, but looked 10. He boasted a ferocious hunting knife, a Kalashnikov and a pistol which looked real enough but which, he explained a little sheepishly, was a toy belonging to his little brother.

The boy soldier said his name was Felim Hajdari. He took us to his yard. He asked us about his father, who had gone missing on 26 March, along with the 109 other men, after a Serb selection: men to the right, women to the left.

'If you tell me my father is alive, I will fire every bullet in the Kalashnikov,' he said, as big and tough as he could get. His father, he said, was Seit Hajdari. Two months before, one of the three survivors of the massacre at Little Krushe had said that a paralysed man called Seit Hajdari had been one of those killed. Hoping against hope, we prayed that there might have been some mistake. The simple question we did not dare ask was: 'Is your dad paralysed?'

The boy took us upstairs, up a soot-coated concrete staircase littered with cracked roofing tiles. In the corner of one bedroom were the gutted remains of his father's wheelchair.

'Have you any news of my dad?' he asked, again.

OSCE REPORT KOSOVO/KOSOVA AS SEEN AS TOLD

<http://www.osce.org/kosovo/documents/reports/hr/part1/p5ora.htm>

Mala Krusa

Groups of villagers were rounded up from various locations by Serbian forces on or around 26 March. People were ordered out of their homes whilst others were found in the nearby mountains and forested areas where people from the surrounding areas, particularly Mala Krusa, had gathered.⁷⁷ Men were separated from the women and young children. Then the men and boys were marched away with their hands behind their head.⁷⁸ One group of women and children were sent to the mosque,⁷⁹ whilst other groups of women and children escaped or were ordered to leave the men and go to Albania (they were told to "go to NATO").⁸⁰ The men and boys, more than 100 of them,⁸¹ were taken to a Serb-owned house with a yard where they were beaten and robbed of their IDs. Police then opened fire on the group. After the shooting stopped, they piled straw in and around the house and set fire to it in order to burn the bodies.⁸² Returning villagers reported finding a large number of bodies, some of which had been burned.⁸³

⁸¹ A/0126; A/0799; A/0800; A/0801; A/0820; A/1090 (identified the group who opened fire on the men and boys as four paramilitary members of the "Grey Wolves", of whom he named the apparent leader, and a "Gypsy" (*Maxhup*) whom he also named); A/1104; M0457

⁸² A/0255; A/0799 (said local civilians in police uniform were also involved; also said a local Serb house); A/0800 (said a Serb house); A/0820; A/1090 (said the house was in Mala Krusa); A/1104 (said a house under construction).

USDOS

<http://usinfo.state.gov/regional/eur/balkans/kosovo/hrreport/kosovo.pdf>

MALA KRUSA

MALA KRUSA One hundred and twelve men were shot and their bodies burned in an apparent attempt to conceal the evidence, according to a wounded and burned survivor of the executions.

VILLAGE OF CELINA

KOSOVA CRISIS CENTER

<http://www.alb-net.com/kcc/070299e.htm>

109 Albanians massacred in the village of Celina were mostly women and children (Radio21)

Most of the 109 bodies of the Albanian civilians massacred by the Serb forces in the village of Celina, Prizren district, were women and children.

Kosova Information Centre quoted eye witnesses saying that the massacre had been committed some days after NATO air campaign against Yugoslavia, began. Serb soldiers and paramilitary troops surrounded the village and separated the males from women and children. The males were sent in unknown direction and women and children were massacred.

OSCE REPORT "KOSOVO/KOSOVA AS SEEN, AS TOLD"

<http://www.osce.org/kosovo/documents/reports/hr/part1/p5vuc.htm>

One of the most serious incidents in the region was the killing and mass arrests when a convoy of Kosovo Albanian IDPs was attacked between the twin villages of **Gornja Sudimlja/Studime e Eperme** and **Donja Sudimlja/Studime e Poshtem**, respectively 5 and 2 km east of Vucitrn town, on 2 and 3 May.¹²⁴ As the Serbian forces followed in the wake of the Kosovo Albanian IDPs fleeing down towards Gornja Sudimlja, different forces also attacked the area from the south, from the area on the outskirts of Vucitrn town.¹²⁵ A large convoy from Slakovce came to Gornja Sudimlja in the late afternoon of 2 May. One man who joined the convoy there, near the front, described it as being led by Kosovo Albanian political leaders from the area, carrying a white flag. According to this interviewee, they stopped to rest at approximately 20:00 hours, but soon news came from the back of the column that villages behind were being burned and people killed, and that the convoy should move in order to escape the same fate. The convoy began to move again, but the interviewee could hear the sounds of shells exploding behind them. Serbian forces came to the front of the column, and told the interviewee to keep moving to the asphalt road further along.¹²⁶ When they reached the VJ positions at the front line, they were initially met with anger, as it was late at night and movement during this time was restricted. The VJ troops were surprised to hear that it was Serbian forces who had ordered the convoy to keep moving.¹²⁷ The VJ then indicated that the convoy should move on, threatening to kill the passengers of any tractor that veered out of line. During this time, some Serbian forces came to tractors, shone lights in the faces and separated some men, holding them for ransom; the soldier who separated the interviewee in this manner was described as wearing a uniform similar to the police, but was bald or shaven-headed. At 01:00 hours the convoy finally stopped, in a field. Other interviewees identified this as a former agricultural collective near the Elan Vicianum motel.¹²⁸

An interviewee who, by his description of events, appears to have been at the rear of the column leaving Gornja Sudimlja, said that the column was very long, and he was still in Gornja Sudimlja when the head of the convoy reached Donja Sudimlja. He had not yet left Gornja Sudimlja when Serbian forces started shelling. Kosovo Albanians lay down on the road in order not to be hit by bullets which were flying just above their heads. When the shelling stopped, police and VJ came among the column and began to beat and rob them. At about 22:00 hours the convoy began to move again, surrounded on both sides by VJ, police, and "paramilitaries". These forces pulled men off the tractors, holding them for ransom.

Some interviewees witnessed Serbian forces pull people off the tractors and shoot them;¹²⁹ some reported that between 90 and 160 people were killed in this way on the night of 2 May.¹³⁰ One interviewee said that men wearing green camouflage uniforms and red scarves, of various ages and some with beards or long hair, went to the driver of her tractor (aged about 38), and pulled him off, hitting him on the head. They asked him for DM 500, but as he pulled the money out of his pocket they shot him in the chest, killing him. The interviewee recounted also that at one point they had to abandon their tractors and as she walked down past other abandoned tractors, she passed approximately 40 bodies. As they were walking down, different forces, described as wearing police uniforms with blue and yellow stripes on their arms, led them to the agricultural collective near the Elan Vicianum motel.¹³¹

"One man who joined the convoy there, near the front, described it as being led by **Kosovo Albanian political leaders** from the area, **carrying a white flag**"

"Some interviewees witnessed Serbian forces pull people off the tractors and shoot them;¹²⁹ some reported that **between 90 and 160 people were killed in this way** on the night of 2 May.

New York Times Online News Reported March 7, 2002:

[REDACTED] Kadriu and his family set off once again with thousands of others. [REDACTED] identifying them as civilians, but they were still attacked by the Serbs, he said.

“It was dark when the shooting began ... We heard grenades, children crying, I shall never forget that, [REDACTED]” Kadriu said, describing how he saw Serb troops close by.”

Kosovo Albanian Tells of Torture (THE ASSOCIATED PRESS) :

<http://www.medijaklub.cg.yu/eng/news/archive/2001/jul/11kosovo.htm>

PRISTINA – Pristina-based news agency Kosova Live reports today that five survivors of a massacre in the Kosovo village of Studime are to take the stand against Slobodan Milosevic. According to the agency, Peter Stewart of The Hague Tribunal Pristina branch spoke with the survivors on Monday evening.

Kosovo Live alleges, on May 7, 1999, Serbian forces massacred the inhabitants of the Studime village, including women and children.”

OSCE REPORT

Celina/Celine⁴⁵ (March24-29)

On 26 March shooting started again. The remaining villagers fled to the mountains where there were approximately 4,000 people from the surrounding villages. Some of the people went down into the village to get food. On coming back they reported finding many dead bodies in various locations. One man returning to Celine from the mountains with a group of other men said that they buried a total of 86 bodies that were found in various locations.⁵⁵

ICTY INDICTMENT:

QUOTE:

c. On or about 25 March 1999, forces of the FRY and Serbia attacked the villages of Mala Krusa/Krusë e Vogël and Velika Krusa/Krushë e Mahde (Orahovac/Rahovec municipality). The villagers of Mala Krusa/Krusë e Vogel took refuge in a forested area outside Mala Krusa/Krusë e Vogel, where they were able to observe the forces of the FRY and Serbia systematically looting and burning their houses. The villagers subsequently took refuge in the house of Sedje Batusha, which is located on the outskirts of Mala Krusa/Krusë e Vogel.

During the morning of 26 March 1999, forces of the FRY and Serbia located the villagers.

The forces of the FRY and Serbia ordered the women and small children to leave the area.

The forces of the FRY and Serbia detained and searched the men and boys and confiscated their identity documents and valuables.

Subsequently, the forces of the FRY and Serbia ordered the men and boys, under threat of death, to walk to an unoccupied house in Mala Krusa/Krusë e Vogel.

The forces of the FRY and Serbia forced the men and boys to enter the house.

When the men and boys were assembled inside, the forces of the FRY and Serbia opened fire with machine guns on the group.

After several minutes of gunfire, the forces of the FRY and Serbia set fire to the house in order to burn the bodies.

As a result of the shooting and fire, approximately 105 Kosovo Albanian men and boys died. (Those persons killed who are known by name are set forth in Schedule C, which is attached as an appendix to this indictment.)

[n.b. 101 names attached in appendix C <http://www.un.org/icty/milosevic/>]

109 in other reports

During Kosovo war, there were thousands of news reports. Some of them contained specific number of Kosovo Albanians. I have searched for reports containing "109 "

109 Kosovars passed Morine border in the early hours of Friday, after having passed a night in the city of Kukes, Xhemal Shahu, UNHCR coordinator, told ATA on Friday.

<http://www.hri.org/news/balkans/ata/1999/99-08-06.ata.html>

109 Kosovars hospitalised in Durres and Kruja

<http://www.hri.org/news/balkans/ata/1999/99-04-06.ata.html>

The Home Office said that a further 109 Kosovars arrived on medical flights

<http://www.unmikonline.org/press/wire/im291000.html>

109 Kosovo Albanians have requested asylum since 24 March 1999

<http://www.fas.org/man/dod-101/ops/docs99/990410-kosovo-unhcr.htm>

A plane carrying refugees from Kosovo has arrived in the Czech Republic, with 109 ethnic Albanians on board.

<http://www.radio.cz/news/GB/1999/01.05.html>

many of the 109 Kosovars now in Utah plan to stay.

<http://www.reagan.com/HotTopics.main/HotMike/document-6.28.1999.4.html>

Head of the military police also said that since KFOR has overtaken control over Kosovo on 12. June, 295 persons were killed in the region -109 Albanians, 102 Serbs and 84 members or other nationalities, including foreigners.

http://news.beograd.com/english/nation/news_990911.html

Search is underway for other numbers e.g. 99, 119, 129

###

van holst en steijnen

From: <Emperors1000@aol.com>
To: <JaredI@aol.com>
Cc: <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>; <bar@idirect.com>; <vlada@sps.org.yu>; <redactie@targets.org>; <david@shelljacobs.com>; <p.davidson@btinternet.com>; <llen@dialstart.net>; <fjgil@cattell.psych.upenn.edu>; <Gorojovsky@arnet.com.ar>; <r_rozoff@yahoo.com>; <tiphainedickson@videotron.ca>; <tetekin@duma.gov.ru>
Sent: dinsdag 12 maart 2002 06:36
Subject: Re: Is Milosevic Mistaken Not to Hire Lawyers to Defend Him?

Dear David (and others)

In a post you sent to Chris Black you said:

"Following the Milosevic trial as closely as I could for the past 4 weeks, it's blatantly evident to me that a good defense team could destroy the prosecution's case. Does the prosecution produce anything more than hearsay to prove that Milosevic et al. are guilty of engaging in a "joint criminal enterprise" that included launching wars of aggression, ethnic cleansing, war crimes, crimes against humanity--and genocide??? And how many times would a defense attorney let one of the prosecution's witnesses get away with responding to one of Milosevic's questions, "

To which Nico Steijnen responded:

"There is no place for illusions. And finally: no lawyer(s) can do such a job as M. himself is performing ! For the front of the world's public opinion, this is not just another shady lawyer, but a self made man, fighting an impressive fight against an overwhelming power ! This makes him already NOW the moral winner, a thing that was never to be reached by any lawyer."

I agree with Nico. I think it is easy to misunderstand what Milosevic is up against and what he is accomplishing. Remember he - that his, his character - has been tried in the media for years, as a means of demonizing the Serbs - and anyone's - resistance to the brave new 'humanitarian' Empire. He has been condemned so much that many in the West have internalized the conviction, backed up with images and sound bites repeated in precisely the manner of a massive advertising campaign, intended to teach people the reality of false information, so that it becomes part of their world view, that they defend tenaciously. I call this the Media Milosevic.

Now he personally faces his accusers and despite blackout efforts millions are seeing what he is, and that means they are seeing what opposition to this brave new world means; that it is not tarnished with Fascism.

It is natural that full-time lawyers, with years of courtroom experience, would use certain methods he does not use. let us even say they would have some skills he does not have. And with every use of those skills they would show the world that the slick evil Hitler has professional hit men to humiliate these twice abused Albanians - first massacred by the Serbs, then made fools of by hired hands while the evil dictator sits back and enjoys the spectacle. Part of the arsenal of image-manipulation of the new Empire is: the bullies try to pose themselves, always, as somehow the underdogs. That is why Tribunal went to such lengths to get Milsoevic to employ a former US Attorney General as his courtroom council.

By doing the job himself, Milosevic shows the world: not a slick organization, but the real article, a leader with soul, who upholds the values of decent people, who is casually brave. This visual and aural evidence undercuts the learned lies.

This is why they are trying to black out the transmission. It is like the Reichstag Fire Trial: a show trial the thugs are afraid to show.

Best regards,
 Jared Israel

van holst en steijnen

From: Christopher Black <bar@idirect.com>
To: Vladimir Krsljanin <vlada@sps.org.yu>; TARGETS <redactie@targets.org>; van holst en steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>; <Emperors1000@aol.com>; David Jacobs <david@shelljacobs.com>; Paul Davidson <p.davidson@btinternet.com>
Sent: dinsdag 12 maart 2002 01:53
Subject: Fw: Re attachments

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

From: davidpet
To: Christopher Black
Cc: david.peterson
Sent: Monday, March 11, 2002 3:52 PM
Subject: Re: Re attachments

Dear Chris:

Are you back in Canada? Following the Milosevic trial as closely as I could for the past 4 weeks, it's blantly evident to me that a good defense team could destroy the prosecution's case. Does the prosecution produce anything more than hearsay to prove that Milosevic et al. are guilty of engaging in a "joint criminal enterprise" that included launching wars of aggression, ethnic cleansing, war crimes, crimes against humanity--and genocide??? And how many times would a defense attorney let one of the prosecution's witnesses get away with responding to one of Milosevic's questions, But you are the man who perpetrated genocide (and others of like kind)? I've said it before, but by refusing attorneys in court, Milosevic is fumbling this opportunity for everybody.

Sincerely Yours,
 David Peterson

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

From: Christopher Black <bar@idirect.com>
To: David Peterson <davidpet@mcs.net>
Date: Monday, March 11, 2002 12:57 PM
Subject: Re attachments

David,

I doubt they are detaching by themselves. I have had the same problem for the past several months with my hotmail account. Most of the text of my messages just disappears.

Chris

van holst en steijnen

From: van holst en steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>
To: Christopher Black <bar@idirect.com>; Vladimir Krsljanin <vlada@sps.org.yu>; TARGETS <redactie@targets.org>; <Emperors1000@aol.com>; David Jacobs <david@shelljacobs.com>; Paul Davidson <p.davidson@btinternet.com>
Sent: dinsdag 12 maart 2002 10:37
Subject: Re: Re attachments

Dear David,

We all ought to keep constantly in mind that this is NOT a case of whether or not 'destruct the prosecutor's case'. This is a show-trial and the outcome is clear: 'M is guilty'. Whether or not there is a good team of lawyers. The condemnation of M. is simply too important for the New World Order.

Those dressed in robes at the puppet-tribunal are completely aware their historic role and totally prepared to play this role: to sentence M. Time and again 'tribunal-watchers' can find evidence for this: the fact that they have agreed to join the indictments (only rational if you subscribe the thesis that there was an all over plan for a Greater Serbia), the recent refusal to set M. free, etc.

There is no place for illusions.

And finally: no lawyer(s) can do such a job as M. himself is performing !

For the front of the world's public opinion, this is not just another shady lawyer, but a self made man, fighting an impressive fight against an overwhelming power !

This makes him already NOW the moral winner, a thing that was never to be reached by any lawyer.

Best regards,

Nico Steijnen

van holst en steijnen

From: Mick Collins <cirqueminime@club-internet.fr>
To: van holst en steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>
Sent: dinsdag 12 maart 2002 07:26
Subject: Re: Tranche 8 pie 2

Nico, On the occasion of his 60th birthday I sent President Milosevic a short, signed sample of essays I'd written called 'Notes 4 Yugoslavia'. Now, I can't imagine, with all the mail he gets, that he would remember these hopefully funny pieces of reportage, but I'm hoping to get them published, maybe with spin off the movie my daughter is making about his trial--oh! and mention to him that we saw him, my daughter, her producer and I, on Friday 1 March in Court # 1 after the seesion with the secret witnesses had finished! Boy, he really is in charge of that court! He's like the king. Everyone seems to be waiting on him. When he speaks, everyone listens and then quivers and squeaks in trying to formulate an appropriate response to his statements. He asked for a little more time just to get fresh air--a human right that has not as yet been addressed in the appeal, but an important one, I should think.

Anyway, could you ask President Milosevic if he'd write a small promotional blurb--you know, like a liner note--for my book. I have a feeling his name is going to carry some real weight in the West very soon.

We were so awed by the whole scene that we didn't dare wave or in any other way show our support for or solidarity with him. So please tell him that we wish him well and that the film we've been working on looks to be an important step in bringing the truth of his story and the story of the people of Serbia and Yugoslavia to the attention of the general public.

Thanks in advance, and be assured that I'm still at work on this important brief.

Yours in the law (and out of it), Mick

van holst en steijnen

From: <Emperors1000@aol.com>
To: <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>; <bar@idirect.com>; <redactie@targets.org>; <vlada@sps.org.yu>
Sent: dinsdag 12 maart 2002 06:43
Subject: Re: Imperial Arrogance

Dear Nico,

I think it is of utmost urgency that he denounces NATO's ever-tightening encirclement of Russia. The Central Asian states are now members of the partnership for peace (NATO) and the US is sending special forces to Georgia (to fight the terrorists the Georgian pro-NATO leaders nurtured!) and on and on. By denouncing this, he makes his appeal to the East and shows the meaning of the attack on Yugoslavia (the same as in World War II)

Best regards,
Jared

van holst en steijnen

From: Christopher Black <bar@idirect.com>
To: van holst en steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>
Sent: dinsdag 12 maart 2002 20:29
Subject: Re: Imperial Arrogance

Nico,

Yes, First please say hello for me but I also think that he should consider getting a team of lawyers to help him. He is doing a great job but a team of good trial lawyers could tear these witnesses apart, speak for him on the outside, relieve him of a lot of the stress and exhaustion, arrange witnesses, etc, etc. I think the role of a good trial lawyer is underestimated. In the common law, adversarial system the tribunal is using they are essential.

For instance, the introduction of videotapes without establishing its origins would not be allowed by a trial lawyer, much of the testimony of the witnesses so far would be objected to by a trial lawyer and the cross-examination would be methodical, relentless, and devastating.

Just one more example: The first thing a trial lawyer would ask each one of these witnesses is what discussions they had with the prosecutor before they came to testify. They have to answer those questions. And I bet that you would find that a lot of the evidence is scripted.

I wrote this in a letter to him some weeks ago before the trial started but I am not sure he ever received it.

It is also the opinion of David Jacobs, Andre Tremblé, and David Peterson in Chicago whose note I forwarded yesterday.

It is true that Milosevic, by defending himself gets attention in Yugoslavia, but we think a good trial lawyer could get the same attention and more and Milosevic could still take part in some of the cross-examination. That could be worked out.

But the fact is he is now fighting back and fighting them alone is fighting with one hand tied behind his back.

A team of lawyers could hold a press conference everyday or week and speak to the press about the trial something he cannot do. He could speak to the world through his trial lawyers.

I advise him to seriously rethink his position. This is war and it cannot be fought alone even though he is getting help from Belgrade.

A trial lawyer as we know is not just a mouthpiece. He or she is a skilled tactician, adept in discovering lies, finding the truth, and forming atmosphere and opinion. Sometimes I get the sense that people are basing their position on the civil law system in which lawyers play a secondary role. That is a mistake if that is so.

best regards,

Chris

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

From: "van holst en steijnen" <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>
 To: "Christopher Black" <bar@idirect.com>; <Emperors1000@aol.com>; "TARGETS" <redactie@targets.org>; "Vladimir Krstjanin" <vlada@sps.org.yu>
 Sent: Tuesday, March 12, 2002 12:25 PM
 Subject: Re: Imperial Arrogance

> Friends,
 > After a flu-period of some weeks, I am now back on my feets again and I
 > intend to visit M., as you know, under confidential conditions.
 > If there is something special in relation to him, please let me know.
 >

van holst en steijnen

From: Christopher Black <bar@idirect.com>
To: van holst en steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>
Cc: Vladimir Krsljanin <vlada@sps.org.yu>; <Emperors1000@aol.com>; TARGETS <redactie@targets.org>
Sent: dinsdag 12 maart 2002 20:41
Subject: Re: Re attachments

Nico,

I disagree completely. Trial lawyers are not shady. And you are right there is no place for illusions. But to stick to this position when a good trial lawyer can do better (because I disagree that no lawyer could do what Milosevic is doing.) is just shooting yourself in the foot.

Even in political show trials the court is tied to its own public logic and a trial lawyer can tie them up in knots. I refer you to the Mandela trial in South Africa, another show trial in which the lawyers, committed to the cause destroyed the prosecution case.

Milosevic would not be separate from the lawyers, they would be part of him, as committed as him, dedicated to him, and acting under his instructions and it is not enough for him to be a moral winner when there is the potential to expose this charade to the whole world. There is, I say it again, an apparent misconception about the role of a trial lawyer in the adversarial system and what a good trial lawyer can do. I think this is a fundamental mistake.

A good trial lawyer is both a sword to attack the state and a shield against it and Milosevic may want to continue with his brave performance but I think he should be told that others have a different conception of how the trial could be.

Chris

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

From: van holst en steijnen
To: Christopher Black ; Vladimir Krsljanin ; TARGETS ; Emperors1000@aol.com ; David Jacobs ; Paul Davidson
Sent: Tuesday, March 12, 2002 1:37 PM
Subject: Re: Re attachments

Dear David,

We all ought to keep constantly in mind that this is NOT a case of whether or not 'destruct the prosecutor's case'. This is a show-trial and the outcome is clear: 'M is guilty'. Whether or not there is a good team of lawyers. The condemnation of M. is simply too important for the New World Order.

Those dressed in robes at the puppet-tribunal are completely aware their historic role and totally prepared to play this role: to sentence M. Time and again 'tribunal-watchers' can find evidence for this: the fact that they have agreed to join the indictments (only rational if you subscribe the thesis that there was an all over plan for a Greater Serbia), the recent refusal to set M. free, etc.

There is no place for illusions.

And finally: no lawyer(s) can do such a job as M. himself is performing !

For the front of the world's public opinion, this is not just another shady lawyer, but a self made man, fighting an impressive fight against an overwhelming power !

This makes him already NOW the moral winner, a thing that was never to be reached by any lawyer.

Best regards,

Nico Steijnen

van holst en steijnen

From: van holst en steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>
To: Christopher Black <bar@idirect.com>
Cc: Vladimir Krsljanin <vlada@sps.org.yu>; <Emperors1000@aol.com>; TARGETS <redactie@targets.org>
Sent: woensdag 13 maart 2002 12:14
Subject: Re: Re attachments

Chris,

Here in the Netherlands I have one small sponsor for the legal proceedings I undertake for M, the society of Anti-Fascist World War II Resisters. They intend to (re)edit the texts of the Dimitrov-trial.

Dimitrov is historical since he was Dimitrov, acting alone against the overwhelming nazi-system, and not acting by (his) lawyer(s), as you understand what I mean.

To my opinion M. is of the stature of the new Dimitrov.

Of course it is not MY opinion that all lawyers are shady, but you perfectly know that this is the public perception of our professional group. And rightly. Most of us are mercenaries, not more. So in the public perception there is a world of difference between what will be forwarded by M. himself and by eventual lawyers on his behalf.

Nevertheless I am also in two minds. Since I see, like you, that the puppet-tribunal get far more latitude than is allowable and necessary. They deserve the one beating after another. And only a highly qualified lawyer in the Anglosaxon law tradition can give it them on the right spot ! So this pleads for your ideas.

Finally this is all up to M. And he is definitely a man standing for his choices !

Nico S.



Please note that this is not a verbatim transcript of the Press Briefing. It is merely a summary.

ICTY Weekly Press Briefing
Date: 13 March 2002
Time: 14:00 p.m.

REGISTRY AND CHAMBERS

Jim Landale, Spokesman for Registry and Chambers, made the following statement:

Firstly, I have copies of the Office of Internal Oversight Services Report into allegations of possible fee-splitting at both this Tribunal and the Rwanda Tribunal which was released in New York on Monday.

In the Milosevic case we have received a number of documents, which I'll run through now:

We have copies of the Prosecution's Notice of Filing of Expert Report of Patrick Ball and the report itself, entitled "Killings and Refugee Flow in Kosovo, March - June 1999". Both documents were filed on 15 February. On 6 March, we received the Prosecution's Notice of Additional Filing of Addendum to Expert Report of Patrick Ball.

In addition, we have copies of the Prosecution's Submission of the Expert Report of Andras Riedlmayer and the report itself, entitled "The Destruction of Cultural Heritage in Kosovo, 1998-1999: A Post-war Survey". Both documents were filed on 28 February 2002.

On 11 March, we received the Prosecution's Additional Response to "Amici Curiae Brief on Rule 92 bis Procedure" and Motion for Admission of Statements Pursuant to Rule 92 bis.

In terms of other court documents:

On 12 March we received the Order Regarding the Provisional Release Request (21 January) of the Accused Dragan Jokic (Srebrenica). Pre-Trial Judge Schomburg ordered the "prosecution to file its response to the Provisional Release Motion by Wednesday 20 March 2002" and ordered the "defence counsel for the accused Jokic, and the accused Jokic himself if he so wishes, respecting his right to remain silent, [to] be prepared to reply orally to the prosecution's response...during his further initial appearance scheduled for Thursday 21 March 2002".

We also received a number of documents in the run up to the start of the Defence case in Naletilic and Martinovic or 'Tuta' and 'Stela' case. They are a Decision on the Defense's Motion for Preliminary Protective Measures, filed on 12 March, and an Order in Respect of Pre-Defence Filings, also filed on 12 March.

In the Krajisnik and Plavsic case, we received on 11 March an Order Setting Timetable for Pre-trial Briefs. The Pre-trial Judge, Judge May, ordered that the OTP "shall file the final version of its pre-trial brief, its list of witnesses and list of exhibits...by 2 May 2002; and The Defence for the two accused shall file their pre-trial briefs...by 1 September 2002".

In terms of court scheduling:

Tomorrow, 14 March, there will be the continuation of the closing arguments in the Vasiljevic trial between 2.30 p.m. and 7 p.m. in Courtroom III.

The following day, on Friday 15 March, the Judgement in the Krnojelac case will be rendered by Trial Chamber II between 11 a.m. and midday in Courtroom III.

On Monday 18 March, there will be a further initial appearance for Dragan Nikolic at 3 p.m. in Courtroom III.

On Wednesday 20 March, a pre-Defence conference in the Naletilic and Martinovic case will be held between 2.15 and 7 p.m. in Courtroom III.

On Thursday 21 March, there will be a further initial appearance and status conference in the Obrenovic, Blagojevic and Dragan Jokic case, starting at 2.30 in Courtroom III.

On the same day in the Ljubcic case, there will be a status conference at 3 p.m. in Courtroom II.

And, finally, there will be a status conference in the Hadzihasanovic, Alagic and Kubura case on Friday 22 March at 3 p.m. in Courtroom I.

Florence Hartmann, Spokeswoman for the Office of the Prosecutor, made no statement.

Questions:

- Asked what the attitude of the OTP was towards the Rule 92 *bis* Decision in the Milosevic case, Hartmann replied that there was no problem for the OTP to bring witnesses, from whom written statements had been submitted to the Chamber. It was decided in the Oral Decision that the Prosecution would have to bring those additional witnesses and that they would be limited to four witnesses per municipality, including the *viva voce* witnesses the OTP had already called.

Hartmann added that she would explain some of the figures involved. The OTP had 1,300 written statements in the Kosovo part of the Milosevic case. Around 200 witness summaries were submitted under Rule 65 *ter*, which meant that the OTP had intended to call those witnesses to testify *viva voce*. The OTP already limited the number by taking only a part of the whole potential 1,300 witnesses. The OTP submitted a possible 200 witnesses. This number was cut down to 90 *viva voce* witnesses during the pre-trial period. The reason for the introduction of the Rule 92 *bis* witnesses was because the OTP did not feel comfortable with the limited amount of witnesses allowed, in order for them to prove the Prosecution case in the way they wished.

It was necessary to remember that, although the events in Kosovo could be seen as having taken a short period of time (taking in to account all of the charges against Milosevic), it should be made clear that 800,000 people were forcibly deported. The OTP had exhumed more than 4,000 bodies, but had not exhumed half of the assessed mass graves in Kosovo. There were also bodies in Serbia and at least (the OTP did not have final figures) 8,000 dead in Kosovo. Ninety witnesses was not a "very extensive number" as stated in the oral Decision.

The OTP would bring those additional witnesses and would be permitted to ask introductory questions. These would be limited. The OTP was not working on the basis of municipalities. There were 29 municipalities prior to the war in Kosovo. After the war there were 30. The OTP was not dealing with all the municipalities in Kosovo, but dealing with those where deportations and killing sites, relating to the charges in the indictment, were located. Although, sometimes very difficult, it was necessary to follow the Order.

- Asked when Paddy Ashdown would testify, Hartmann replied that she did not know. She added that it had not been said in court. He was obviously one of the next witnesses as this was stated. She knew no more than this, she concluded.
- Asked whether, due to the Decision, the OTP would now face problems with witnesses who were only willing to testify on paper, Hartmann replied that everyone gave a written statement. It was normally during the pre-trial period that the witnesses the OTP wished to call were selected. The OTP would have to bring them. They accepted their statements would be submitted in court. It was something the OTP had to provide. The OTP would possibly not be able to finish in July as was expected, however, the Oral Decision mentioned that the time could be extended. In cases when the OTP had two *viva voce* witnesses from the same municipality, some statements would have to be withdrawn because there would be only two written statements left. It was hard in such a huge case dealing with 800,000 deported persons and so many people killed to have only 90 witnesses.

A journalist stated that potential witnesses such as Lilic had declared in public that they would be prepared to give written statements as a contribution to the Milosevic trial, but would not be prepared to come to The Hague. Asked whether, following the Oral Decision, the OTP had been in contact with any of these witnesses and whether she foresaw any problems, Hartmann replied that she could not answer these kinds of questions.

- Asked whether, out of the 23 witness statements the Prosecutor intended to tender, the number would now be effected following the Decision, and whether some of the statements would be lost to the OTP because of the four per municipality rule, Hartmann replied that in some cases the OTP had over four witnesses per municipality. This could be seen in the indictments. Statistically the OTP was now listening now there was sometimes concentration of crimes, different types of violations of international humanitarian law concentrated in some specific part. Some can be in the same municipality and other municipalities were not mentioned at all in the indictment.
- Asked whether after yesterday's Decision there were going to be 23 witnesses brought to The Hague, as all of these proposed witnesses fell within the four per municipality, Hartmann replied that the OTP would have to drop 92 *bis* witnesses.
- Asked whether they would be from the 23, Hartmann replied that she did not know whether it would be from these 23.
- Asked whether in principle that was the effect, Hartmann replied that in some cases there were already two *viva voce* called. In some municipalities there were more than four witnesses proposed.
- Asked whether she felt that the OTP had been treated unfairly, as they did not know this Rule before the trial began, Hartmann replied that she would not qualify things like that. She added that there were rules and this kind of discussion in all trials, it was not specific to this trial.

She added that maybe it was the first time that this interpretation of Rule 92 *bis* was used, but in other trials

other articles could have been used for the first time. There were rules and the OTP had to comply with them. The only issue was that it was very difficult to make a case with a very limited number of witnesses. The OTP hoped that if it was necessary, if some elements remained unclear, the OTP would be able to bring more witnesses at a later stage. The OTP would comply with the Rules but as said in the pre-trial period, if there was something necessary, the case would not be dropped because there were not enough witnesses. The OTP would be able to bring more witnesses. The OTP had to be efficient, but also to take time to bring all of the evidence relating to the charges in the indictment.

- Asked for some indication as to whether Rugova would be called to testify, Hartmann replied that she would not answer any questions about the witnesses to be called. She added that she was very surprised by such questions coming from people who covered the Tribunal, as they knew the Rules. The Tribunal did not make any comments on speculation about witnesses.

She could only help with what was said earlier in the courtroom. The list of coming witnesses was a confidential document she did not have, would not have and would not look at it. It was very difficult. The rules in this trial were that the names of the witnesses were known when they appeared in court.

van holst en steijnen

From: Despotovic, Ruza <despot@wish.net>
To: Nico & Neeltje Steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>
Sent: woensdag 13 maart 2002 15:47
Subject: nieuws

The prosecutor's office of the ICTY in the Hague will be able to submit written statements by witnesses at the trial of Slobodan Milosevic, but the witnesses will have to appear in the Hague for cross-examination.

Aleksandar Crkvenjakov, the Director General of the Radio Television Serbia (RTS), has estimated that organizing rallies with a request that live telecasts of Slobodan Milosevic's trial are continued represent "a political pressure on an independent informative house".

Milosevic's trial is continued today before the ICTY in the Hague with cross-examination of the prosecution witness Bairam Bucali.

EU high representative for foreign politics and safety Javier Solana is to arrived in Belgrade, on a new round of the talks with leaders of the FRY, Serbia and Montenegro on future of YU federation.

van holst en steijnen

From: Christopher Black <bar@idirect.com>
To: van holst en steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>
Sent: woensdag 13 maart 2002 19:52
Subject: Re: Re attachments

Nico,

I am also of two minds but am strongly leaning as you see to the necessity for him to get assistance. His strategy does have merit and he has done an amazing job considering all the obstacles he faces but several of us think that committed lawyers (and I agree that some lawyers are just hired guns) will be able to give the prosecution a very big headache.

Chris

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

From: van holst en steijnen
To: Christopher Black
Cc: Vladimir Krsljanin ; Emperors1000@aol.com ; TARGETS
Sent: Wednesday, March 13, 2002 3:14 PM
Subject: Re: Re attachments

Chris,

Here in the Netherlands I have one small sponsor for the legal proceedings I undertake for M, the society of Anti-Fascist World War II Resisters. They intend to (re)edit the texts of the Dimitrov-trial.

Dimitrov is historical since he was Dimitrov, acting alone against the overwhelming nazi-system, and not acting by (his) lawyer(s), as you understand what I mean.

To my opinion M. is of the stature of the new Dimitrov.

Of course it is not MY opinion that all lawyers are shady, but you perfectly know that this is the public perception of our professional group. And rightly. Most of us are mercenaries, not more. So in the public perception there is a world of difference between what will be forwarded by M. himself and by eventual lawyers on his behalf.

Nevertheless I am also in two minds. Since I see, like you, that the puppet-tribunal get far more latitude than is allowable and necessary. They deserve the one beating after another. And only a highly qualified lawyer in the Anglosaxon law tradition can give it them on the right spot ! So this pleads for your ideas.

Finally this is all up to M. And he is definitely a man standing for his choices !

Nico S.

van holst en steijnen

From: Christopher Black <bar@idirect.com>
To: van holst en steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>
Sent: woensdag 13 maart 2002 19:45
Subject: Re: Imperial Arrogance

Nico,

The who is a big question. If M agreed to get lawyers who they would be needs to be thought about. He needs a very good trial lawyer or lawyers. I am experienced in that and so is David Jacobs. (Tremblé is more of an academic.) Verges might be alright but he is old and I doubt he has the stamina for two years of this.

Jacobs and I are very committed to our clients in Africa and it would be difficult to drop those cases for all sorts of reasons. But perhaps that could be worked out. If that problem could be solved then I would say Jacobs, myself perhaps a lawyer in the US named Peter Erlinder who has acted against the US govt. on various matters and has our politics. But I have not discussed this with him.

There may be others we can get if M gives the green light to getting help. But I think whoever it is (not Clark for obvious reasons- and he is also doing a trial right now in Africa at the Rwandan tribunal.) must be trained in the adversarial system.

I think the team should include a Yugoslavian lawyer as well both for optics and because the tea would need somebody who can understand and speak Serb-Croatian.

Chris

— Original Message —

From: "van holst en steijnen" <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>
To: "Christopher Black" <bar@idirect.com>
Sent: Wednesday, March 13, 2002 2:07 PM
Subject: Re: Imperial Arrogance

> Chris,
 > I will give him the text of this message and will stress to consider very
 > seriously your suggestion.
 > Can you send me the text of your recent letter to M. concerning this
 > message
 > as well, or better all letters you have sent him ? So we can check their
 > receipt ! When they are intercepted by the tribunal, we can use this for
 > the
 > European Court procedure, and for another protest as wel.
 > You are talking about a team of lawyers.
 > When he will ask me who, can I mention you, Andre and some (who) others ?
 >
 > best wishes,
 >
 > Nico S.
 >

van holst en steijnen

From: van holst en steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>
To: <Emperors1000@aol.com>; <JaredI@aol.com>
Cc: <bar@idirect.com>; <vlada@sps.org.yu>; <redactie@targets.org>; <david@shelljacobs.com>;
<p.davidson@btinternet.com>; <lten@dialstart.net>; <fjgil@cattell.psych.upenn.edu>;
<Gorojovsky@arnet.com.ar>; <r_rozoff@yahoo.com>; <tiphainedickson@videotron.ca>;
<tetekin@duma.gov.ru>
Sent: woensdag 13 maart 2002 11:15
Subject: Re: Is Milosevic Mistaken Not to Hire Lawyers to Defend Him?

Jared,
I agree with you and will give him the text of this mail.
Nico S.

van holst en steijnen

From: van holst en steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>
To: Christopher Black <bar@idirect.com>; <Emperors1000@aol.com>
Cc: Vladimir Krsljanin <vlada@sps.org.yu>; David Jacobs <david@shelljacobs.com>; Tiphaine Dickson <tiphainedickson@videotron.ca>
Sent: woensdag 13 maart 2002 11:24
Subject: Re: Is Milosevic Mistaken Not to Hire Lawyers to Defend Him?

I will present him the whole debate on this issue.
When he decides to continue his strategy, I would like to ask all you committe-memebers, and especially the laywer-ones, to send me regularly your observations, comments, ideas and critics on the manner M, is performing his defence. And I will transfer it to him. So we can give him feed back.
Nico S.

Rechter sliep (te?) veel

DEN HAAG, 9 JUNI. Het VN-tribunaal voor oorlogsmisdaden in ex-Joegoslavië heeft zich gisteren in de Celebici-zaak moeten bezighouden met de vraag hoe vaak en hoe lang de Nigeriaanse rechter Adolphus Karibi-White tijdens de zittingen in 1997 en 1998, toen de zaak in eerste instantie werd behandeld, heeft geslapen. Volgens de verdedigers van de beklaagden sliep Karibi-White zo vaak dat de veroordeelden geen eerlijk proces hebben gehad.

Aan het slot van het Celebici-proces werden twee Bosnische moslims, Hazim Delić en Esad Landžo, en een Bosnische Kroaat, Zdravko Mušić, veroordeeld tot respectievelijk twintig, vijftien en zeven jaar gevangenisstraf wegens oorlogsmisdaden jegens Bosnische Serviërs in het gevangenkamp Celebici. Delić en Landžo zijn de enige moslims die tot nu toe door het VN-tribunaal zijn veroordeeld.

De advocaten van de drie hebben in hoger beroep strafvermindering voor hun cliënten geëist, onder andere met het argument dat rechter Karibi-Whyte „een aanzienlijk deel van het proces” heeft gemist omdat hij in slaap was gevallen. Landžo's verdediger Cynthia Sinatra gaf de vijf rechters die het hoger beroep behandelen videobanden waarop te zien is hoe Karibi-Whyte in diepe slaap verkeert terwijl de zaak wordt behandeld. Van een eerlijk proces is volgens Sinatra geen sprake geweest.

De aanklagers betoogden dat de videobanden geen uitsluitel geven over de vraag of Karibi-White een substantieel deel van het proces heeft geslapen, omdat de camera's niet voortdurend op hem gericht waren. De verdedigers vonden het niet aannemelijk dat de rechter steeds wakker was als de camera's niet op hem gericht waren. (AFP)

van holst en steijnen

From: Christopher Black <bar@idirect.com>
To: <Emperors1000@aol.com>; Vladimir Krsljanin <vlada@sps.org.yu>; van holst en steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>; David Jacobs <david@shelljacobs.com>
Cc: David Peterson <davidpet@mcs.net>; Tiphaine Dickson <tiphainedickson@videotron.ca>; André Tremblay <agtremblay@videotron.ca>
Sent: woensdag 13 maart 2002 20:21
Subject: Fw: NPost: 'This is a lynching'

Jared et al,

Ed Greenspan is probably Canada's most famous criminal trial lawyer. His comments on the conduct of the defense so far are as apt as anything I could say about it. M. should be shown this article to convince him to get help.

Chris

--- Original Message ---

From: "D. Dostanic" <kdnlist@hotmail.com>
To: <decani@egroups.com>
Sent: Wednesday, March 13, 2002 10:22 AM
Subject: NPost: 'This is a lynching'

>
 > <http://www.nationalpost.com/commentary/story.html?i=/stories/20020313/320951.html>
 >
 > NATIONAL POST, Wednesday, March 13, 2002
 >
 > 'This is a lynching'
 >
 > Edward L. Greenspan has been reading transcripts of Slobodan Milosevic's war crimes trial. He's come to one conclusion
 >
 > Edward L. Greenspan
 > National Post
 >
 > Less than two minutes into her opening statement, Carla Del Ponte, prosecutor at the International War Crimes Tribunal, said: "I bring the accused, Milosevic, before you to face the charges against him. I do so on behalf of the international community and in the name of all the member states of the United Nations, including the states of the former Yugoslavia."
 >
 > In effect, Del Ponte's opening told the judges: "I have the weight and force of the world behind me. The world has seen fit to prosecute Slobodan Milosevic and the world can't be wrong." Her calculated pronouncement was designed to give her a badge of legitimacy. But rules of fairness require that no prosecutor take advantage of their important role in the administration of justice.
 >
 > The judge's response spoke even louder than Del Ponte's words. Justice Richard May, who is definitely not a shy man when it comes to Milosevic, didn't say a single word to the "Prosecutor for the Universe" when she uttered these words. May had a responsibility to interrupt her and say: "You're not impressing me one bit. You're just the prosecutor. You don't represent the world. Don't try to intimidate me with what the world expects me to do."
 >
 > I believe the reason he didn't object to her outrageous comment is that he actually believes her. May knows what the world expects of him and this trial.
 >
 > Milosevic may be a thug, but even a thug is entitled to a fair trial. A justice system that is not completely free from political influence

- > undermines all notions of justice. To treat a political court as if it were
- > a real court is to give it a cloak of undeserved legitimacy.
- >
- > Perception is nine-tenths of the law. The opening statement of Del Ponte and
- > May's silence show that the result is a foregone conclusion.
- >
- > There is a famous maxim: "Justice should not only be done but should
- > manifestly and undoubtedly be seen to be done." In the Hague, justice is
- > manifestly and undoubtedly seen to be not done.
- >
- > Of all the judges in the world, why select Richard May from Britain? Why
- > does the Tribunal need a judge from a NATO country at all, let alone as the
- > president of the court? How can justice be seen to be done by such a
- > court?
- > Does Milosevic make a valid point when he says the court is nothing more
- > than NATO aggression?
- >
- > When the deck is stacked or appears to be stacked from the outset, how
- > does
- > one obtain the appearance of justice? Fair trials are essential to
- > civilization. The place of justice is a hallowed place, not a hollow
- > place.
- >
- > In democratic legal systems where there is an unrepresented accused, the
- > court has a duty to extend its helping hand to guide an accused in such a
- > way that any defences are brought out with its full force and effect.
- > Milosevic is without counsel. Whether he chose to do it on his own,
- > whether
- > he has a law degree (but no experience in a courtroom), the fact remains
- > that a trial judge cannot treat an inexperienced accused as if he had
- > counsel.
- >
- > If I were charged with a criminal offence, the last lawyer I would hire is
- > Milosevic. For some reason, court watchers are giving him rave reviews as an
- > advocate. "I give him an A"; "He's an old pro"; "He's a competent
- > first-time
- > lawyer." I was a competent first-time lawyer in 1970, but no sane person
- > would have hired me on a murder case!
- >
- > Those giving him high marks are creating the illusion of a fair trial.
- > Anybody can say, "Answer the question yes or no," but when the witness
- > refuses, Milosevic doesn't know what to do.
- >
- > For example, after pressing the first witness, Mahmut Bakalli, for a yes
- > or
- > no answer, the witness says: "I can't answer your question. But what I
- > know
- > is you killed civilians, children. Twelve thousand civilians, including
- > old
- > people, women, children, pregnant women, saying all the time that you were
- > fighting terrorism. That I know." Milosevic had no idea what to say. The
- > witness won.
- >
- > Milosevic's questions are lengthy, argumentative and often aren't
- > questions.
- > He doesn't know how to develop a point. Simply put, how ever bad Milosevic
- > was as a leader, he is even worse as a trial lawyer.
- >
- > The judge's duty is to see that an unrepresented accused is not denied a
- > fair trial. This duty does not extend to his providing to the accused the
- > kind of advice that counsel would provide. If he did, the judge would find
- > himself in the difficult position of both being an advocate and impartial
- > arbitrator at one and the same time. I am not suggesting that a trial
- > judge
- > is expected to become an advocate for the accused, but no judge should
- > become the captain of the prosecution's ship, especially where the accused
- > is without counsel. May seems to be inadvertently proving Milosevic's
- > point

- > about the trial being a charade.
- >
- > It is a well known principle that no judge can arbitrarily set a time limit
- > on, or interfere with, a cross-examination. That kind of judicial
- > interference would render the right of cross-examination an empty right.
- The
- > great American jurist Learned Hand said: "Thou shalt not ration justice."
- >
- > Cross-examination is a right to a full, detailed, careful and complete
- > cross-examination, if it is to have any meaning at all. To cut off a
- > cross-examiner deprives an accused of the right to full answer and defence.
- > Counsel has a duty to cross-examine with freedom and care and sometimes at
- > length. Occasionally, it is a tiresome, difficult and painful task and the
- > last thing any accused person needs is intervention by a trial judge who
- > prevents the kind of searching inquiry which sometimes is called for.
- >
- > Here's an example. One and a half hours into Milosevic's first
- > cross-examination, May impatiently asks: "How much longer do you think
- > you're going to be with this witness?" (Why would he ask this, unless he's
- > got a squash game to get to?) When Milosevic replies: "Probably one or two
- > hours. My questions have to do with what the witness said yesterday. So
- many
- > lies. That many lies demands a lot of questions, and that is why the court
- > is here." May admonishes him not to make speeches and to finish the
- witness
- > today.
- >
- > What's the rush? It looks like May has forgotten that Milosevic is
- entitled
- > to due process.
- >
- > Later that morning, the court says, "Mr. Milosevic, if you would get
- through
- > your cross-examination by half past one, we'd be grateful." Where does the
- > judge have to go? A trial takes as long as it takes.
- >
- > Later, May says, "It is now half past one. You have now been
- cross-examining
- > this witness for three and a half hours. Do you have any further questions
- > for him?" Imagine! Milosevic took up three and a half hours of May's
- > precious time. One would have thought May's job is to sit and listen and
- not
- > rush the unrepresented accused.
- >
- > May seems bored. The first witness of what is to be a lengthy trial, and
- the
- > judge is putting time limits on the accused. May doesn't even feign
- > impartiality or, indeed, interest. He clearly reviles Milosevic.
- >
- > On the second day of the trial, before Milosevic began his first
- > cross-examination of a member of the Kosovo parliament, May said: "I want
- to
- > tell you about the limitations of cross-examination. ... It must not be
- used
- > as a way of harassing or intimidating witnesses."
- >
- > Surely May has to know that in the famous trial of Oscar Wilde, Sir Edward
- > Carson cross-examined Wilde for more than three days and did not strike
- oil
- > until well into the third day. The destruction of Wilde is regarded as
- > probably the greatest cross-examination that has ever occurred in an
- > English-speaking courtroom. The cross-examination was rude, repetitive,
- > offensive and unrelenting. It was an attack with no holds barred. When
- > Carson embarked on this course, he knew that he had to succeed; if he
- > failed, he would be forever discredited in the eyes of the jury.
- >
- > May must know that from time to time the value of the bullying technique
- > cannot be denied. I don't know why May thinks cross-examination should be
- > free from any kind of brutality. Brutality is calculated to unnerve,
- confuse

> but ultimately to expose. Cross-examination is a duel between counsel and
> the witness. The only weapon the defence has is the right to ask
> questions.

> I recognize that the tribunal may get the impression the witness is being
> unfairly treated. But it is the cross-examiner's right to take that risk,
> fatal as it may be.

>

> The first two minutes of the Milosevic trial told me all I needed to know.

> This is a lynching. Normally, lynchings are done outdoors. Here, the

> lynching has been brought indoors. Instead of a tree and a rope, there are

> May and Del Ponte. The problem with lynching is that it's fatally flawed

> as

> a process, whether the man who gets hanged is innocent or guilty. The
> result

> is certain. A kangaroo court is one in which legal procedures are largely
> a

> show, and the action "jumps" from accusation to sentencing without due

> process. No matter how long a trial takes, if the result is inevitable,

> then

> it's a show trial. The accusers might as well shoot Milosevic. At least,

> it

> doesn't soil the process.

>

>

> Edward L. Greenspan, QC, is a Toronto lawyer.

>

> letters@nationalpost.com

>

>

>

>

>

> Send and receive Hotmail on your mobile device: <http://mobile.msn.com>

>

van holst en steijnen

From: Christopher Black <bar@idirect.com>
To: van holst en steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>
Sent: woensdag 13 maart 2002 19:48
Attach: chris.zip
Subject: Fw: Repetitive number of 109 info inside

Nico,

I am not sure if I sent this to you but it is important that M get this. It is an analysis by Serbs here in Canada who have discovered that the numbers of victims in several different incidents are the same which is statistically impossible and indicates that the witnesses are told what to say and the same numbers are used to make it easier.

I hope you can open this. If not I will try to send in another format.

Chris

— Original Message —

From: "Bob Petrovich" <bojanp@rogers.com>
To: <bar@idirect.com>
Sent: Tuesday, March 12, 2002 1:47 AM
Subject: Repetitive number of 109 info inside

>
>
> Chris, pls. conform that you have got this.
>
>
> I will send through another backchannel to make
> sure it arrived safely.
>
> Best,
>
> Bob
>

van holst en steijnen

From: Christopher Black <bar@idirect.com>
To: <Emperors1000@aol.com>
Sent: woensdag 13 maart 2002 02:54
Subject: Re: Milosevic accuses prosecution - Times of India

jared,

This is a good example of how a trial lawyer could assist. Instead of accusing the prosecution of coaching witnesses (which is probable) the cross-examination would start with questioning this witness how he could observe what he says he saw. You would ask where where you hiding, how far from the scene of the alleged crime. why where you hiding, who where you with, how do you know human remains were found at the sight, by whom, (this is all hearsay and should never have been allowed in a trial lawyer would have objected), why, if he was in such danger did he stick around to watch all this, and how was his brother killed, was he in the KLA and is this the motivation for lying.

He would also be asked what conversations he had with the prosecution staff, who, how many times, what was the subject of the conversations, was he receiving any compensation for testifying, was he using notes, etc etc.

The fact that the witness broke down indicates a display to get sympathy and credibility. He should have been pressed about the connection of the village to the KLA eg how long had the man lived there, was he familiar with members of the KLA, does he support the KLA objectives, how did he feel about Serbs before this alleged event, what happened to the rest of the villagers, why are they not testifying about this alleged event (it seems they bring just one witness for each alleged atrocity instead of everybody who could have witnessed it which makes the whole thing very suspect.)

Chris

— Original Message —

From: CDSM
To: Undisclosed-Recipient;
Sent: Tuesday, March 12, 2002 4:59 PM
Subject: Milosevic accuses prosecution - Times of India

Times of India

Milosevic accuses prosecution of manipulating war trial

AFP [TUESDAY, MARCH 12, 2002 6:37:16 PM]

HE HAGUE: Slobodan Milosevic on Tuesday again accused prosecutors at the UN war crimes tribunal of manipulation, as he cross-examined a witness who had told the court of Serb atrocities in Kosovo.

"This is another example of the manipulation of semi-truths by the prosecution," the former Yugoslav president said of the testimony, before he was cut off by presiding Judge Richard May.

The judge admonished Milosevic — on trial for genocide and war crimes allegedly committed in Bosnia, Croatia and Kosovo — that it was not the time for comments, and that he should argue his point by questioning the witness.

Milosevic then turned to ethnic Albanian school principal Hazbi Loku, 41, and asked him if he knew that his village was "the main point for transfer of weapons to Macedonia" for the ethnic Albanian Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA).

But Milosevic's tactics did not shake Loku, who broke down in court Monday as he testified about finding his brother dead after a raid by Serb forces in the southern Kosovo village of Kotlina in March 1999. "This is a lie of yours, it is not true," the witness shot back.

Later, as Milosevic read him a list of names of Albanian police officers allegedly killed by the KLA, Loku told him: "I think you are fabricating such names." The witness too was cautioned by the court not to make comments and told to just answer the questions.

Milosevic, the first former head of state ever to face an international tribunal, is charged with over 60 counts including genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity for atrocities in Bosnia, Croatia and Kosovo. If convicted, he could be sentenced to life in prison. He is accused of murders, deportations and other atrocities as part of a campaign to carve out a Greater Serbia after the breakup of the former Yugoslavia in 1991. The former Yugoslav leader has denied all responsibility for atrocities committed in the southern Serbian province, and has instead blamed the KLA for the fighting, and NATO bombing for the stream of refugees into Albania.

On Monday, Loku said he had seen, from a hiding place on a hill, 20 men from his village thrown into pits and killed by Serb forces.

"Three or four of the people were thrown into the holes. I could hear their cries. The others were mistreated — it lasted for half an hour," he said.

Later he said he heard explosions and saw smoke rising up from the holes. "There was nothing left of the 20 young people," he testified Monday. Milosevic challenged Loku's testimony, saying there were no bodies found in the pits and that they were in fact used to store KLA weapons.

The witness calmly called the former president's theory "a concoction", saying human remains had indeed been found at the site.

"Pieces of fingers, broken teeth, clothes stained with blood and a Serbian cap belonging to the police were found there," he said.

After his cross-examination, Milosevic again complained about the prosecution. "The prosecution is no doubt manipulating this witness trying to portray events other than what they were like," he said. In response, May cut off Milosevic's cross-examination of Loku.

The trial was to continue with testimony from a 44-year-old Kosovar Albanian railway worker, expected to tell the court of Serb attacks on his village of Staro Selo in the southeast of Kosovo

13-3-2002

Helene en Nico,
Pr. Margrietlaan 114,
3708 ZH ZEIST.

Hoenderloo, vrijdagmiddag,

Beste Helena en Nico,

We waren blij met je brief. Heb je nog over een boek over de verdediging gedacht. Dat moet toch echt gebeuren, ook voor de uitspraak, denken wij. Niet dat wij dat zelf moeten doen, maar h t zou ons geruststellen als er over gedacht werd. Dat zal waarschijnlijk heus zijn geld wel opleveren. En hij verdient het voor het nageslacht. Ik denk, hoop, dat ze er ook in Yoegoslavi  aan werken.

Vanmorgen kregen we nog wat eenmaligs van de Pensioenraad, dus we zullen je wer 500 euro's sturen, maandag gaat het weg. Zit je erg verlegen dan kunnen we ook 1000, sturen. bel dan even.

Hartelijke groeten,

van holst en steijnen

From: <Emperors1000@aol.com>
To: <Emperors1000@aol.com>; <Jaredl@aol.com>
Cc: <davidpet@mcs.net>; <tiphainedickson@videotron.ca>; <agtremlay@videotron.ca>;
 <bar@idirect.com>; <vlada@sps.org.yu>; <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>; <david@shelljacobs.com>
Sent: woensdag 13 maart 2002 10:08
Subject: I sent out wrong post

The post just sent was not the one from the law student, it was from Chris.
 Here is the one from the law student:

Subj: Re: Is Milosevic Mistaken Not to Hire Lawyers to Defend Him?
 Date: 3/13/02 12:51:16 PM Eastern Standard Time
 From: kbokeefe@loyno.edu (Karen O'Keefe)
 Sender: kbokeefe@loyno.edu
 Reply-to: kbokeefe@loyno.edu
 To: Emperors1000@aol.com

Hello,
 Here's an interesting excerpt from a World Press Review article about
 Milosevic's
 decision to defend himself:

"The Croatian daily Vecernji List is not yet ready to dismiss Milosevic
 entirely,
 though for different reasons. On Oct. 29, the newspaper worried that "trying
 a defendant of the highest political level without legal defense may seriously
 jeopardize the credibility of both the verdict and the court as an
 institution....
 The question remains how the court will get out of the trap set by Milosevic.
 The biggest danger is that he may eventually appear the victim. It would be
 much more convincing if Milosevic defended himself before the court, rather
 than refusing to recognize the court."

So far, Milosevic's strategy has succeeded in damaging the perception that he
 is getting a fair trial. With little popular interest in the proceedings at
 The Hague, and his supporters loudly arguing that the trial is a sham, people
 here in Belgrade may never come to realize the full extent of Milosevic's—and
 their own—culpability during the war"

(Excerpt From: Expunging the Memory of a Dictator
 Serbs Indifferent to Milosevic, Katarina Subasic
 World Press Review correspondent Belgrade Nov. 14, 2001)

Apparently some members of the media agree that Milosivic chose the most
 effective
 way to "trap" the Tribunal by exposing it as a sham.

Take care,
 Karen

van holst en steijnen

From: van holst en steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>
To: Christopher Black <bar@idirect.com>
Sent: woensdag 13 maart 2002 11:07
Subject: Re: Imperial Arrogance

Chris,

I will give him the text of this message and will stress to consider very seriously your suggestion.

Can you send me the text of your recent letter to M. concerning this message as well, or better all letters you have sent him ? So we can check their receipt ! When they are intercepted by the tribunal, we can use this for the European Court procedure, and for another protest as wel.

You are talking about a team of lawyers.

When he will ask me who, can I mention you, Andre and some (who) others ?

best wishes,

Nico S.

(3) rejected the application of the Krajisnik Defence for an oral hearing on the motion for particulars.

Slobodan MILOSEVIC Case ("Kosovo", "Croatia" and "Bosnia and Herzegovina")

Trial Chamber III - Judges May (Presiding), Robinson and Kwon

ORDER TO REGISTRY TO PROVIDE REPORT CONCERNING PRACTICAL FACILITIES AVAILABLE TO ACCUSED

On 6 March 2002, the Trial Chamber ordered the Registrar of the Tribunal to file, within 14 days, a written report setting out:

- (1) a summary of facilities made available to the accused in connection with the preparation of his defence since his arrival at the United Nations Detention Unit, both at the Detention Unit and while the accused is physically present at the seat of the Tribunal to attend the trial, including any restrictions which may apply as to the timing or frequency of access to the facilities;
- (2) a statement of the facilities currently available to the accused and any restrictions relating thereto; and
- (3) any observations on the *amici curiae* Brief on the Provision of Adequate Facilities to Allow the Accused to Defend Himself which the Registrar may think appropriate to raise at this time.

DECISION ON ACCUSED'S APPLICATION FOR PROVISIONAL RELEASE

The accused requested provisional release during the proceedings on 26 and 27 February 2002. The Trial Chamber denied the request in a written Decision of 6 March 2002. It considered that, despite the practical difficulties faced by the accused, his right to have adequate time and facilities for the preparation of his defence may be safeguarded by means other than provisional release. Moreover, it was not satisfied that the accused, if released, would continue to appear for trial and would not pose any danger to any victim, witness or other person.

DECISION ON PROSECUTION REQUEST FOR FURTHER TIME TO CONTACT WITNESSES

On 6 March 2002, the Trial Chamber ordered that:

- (1) the Prosecution be granted an extension until **5 April 2002** in which to contact witnesses in confidential *ex parte* Schedule B of the Decision on Prosecution Motion for Provisional Protective Measures dated 19 February 2002 ("the Decision") after which their statements are to be disclosed to the accused in unredacted form.
- (2) the additional witnesses who have been granted protective measures in other proceedings since the Initial request of the Prosecution for provisional protective measures have the protective measures continued to the same extent as witnesses identified in confidential *ex parte* Schedule A of the Decision;
- (3) the Prosecution be granted an extension until **5 April 2002** in which to contact witnesses in confidential *ex parte* Schedule C of the Decision. These are witnesses for whom the Prosecution had not requested provisional protective measures in its initial request after which their statements are to be disclosed to the accused in unredacted form;
- (4) there will be no further extensions of the Trial Chamber's orders.

A comprehensive summary of the status of all cases currently before the Tribunal is also available.
For background information on all cases.

van holst en steijnen

From: DeWaarheid.nu <vcp@uwnet.nl>
To: <Undisclosed-Recipient:@daffy.uwnet.nl;>
Sent: vrijdag 15 maart 2002 15:21
Subject: US supported al-Qaeda during Balkan Wars

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

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.

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.

(National Post. 15 March 2002).

van holst en steijnen

From: CDSM <cdsm_b@btopenworld.com>
To: <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>
Sent: vrijdag 15 maart 2002 02:57
Subject: UK politician faces Milosevic grilling

Friday, 15 March, 2002, 07:18 GMT

UK politician faces Milosevic grilling

Lord Ashdown visited the Balkans during the conflicts

British politician Paddy Ashdown is to be cross-examined in The Hague on Friday by former Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic. Mr Milosevic is conducting his own defence, in his trial for alleged war crimes in Bosnia, Croatia and Kosovo, and genocide in Bosnia.

The Ratnik massacre was one of the worst Kosovo atrocities!

Lord Ashdown - who gave evidence for the prosecution on Thursday - is the first major European political figure to appear at the trial. On his first appearance, he spoke of his deep shock at what he believed were Serb military operations in Kosovo.

He saw evidence of ethnic Albanians being forced to leave their homes and of villages being shelled, looted and burned, he said.

Kosovo trips

Lord Ashdown made several visits to the Balkans during the conflicts in the 1990s and had contacts with the region's leaders.

Mr Milosevic says he will call his own witnesses from among Western leaders

The bulk of his evidence so far involved two trips he made as the Kosovo crisis was unfolding ahead of Nato intervention.

He was not allowed into Kosovo on the first trip in June.

But, from the northern Albanian border, he witnessed Yugoslav tanks and other military units bombarding villages and homes.

Later, in September, he went to western Kosovo and saw evidence of villages which had been deserted, destroyed and "utterly trashed".

Smuggling for rebels

He also spoke to Kosovo refugees over the border in northern Albania, who said they had been forced to leave and cross high mountain passes in harrowing conditions.

A map submitted as evidence of a planned carve-up of Bosnia

And he told the court that he saw substantial quantities of small arms being smuggled across the Albanian border for ethnic Albanian rebels.

At the time, Lord Ashdown described the situation as "a humanitarian catastrophe of terrible proportions".

His testimony on Thursday also focused on allegations that Mr Milosevic and the late Croatian leader, Franjo Tudjman, planned to carve up former Yugoslavia.

He displayed a copy of a map drawn by Mr Tudjman - at a dinner in London in 1995 - outlining the Croatian leader's vision of the future state of Yugoslavia in which Bosnia was divided between their two states and no provision made for separate Muslim areas.

Mr Milosevic has now been on trial for just over a month and has put up a spirited defence.

He has argued that Yugoslavia was the victim of a Western plot, and that it was Nato's bombing campaign against Yugoslavia in 1999 which caused most of the casualties in Kosovo.

van holst en steijnen

From: CDSM <cdsm_b@btopenworld.com>
To: <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>
Sent: vrijdag 15 maart 2002 02:45
Subject: Sgt. Schulz at The Hague - ICDSM

International Committee to Defend Slobodan Milosevic www.icdsm.org

This article is posted with photographs at <http://www.icdsm.org/more/schulz.htm>

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=====

Sgt. Schulz at The Hague -

11 March 2002

By Max Sinclair

[Posted 14 march 2002]

New York City via streaming video from The Hague <http://hague.bard.edu/video.html>

=====

Saqir Thac (48) testified today about what he called his 'calm and quiet' ethnic Turkish village of Mamusa near Prizern in Kosovo, which is now occupied by NATO.

During questioning by The Hague 'prosecutor,' Mr. Thac claimed that on March 27, a few days after the NATO bombing began, Yugoslav troops rolled in with tanks and ordered everyone to assemble in the center of his village. Mr. Thac claimed villagers were told to bring out their trucks and drive thousands of refugees to the border. According to Thac, that night some 30 houses at the end of the village went up in flames and seven men - three Turks and four ethnic Albanians - were killed.

However, under cross examination by President Milosevic, Mr. Thac underwent a striking transformation, coming to resemble Sergeant Schulz from the well known TV comedy, 'Hogan's Hero's.' When pressed by the American Prisoner of War, Colonel Hogan, Schulz, a German guard, would always exclaim, "I know nothing."

Cross-examined by President Milosevic, Mr. Thac said he knew nothing about the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA).

He knew nothing about KLA attacks on Yugoslav loyalists from his village.

He knew nothing about loyalists from his village fleeing the KLA for the safety of unoccupied Yugoslavia. (1)

He know nothing about newspaper articles. He didn't read newspapers. He didn't own a TV or radio or watch or listen to broadcasts in Turkish or any other language.

Mr. Thac did realize he had children. He knew they attended the only school in his village, but as for the village schoolmaster, a fellow Turk - he never heard of the gentleman.

He was unaware of the existence of the theater troupe in his village. He was unaware of the existence of the village's Turkish mayor. He was unaware that a Yugoslav government relief program had fed him and other villagers during the bombing. (2)

While Mr. Thac easily 'remembered' being 'forced' to drive in his own vehicle to a pro-Yugoslavia rally of some 15,000 in Prizern during the NATO bombing, he did not know that the local Turkish bus company transported other villagers to the rally. Nor did he remember anything said by speakers at the rally, not even those who used the Turkish language, including his town's schoolmaster or mayor, concerning whom, as you may have forgotten, Mr. Thac remembered nothing.

In like fashion, while Mr. Thac was sure that some of his fellow villagers had been murdered, he couldn't remember their names.

REMARKABLE AMNESIA

One possible explanation for Mr. Thac's mental condition: he was coached by the 'prosecution' not to answer questions under cross-examination. During the past three weeks, President Milosevic has continually caught witnesses in lies, and the 'prosecution' may have decided it is better to have their shakier witnesses viewed as fools rather than exposed as liars.

The second possibility is that Mr. Thac was testifying under pressure.

The KLA terrorists now dominate Kosovo. Kosovo residents who disobey KLA orders, and surely that includes those who give unacceptable testimony at The Hague, can expect gangland-style reprisals.

This is not hyperbole. The NY Times once interviewed an ethnic Albanian businessman who put up some slight resistance to KLA orders.

"They told me that if I did not comply immediately they knew a cellar I might like to visit." - NY Times, July 29, 1999, quoted at <http://emperors-clothes.com/news/reporter.htm>

Thus the Sgt. Schulz routine may have been Saqir Thac's way of telling as few lies as possible while avoiding KLA retribution when he returns to his 'calm and quiet' village of Mamusa near Prizern in Kosovo, which is now occupied by NATO (3) and because of that fact, dominated by the terrorists of the KLA. (4)

Did Mr. Thac choose this....

Because he wished to avoid this?

A U.N. police forensic team works on the ground where a bus carrying Serbs was bombed on the road near Pristina, Kosovo, Feb. 16, 2001. (AP) www.washingtonpost.com/ac2/wp-dyn?pagename=article&node=&contentId=A61702-2001Jul27

=====
FURTHER READING
=====

1) 'An Albanian Tragedy,' an interview with an ethnic Albanian (and Yugoslav loyalist) who fled Kosovo after the KLA takeover, can be read at <http://www.tenc.net/interviews/albanian.htm>

2) 'Why Albanians Fled During NATO Bombing - 'The truth about what happened..."' - interview with Cedomir Prlncevic, formerly chief archivist in Pristina, Kosovo. Can be read at <http://www.tenc.net/interviews/keys.htm#a>

3) 'WHAT NATO OCCUPATION WOULD MEAN FOR MACEDONIANS,' an interview with three women who describe in heart-rending detail what happened after the much-hyped NATO justice-lovers took over the town of Orahovac, in Kosovo. Can be read at <http://www.emperors-clothes.com/misc/savethe-a.htm>

4) 'How NATO and the UN Sponsor Terrorists in Kosovo,' by Jared Israel and Rick Rozoff. Can be read at <http://www.icdsm.org/more/nocrime.htm>

'By Adding Three Lies, One Does Not Get the Truth - Only a Bigger Lie' - President Slobodan Milosevic in The Hague, January 30th 2002 (transcript)

'Why is NATO Decimating the Balkans and Trying to Force Milosevic to Surrender?' By Jared Israel and Nico Varkevissar

'Illegal Tribunal - Illegal Indictment,' by Dr. Hans Koechler at <http://emperors-clothes.com/docs/prog2.htm>

How Madeline Albright Ordered The Hague 'Tribunal' To 'Indict' Milosevic at <http://www.icdsm.org/more/lovie.htm>

Official Statements Prove Hague 'Tribunal' Belongs to NATO by Jared Israel at <http://www.icdsm.org/more/belongs.htm>

Subscribe to the ICDSM email list at <http://www.icdsm.org/maillist.htm> Receive a few articles a week.

Click here to send the link to this article to a friend.

The Defense of Milosevic - and the Truth - Needs Your Help!

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PayPal accepts VISA and MasterCard

* Or mail a check to: ICDSM
831 Beacon St., #295
Newton Centre, MA 02459 (USA)

Thank you!

<http://www.icdsm.org>

van holst en steijnen

From: Ruza <despot@wish.net>
To: Nico & Neeltje steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>
Sent: zaterdag 16 maart 2002 18:18
Subject: 16/3

Serb Arrest Points to Coup Against Djindjic
 16 March 2002

Summary

Profiles:

MOMCILO PERISIC - Deputy Prime Minister of Republic of Serbia

NEBOJSA PAVKOVIC - Yugoslav Army Chief of Staff

Yugoslav military security service personnel arrested Serbian Deputy Prime Minister Momcilo Perisic March 14 on charges of espionage. The move was likely part of an effort by Serb nationalists to depose pro-Western Serbian Prime Minister Zoran Djindjic. Djindjic will probably be able to foil the plot, if he can survive the weekend.

Analysis

On the evening of March 14, Serbian Deputy Prime Minister Momcilo Perisic was having dinner with John Neighbor, an official from the U.S. Embassy and two other Serb citizens. At some point Yugoslav military security service personnel arrested the four, and after 15 hours ultimately released Neighbor, although they denied him contact with the embassy during his incarceration.

The U.S. State Department, "shocked and outraged and ... protesting like hell" according to a spokesman, lambasted Belgrade for its treatment of U.S. personnel, especially as Neighbor was at one point reportedly held with a plastic bag over his head. Shortly thereafter, a military court in Belgrade announced that Perisic had been detained on charges of espionage and revealing military secrets.

STRATFOR sources in Belgrade report that the charges ring true. They contend that Perisic has been a U.S. contact for at least the past three years, and has proven instrumental in keeping Washington abreast of what the various players in the Yugoslav government and army are up to. It is highly likely that some of the information he passed to the United States also proved useful to prosecutors in the war crimes trial of former Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic.

Government officials including Serbian Prime Minister Zoran Djindjic and Yugoslav President Vojislav Kostunica were by their own admission caught by surprise over Perisic's arrest. A joint statement from an emergency session of Serbian leaders made it explicitly clear they had all heard about the arrest through the media.

At this point, the story becomes even more complicated. Perisic is a deputy prime minister in the ruling coalition of Serbia, the real power in what is left of Yugoslavia. It is exceedingly unlikely that pro-Western Djindjic, Perisic's boss, was unaware of his activities. Considering how essential Western assistance and debt relief is to the survivability of Djindjic's government, the prime minister had to have at least tacitly approved of Perisic's activities.

It is also likely that when Perisic was arrested, he was transferring information that might have proved either embarrassing or incriminating to officials in Yugoslavia's military security services, which is still the primary bastion of Milosevic loyalists.

Between his current position as deputy prime minister and his previous post as Milosevic's army chief of staff throughout the Kosovo conflict -- until his dismissal in 1999 -- and prime architect of the Bosnian war, Perisic undoubtedly had ample dirt on every personality who mattered over the last several years of Milosevic's rule.

Timing was critical for those who wanted to keep Perisic silenced. The morning that he was arrested, Yugoslav army Chief of Staff Gen. Nebojsa Pavkovic announced he would resign by the end of the month. Pavkovic, a fierce rival to Perisic, has long been considered to share many of Milosevic's nationalist leanings and is himself under investigation by the International War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague.

Pavkovic is the most respected personality in the military, and his resignation would deny a major potential ally to anyone plotting a possible coup against pro-Western Djindjic. Those who orchestrated Perisic's arrest undoubtedly hoped to force the nationalist Pavkovic to rally the military to their cause of deposing Djindjic.

But Pavkovic was not the only person the military security service likely hoped to bring into their conspiracy. Without a figurehead willing to fill the spotlight, their efforts would come to naught. Pavkovic may have had the nationalist credentials and the respect of the military, but he lacks the public appeal needed to rally the nation.

That may be why Gen. Alexander Tomic, head of the Yugoslav military security services who allegedly ordered the arrest, had close communications with Rade Bulatovic, the security aide to Kostunica, on the issue of Perisic's detention. Kostunica's political star has been dwindling ever since he became president in late 2000. Central Bank chief Mladjan Dinkic proved a hit with international donors, Djindjic himself showed he is capable of juggling economic reforms and public works and Montenegrin President Milo Djukanovic proved more capable of grabbing headlines.

That reduced Kostunica, who has made no secret of his desire to match his title with actual power, to harping at government policies and attempting to stir up the embers of Serb nationalism.

Press reports from B92, Tanjug and Beograd.com news agencies, in addition to Yugoslav Justice Minister Vladan Batic and Djindjic himself, all place Tomic at the center of the conspiracy. Apparently it was Tomic who notified Bulatovic about the arrest in an attempt to bring Kostunica on board. Tomic also reportedly refused Pavkovic's order to attend an emergency session March 15 of senior Serbian and Yugoslav leaders -- prime ministers, presidents

and chiefs of staff included -- to address the Perisic arrest. When so ordered, his alleged response was, "I don't take my orders from anyone in that room," B92 reported.

The strategy of Tomic and Co. was probably to arrest Perisic, expose his espionage, and then count on a combination of a Pavkovic-led military and a Kostunica-led populace to either force a change in Djindjic's pro-Western behavior or simply replace Djindjic with Kostunica outright.

If this was indeed the plan, then the next 24 hours are critical. Tomic and his allies have precious little time to convince Pavkovic and Kostunica to move. Should no popular protests spontaneously erupt, there must be charismatic personalities to force the issue. But with Pavkovic within two weeks of retirement, and Kostunica's track record of having neither the guts nor gray matter, the prognosis is poor.

Djindjic is already looking for openings. In one of his first statements on the government crisis he declared, "Not only is there no civil control of the Military Security Service, but there's no military control," Tanjug reported. This statement about the arrogance of the military security service -- and the implied promise that the lack of military control will be soon rectified -- will likely draw regular military units closer to Djindjic's camp and away from Tomic's.

Djindjic also may be able to draw the public to his side as well, in spite of the well-grounded espionage charges. Despite the pain of the economic reforms Djindjic has implemented, for the most part Serbs have power, water and food -- a somewhat better state of affairs than existed under his predecessors, who led Serbs into one war after another -- all of which they lost.

Since he has rather solid control over the military and the Interior Ministry, he now knows exactly who and where some of his most dangerous foes are based -- and he can purge them at his leisure. That depends, of course, on whether Djindjic and his government can survive the weekend.

He also has another pool of strength to draw upon -- the West. The United States is not exactly in a conciliatory mood right, and someone else's rogue secret police roughing up an American diplomat is not something that will engender warm fuzzies in the White House. The Bush administration may require Tomic's head on a platter, but it will also be willing to provide the platter as well as some cash on the side.

This does not mean, however, that Djindjic can purge with impunity. The arrest of Perisic has shaken his government to its core. The Serb citizenry has yet to come to grips with the tumultuous events of the past decade in general, and the role they played in the Yugoslav wars in particular. If the reactionary arrest of one of his allies does not serve as a wake up call to Djindjic, he could well face a far more blatant coup attempt in the future. Tomic is certainly not the last nationalist residing in the Serb military.

van holst en steijnen

From: CDSM <cdsm_b@btopenworld.com>
To: <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>
Sent: zaterdag 16 maart 2002 06:56
Subject: Serbia's leader angry at arrest - BBC website

Seems that Serbia's deputy premier was handing over Milosevic dossier to a certain Mr. Neighbor who just happend to be the first Secretary at the US Embassy, for use at The Hague. Another clear case of treason. No wonder Djindjic is mad. Rather too close to home for his liking! - PD

Saturday, 16 March, 2002, 00:39 GMT

Serbia's leader angry at arrest

Serbia's deputy prime minister was detained

The Serbian Prime Minister, Zoran Djindjic, says he is outraged at the detention by Yugoslav military forces of his deputy prime minister and an American diplomat.

The Americans say their diplomat was having dinner with the Deputy Prime Minister, Momcilo Perisic, when both were detained.

We're mad about it... the military burst in and our guy got roughed up

State Dept official They say their diplomat was assaulted and held for 15 hours before his release, and they have made a formal protest.

Mr Djindjic was speaking after an emergency joint session of the Yugoslav and Serbian governments called to brief ministers on what he called a scandal.

It is not clear if Mr Perisic has been charged but aides say he was detained on suspicion of handing over secret documents.

A BBC correspondent in Belgrade says Serbian sources believe the documents could be connected to the war crimes trial of former Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic at The Hague.

Political battle

Mr Perisic - a key ally of the prime minister - was appointed to his post in January 2001. He leads the Movement for Democratic Serbia - part of the governing coalition.

He led the army until 1998, when he was dismissed after criticising President Milosevic's handling of the Kosovo crisis.

The BBC correspondent says that since Mr Djindjic's decision to surrender Mr Milosevic to the war crimes tribunal last year, Mr Djindjic and the Yugoslav president, Vojislav Kostunica, have been engaged in a furious political battle.

Deputy Prime Minister Momcilo Perisic was taken away in a police van

The Americans say their diplomat, who has not been identified so far, was held incommunicado and "physically assaulted".

"The United States is outraged by this unwarranted detention of a US diplomat," State Department spokesman Richard Boucher told reporters.

"We are forcefully protesting these actions by the Yugoslav military," he said.

Another unnamed official said: "We're mad about it... the military burst in and our guy got roughed up."

Mr Perisic has frequently clashed with the current army chief of staff, Nebojsa Pavkovic.

However Mr Perisic has also been linked to allegations of financial irregularities in the Yugoslav army when he was its chief of staff.

16-3-2002

video project resources home

Video Archive

A complete record on video, with audio in English, is available for each day of the trial of Slobodan Milosevic at the ICTY in The Hague. Currently, the video is archived by court session, which generally means one session in the morning, and one in the afternoon. The segments range in length from 30 minutes to three hours. You will need [RealPlayer](#) to view the segments. Use the arrows in the RealPlayer clip menu located to the right of the playlist (where it reads ICTY Court 1 English Video) to view all of the day's proceedings.

Another video archive of the trial with sound in Bosnian /Croatian/ Serbian, is available to viewers in Yugoslavia at [FreeSerbia](#)

During hours when the trial is underway (usually 9:30am to 12:30pm, and again from 2:00pm to 4:00pm, European time), you can watch it live courtesy of [Domovina Net](#).

Please note that some segments of the trial are not immediately available because of problems with the video feed at The Hague. These segments will be added as soon as possible. We appreciate your patience. Comments can be sent to hague@bard.edu For a list of upcoming witnesses click [here](#)

.Choose one of the segments below to view the trial:

Thursday, 03.14.2002 - [09:30 - 13:00](#) in two (2) segments

Wednesday, 03.13.2002 - [09:30 - 16:30](#) in two (2) segments

Tuesday, 03.12.2002 - [09:30 - 16:00](#) in four (4) segments.

Monday, 03.11.2002 - [09:30 - 16:00](#) in three (3) segments

Friday, 03.08.2002 - [09:00 - 14:30](#) in three (3) segments

Thursday, 03.07.2002 - [09:00 - 12:50](#) in two (2) segments

Wednesday, 03.06.2002 - [09:10 - 10:15](#) : [10:35 - 1:30](#)

Tuesday, 03.05.2002 - Due to a fire in the cafeteria of the Tribunal, the court is not in session today, but will resume tomorrow.

Monday, 03.04.2002 : Prosecution calls on Qamil Shabani to testify, followed by cross-examination. NOTE: no audio is available for the first 1 1/2 hours of the trial: [09:30 - 16:00](#) in three (3) segments

Friday, 03.01.2002 - the hearing takes place in closed session: video of the day's proceedings is not available. A protected witness gives testimony.

Thursday, 02.28.2002 - Prosecution resumes the examination of Halit Barani, followed by cross-examination. afternoon segment not yet available [9:30 - 11:00](#)

Wednesday, 02.27. 2002 -the Prosecution calls witness Besnik Sokoli, a former translator for the OSCE Verification Mission who fled Kosovo in 1999. The witness is cross-examined by the accused and examined briefly by an amicus curiae [09:30 - 13:00](#) The Prosecution calls witness Halit Barani, a member of the Democratic League of Kosova and the Council for the Defence of Human Rights and Freedoms from Mitrovica [13:00 - 13:05](#)

Tuesday, 02.26.2002 - Cont. cross-examination of Agron Berisha. The Prosecution calls witness Ajmane Behramaj, a Kosovo Albanian from the village of Izbicë who tells the court about the shelling of her village in 1999, the death of her husband and baby and how she fled to Albania. The witness is then cross-examined by the accused and examined by one of the amici curiae [09:30 - 15:30](#) in three (3) segments

Monday, 02.25.2002 -Prosecution resumes its examination of Halil Morina followed by cross-examination. The Prosecution calls witness Agron Berisha, a Kosovo-Albanian doctor from Suha Reka, followed by cross-examination 09:30 - 16:30 in two (2) segments

Thursday, 02.21.2002 - No morning segment yet available. 14:30 - 16:30 Milosevic concludes his cross-examination of witness Agim Zeqiri. Prosecution then calls witness Halil Morina, a Kosovo-Albanian farmer from the village of Landovicë.

Wednesday, 02.20.2002 -Prosecution calls John Steven Spargo to testify. Prosecution calls on Agim Zeqiri, a farmer from the Kosovo village of Nagafc, to testify 09:30 - 16:00 in two (2) segments

Tuesday, 02.19.2002 - Cont. of Mahmut Bakali's testimony 09:30 - 12:30 : 12:30 - 13:45 / transcript

Monday, 02.18.2002 - Continuation of opening statement by Defence, Milosevic. Prosecution calls first witness, Mahmut Bakali :09:30 - 16:00 in three (3) segments / transcript

Friday, 02.15.2002 Continuation of opening statement by the Defence, Milosevic. 09:30 - 16:00 in six (6) segments / transcript

NOTE: Due to server problems, some video segments are currently not available for the first three days of the trial (February 12, 13 & 14). These segments will be posted as soon as they are made available in RealVideo format:

Thursday, 02.14.02 - video still not available, but a transcript of the day's proceedings is available [<here>](#) Opening statement by the Defence, Milosevic.

Wednesday, 02.13.02 - cont. opening statement by the Prosecution, Geoffrey Nice and Dirk Ryneveld. Question of procedures by Milosevic 09:30 - 15:30 in five (5) segments / transcript

Tuesday, 02.12.02 - opening statement by the Prosecution, Carla del Ponte (chief prosecutor) and Geoffrey Nice (partial segment) 11:30 - 12:15 A transcript of the day's proceedings is available [<here>](#)

Eindelijk weer een feestje voor het Tribunaal

Slobodan Milošević ontkende gisteren niet dat hij in 1998 waarschuwingen negeerde over oorlogsmisdaden in Kosovo. Eindelijk een overwinning voor het Joegoslavië-tribunaal.

16-3-2002

Door onze redacteurs

CEES BANNING en

PETRA DE KONING

DEN HAAG, 16 MAART. Het was feest gistermiddag in het kantoor van de aanklagers van het Joegoslavië-tribunaal. Het proces tegen de Joegoslavische ex-president Slobodan Milošević duurt al bijna vijf weken en tot nu toe hadden de aanklagers weinig om tevreden over te zijn. Het was Milošević die in de rechtszaal indruk maakte met de manier waarop hij getuigen aan een kruisverhoor onderwierp, de getuigen zelf vielen nauwelijks op. Maar gisteren was dat op eens anders. De Britse politicus Paddy Ashdown kwam met de getuigenis waar de aanklagers op hadden zitten wachten. Milošević zeiden ze tegen elkaar in de pauze, *hangt*.

Ashdown vertelde dat hij in het najaar van 1998 een gesprek had gehad met Milošević, in zijn presidentieel paleis in Belgrado. Hij had Milošević verteld wat hij de dagen daarvoor had gezien in Kosovo. Eenheden van het Joegoslavische leger en de politie namen dorpen onder vuur, ze verdraven Albanese burgers, plunderden huizen en staken die in brand. Milošević zei destijds dat dat eenheden geweest moesten zijn die hij niet onder controle had. Hij zou er wat aan doen en de daders straffen.

Ashdown had Milošević erop gewezen dat het optreden van zijn troepen een schending was van het oorlogsrecht en de conventies van Genève. Hij waarschuwde. Als Milošević er geen eind aan maakte, zou de internationale gemeenschap militair ingrijpen, en de president zelf zou mogelijk worden aangeklaagd. Ashdown vanmiddag: „Ik heb tegen u gezegd dat u voor dit tribunaal zou eindigen. En hier zit u dan.”

Voor het eerst in het proces werd hiermee het bewijs geleverd dat Milošević wist dat er oorlogsmisdaden in Kosovo werden gepleegd. Hij zal nu – als hij een veroordeling wil voorkomen – moeten aantonen dat hij er alles aan heeft gedaan om die te stoppen en dat hij de daders ter verantwoording heeft geroepen. Maar de feiten zijn bekend: de oorlogsmisdaden in Kosovo hielden niet op en de daders werden niet door Milošević bestraft.

De voorzitter van de rechters, Ri-

chard May, wees Milošević er een paar keer op dat hij het kruisverhoor van Ashdown moest gebruiken om vragen te stellen over die ontmoeting. „Als u betwist wat er toen is gezegd, stelt u er dan nu vragen over.” Natuurlijk, zei Milošević, dat ging hij zeker doen, maar hij had ook andere belangrijke vragen. Uiteindelijk ging hij maar kort in op het gesprek. Had hij toen in Belgrado niet tegen Ashdown gezegd dat hij een vreedzame oplossing wilde? Ashdown: „En ik heb tegen u gezegd dat zo'n oplossing onmogelijk was als u doorging met het excessieve gebruik van geweld tegen burgers.” Milošević probeerde met Ashdown in discussie te gaan over de interpretatie van de Geneefse conventies, maar rechter Patrick Robinson zei tegen Ashdown: „Het belangrijkste is dat u hem erop hebt gewezen, niet de juridische interpretatie ervan.”

Milošević begon over Macedonië. Het leger van Macedonië had toch ook tanks en zwaarbewapende eenheden ingezet tegen „Albanese terroristen”? Rechter May vond niet dat Ashdown daarop een antwoord hoefde geven. „U dwaalt af”, zei hij, en hij gaf Milošević een laatste kans: „Ik merk op dat u nog niets heeft gezegd over de inhoud van het gesprek dat u had met de getuige. Dat betekent dat u niet ter discussie stelt wat er tijdens die ontmoeting is gezegd.”

Het is de afgelopen weken vaker voorgekomen dat een van de rechters Milošević wees op tekortkomingen in zijn kruisverhoor. Milošević heeft geen advocaat, hij verdedigt zichzelf, en het tribunaal wil graag vermijden dat daardoor de indruk ontstaat dat hij geen eerlijk proces krijgt.

In de gevangenis van het tribunaal in Scheveningen heeft Milošević een extra cel gekregen. In de ene slaapt hij, in de andere staan meer dan honderdvijftig mappen met processtukken. De verdachte kan, als hij wil, de documenten in de tweede cel gebruiken om zich voor te bereiden op de kruisverhoor. Erg lang hoeft hij niet te zoeken naar de informatie die hij nodig heeft. Milošević heeft vrienden gemaakt in de rechtszaal. De medewerkster van de griffie die het dichtst bij hem in de buurt zit, geeft hem aan het eind van iedere zittingsdag een overzicht van getuigen die de volgende dag zullen verschijnen of onderwerpen die besproken zullen worden. En als bijvoorbeeld het middagprogramma is veranderd, krijgt hij die wijziging van haar aan het eind van de ochtend op papier. Hij belt dan meteen weer met zijn juridische medewerkers die voor hem informatie over getuigen en gebeurtenissen verzamelen.

van holst en steijnen

From: CDSM <cdsm_b@btopenworld.com>
To: <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>
Sent: zaterdag 16 maart 2002 06:45
Subject: Tearful Ashdown in court skirmish with Milosevic - The Guardian

Tearful Ashdown in court skirmish with Milosevic

Andrew Osborn in the Hague
Saturday March 16, 2002

The Guardian

It was not the House of Commons, but the cross-examination of Lord Ashdown by Slobodan Milosevic at the former Yugoslav president's trial yesterday generated enough sarcasm and mocking laughter to fill 100 prime minister's question times.

Giving evidence for the second day, Lord Ashdown, who made two fact-finding trips to Kosovo in 1998, repeatedly clashed with Mr Milosevic on the issue of ethnic cleansing.

At one point Lord Ashdown, who has recently been appointed the UN's high representative to Bosnia, fought back tears as he described coming across a column of Kosovan Albanian refugees who, he claimed, were fleeing the Yugoslav armed forces after they had been savagely shelled and had their homes burned to the ground.

As the court watched a video of Lord Ashdown listening to the refugees' stories, the former Liberal Democrat leader provided an emotional commentary as he struggled to keep his composure.

"I found it very difficult to cope with at the time," he said. "They were desperately frightened and I found it a deeply terrible sight. [They were] on the back of tractors sheltering from the rain under plastic sheets. There were old men, women, children and babes in arms. They were frightened out of their skins."

This is not the first time the two men have met. In September 1998, Lord Ashdown had an hour-long meeting with Mr Milosevic in Belgrade, at which he handed over a letter from Tony Blair warning the former Yugoslav president that he risked being indicted for war crimes, an irony not lost on the peer yesterday.

"I said that you would end up in this court [if you failed to stop ethnic cleansing] and here you are," he said in a "told you so" manner.

To the amusement of the public gallery, Mr Milosevic, who the presiding judge has repeatedly accused of making irrelevant speeches, complained that Lord Ashdown was too long-winded. "Could the witness please answer my questions and not make speeches," he told a glowering Lord Ashdown. "Could you please save us some time."

But Lord Ashdown insisted on relentlessly using Mr Milosevic's questions to denounce ethnic cleansing, reiterating that nothing could justify "the excessive force" and "scorched earth policy" of the Yugoslav army against the Kosovan Albanians, a tactic which visibly irked Mr Milosevic, who is conducting his own defence.

"You have repeated that several times. There's no need to repeat it in every question," the detainee moaned.

A statement from Lord Ashdown that the Kosovo Liberation Army was a terrorist organisation delighted the former dictator, however, and elicited a wry smile. "You are the first person sitting in this chair who does not deny that the KLA is a terrorist organisation," he crowed.

And that, he said, meant that Lord Ashdown was, in effect, agreeing that the behaviour of the Yugoslav forces was entirely legitimate. "So where's the problem?" Mr Milosevic asked, causing the public gallery to collapse in laughter.

The peer, a former marine, repeatedly confronted Mr Milosevic with his alleged crimes. "The British government has never used tanks, artillery, looting and burning to drive people out of their homes, and if we did we would be before this court," he said.

Seeing his chance, Mr Milosevic tried to confront Lord Ashdown over the behaviour of the British army in Northern Ireland, until he was silenced by an increasingly impatient judge.

Lord Ashdown laughed incredulously when faced with questions from Mr Milosevic which he clearly considered ludicrous. Mr Milosevic in turn did his best to belittle Lord Ashdown.

"Is it customary", he asked "for the leader of a small opposition party to visit a region where there is a war on 10 times a year?"

Mr Milosevic claimed that the west had wanted to aggravate the Kosovo crisis in order to pave the way for the occupation of Yugoslavia "by foreign powers".

That, said Lord Ashdown, was nonsense. "I've heard some fantastic conspiracy theories, but this takes the biscuit," he said. "It's so far-fetched I can't even believe you brought it up."

Meanwhile Momcilo Perisic, Serbia's deputy prime minister, was yesterday being held by Yugoslav military police on suspicion of passing documents to the US which could help to convict Mr Milosevic.

The former general, who served in the Balkan wars, faces possible charges of espionage after being arrested on Thursday night in a Belgrade restaurant. A US diplomat was held for 15 hours, then released. The US embassy said it would formally protest.

Mr Perisic was chief of staff of the Yugoslav army in the early stages of the wars in Croatia and Bosnia and a serving general when Serb troops rampaged through Kosovo in 1998. Mr Milosevic sacked him on the eve of Nato air strikes.

van holst en steijnen

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van holst en steijnen

From: Ruza <despot@wish.net>
To: Nico & Neeltje steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>
Sent: zondag 17 maart 2002 15:02
Subject: Fw: paddy ashdown's criminality

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

From: Mrs. Jela Jovanovic
To: Undisclosed-Recipient;
Sent: Sunday, March 17, 2002 7:24 PM
Subject: Fw: paddy ashdown's criminality

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

From: canauk
To: <mailto:Undisclosed-Recipient:@SOLAIR.EUnet.yu>
Sent: Sunday, March 17, 2002 10:36 AM
Subject: paddy ashdown's criminality

IMMEDIATE RELEASE FROM CANA UK

(NB new postal address, telephone number & e mail address. Details @ end of this transmission.)

TELL IT TO THE MARINES PADDY!

Post colonial satrap Paddy Ashdown, otherwise known as "Lord Ashdown", who acquired a dodgy title from the British PM, as a reward for long years of unstinting support for New Labour, while nominally leading an entirely different party, is criticised today for comments he made Friday in testimony at the trial of Slobodan Milosevic.

William Spring is Director of Christians Against Nato Aggression (cana uk), & a co-ordinator of a recently formed national Committee for the Defence of Slobodan Milosevic which held its first meeting in London February 1st 2002 when almost £1000 was raised. "About 100 people turned up & we were addressed by Toronto lawyer, Christ Black who like me is a graduate of MacMaster University, Ontario, although we only found this out afterwards" The meeting was also addressed by Misha Gavrilovic, a Serbian spokesman in London. 'The point of the meeting was to show the support Mr Milosevic enjoys not only in Yugoslavia but from UK residents of all sorts & different shades of opinion & ethnic background. (Since that meeting I've had an encouraging letter from Harold Pinter. He say " Chris Black is first rate isn't he? I think Milosevic is giving them a real run for their money. Let's keep fighting on all fronts!")'

One ceases to feel astonishment at the pith helmeted Ashdown's infinite capacity for pomposity, violence, self indulgence, & myopia. This befits someone whose great grandmother was one of the survivors of the First Afghan War, & as Ashdown has always fancied himself as satrap , & was frustrated in that end in Kosovo by the French, he has now become the UN's Lord High Executioner for Bosnia.

Ashdown appeared before the Hague Tribunal as a witness for the prosecution when in fact, were the Court properly constructed & impartial, with a brief to consider crimes against peace & "the supreme war crime" of planning, preparing & executing aggressive war, he should have been in the dock, as it was Ashdown who masterminded UK involvement in the March 99 NATO war.

(This may have come out in the testimony & cross examination. I have not so far been able to see the text of all of Lord Ashdown's remarks as they are not yet posted on the Hague Tribunal web site.

But in an exchange with Mr Milosevic, Ashdown conceded the KLA are a terrorist army & that Mr Milosevic was fighting terrorism. When Mr Milosevic reminded Ashdown of incidents such as "Bloody Sunday", Ashdown replied the British never used oppressive violence for political objectives, "The British government has never used tanks, artillery, looting and burning to drive people out of their homes, and if we did we would be before this court."

Tell that to the Marines, Paddy, as you used to be one, (& MI6 station chief in Vienna).

uch comments are tautological, as the whole point of the NATO war on Yugoslavia was to use weapons of mass destruction against a civilian population, & by such methods to bring pressure to bear upon their government - in short the philosophy of Bomber Harris.

In the 78 day NATO bombardment NATO attacked homes, offices, maternity clinics & schools, & holidaymakers travelling on intercity trains.

These were deliberate acts of barbarity, & that is why it is members of the 1999 British Government, + Paddy Ashdown as prime mover of the NATO war, from the point of view of UK participation in it, who should be before an international Court, & not Milosevic, whose defence is rock solid, that he was fighting terrorism & defending his country from external attack by Britain, Germany, France & the USA.

Ashdown, like the majority of British politicians, lives in a flawed moral universe - it is a world of delusion, cant, self importance & hypocrisy, & because he never examines his own actions he doesn't realise how fundamentally difficult it is for ordinary people in Britain to get UK politicians to answer even a simple question, let alone account for their behaviour in a legal forum.

In other words, those moralists who put the world to rights aren't themselves willing to submit to any legal process, as I found out when I tried bringing a criminal prosecution @ Highgate Magistrates Court against Messers Blair, Cook, Axworthy, Vedrine & Mrs Madelaine Albright in May 1999, using the 1861 Offences Against the Person Act, by which I alleged conspiracy to murder & cause explosions in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

I found the Judge reluctant to issue proceedings, citing a lack of evidence, (I also alleged a contravention of section 5 of the Criminal Justice Act 1998, in that UK Government Ministers were supporting terrorism within the borders of another sovereign state), but in refusing me leave he was heavily influenced by the fact that a UK Govt representative was present in Court in what was supposed to be an in camera hearing.

Subsequently I asked the Hague Tribunal to investigate UK war crimes but a letter came back saying they weren't particularly interested.

UK politicians aren't in The Hague when they should be in the Hague.

It is Lord Ashdown who defends the murder of innocent people, & terrorism, & the pogrom against the indigenous Serb & Roma people of Kosovo, & the bombing of innocent civilians in Serbia, & the killing of Albanian refugees in Kosovo by US war planes, as he also defends the use (in his new principality) of the Tusla air base by US planes in order to bomb Afghanistan, & Iraq, when the Yugoslav Air Force never used the base for any offensive purpose against another state.

It is about time UK politicians confronted the disconcerting truth about themselves & their inexcusable conduct in the Balkans & the nature of the EU-NATO partition of Yugoslavia, instead of trying to scapegoat Milosevic.

What is needed most urgently is an application for habeas corpus to the appropriate agencies.

President Milosevic in his opening speech said to the judges: "you were duty bound to call a hearing with respect to the unlawful arrest that took place over my person and with respect to the fact that I was brought here on the basis of a crime having been committed."

No such hearing has been held. How can this so called Court function on the basis of a crime having been committed in order to initiate proceedings?

The President of the UN Security Council & the UN Secretary General should be briefed on the refusal of a UN Court to examine the criminal conduct of its own officers, in that Carla del Ponte conspired to kidnap Mr Milosevic & bring him to The Hague in violation of the Constitution & laws of the FRY. No UN Court can function on this basis, or should not.

ends

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cana@blueyonder.co.uk

van holst en steijnen

From: Mick Collins <cirqueminime@club-internet.fr>
To: Yana Collins <ycollins24@aol.com>; John Stepling <stepling@yahoo.com>; joseph goodrich <jgoodrich63@yahoo.com>; John O'Connell <JohnOC46@aol.com>; David Thompson <DThomp2741@aol.com>; Suzanne & Bill Fletcher & Raden <fletcher.raden@worldnet.att.net>; Kathi Montgomery <brdcoup316@msn.com>; Daniel Edinger <dan.ed@noos.fr>; Danise Delgado <DaniseD@fox.com>; Danielle Alexich <dalexich@csuchico.edu>; Diana Johnstone <107764.116@compuserve.com>; Alain Jejcic <Alain.Jejcic@lmd.jussieu.fr>; Alan Mandell <AVRAMNOAC@aol.com>
Cc: Alexander Cockburn <counterpunch@counterpunch.org>; Alexis Troude <alexis.troude@wanadoo.fr>; Tariq Ali <tariq.ali3@btinternet.com>; Alison Mize <gagette@aol.com>; Varsi Amerian <varster@yahoo.com>; Amo (& Darren) Gulinello <thirtymaujer@earthlink.net>; Chris Black <antinato@hotmail.com>; Antoine Colonna <intelsecurite@wanadoo.fr>; Anton Jarvis <antonievski@yahoo.com>; Tatyana Lima <vlasova2001@yahoo.com>; Christopher Black <bar@idirect.com>; Fulvio Grimaldi <bassottovic@tiscalinet.it>; Nina Beber <BeberN@aol.com>; Jacob Berger <jacob@poetic.com>; Johnny Diehl <bigharrydiehl@stonecupid.com>; Lawrence McGuire <blmcguire@hotmail.com>; Bob Locke <palinbob@yahoo.com>; Caitlyn O'Connell <Squinky85@aol.com>; Carol Pollack <carol_pollack@hotmail.com>; Tomm Carroll <TommC@fox.com>; Charles Geshekter &
Sent: maandag 18 maart 2002 10:03
Subject: The Defense Brief

Hey, Anybody else wonder how Paddy Ashdown ever got so smug? Talking about how he'd warned Milosevic that if he kept up like he was he'd wind up in the box for war crimes. Well, aside from that congenial self-importance that's always crudding up on the surface of the ever-diminishing gene pool out behind the House of Lords, ol' Paddy had him some inside information. Here's an article from a Swiss paper, via my own favorite Balkans Infos, about how the OSCE used Dickie Holbrooke's threats of mayhem in the Oct 98 negotiations with Milosevic to get its people on the ground in Kosovo just to make double sure everything went NATO's way. You probably won't get this in the NYTimes, but then the Times ain't shit anymore anyway. Mick

An article from the Swiss journal La Liberté reveals the double-cross being run by international observers in Kosovo.

NATO SPIES CONFESS

It was done ultimately in the hope of bringing peace. October 12, 1998, the Serbia of Slobodan Milosevic accepted the introduction into Kosovo of 2,000 observers from the OSCE (the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe). This Overification mission¹ was to monitor the cease fire between the Serbs and the Albanians and to facilitate the search for a political solution to the conflict. Once finally in place, the 1,400 observers, among whom were a certain number of Swiss nationals, were placed under the direction of American ambassador William Walker. They remained in place until NATO decided to begin its bombing the following March.

Today the work of this mission poses some serious questions, if one believes the information collected by the Tessian (Swiss) daily Giornale del popolo that follows:

¹It was obviously not Wm Walker who pulled the strings on this operation,² said one of the 1,400 verification monitors who wished to remain anonymous. ²Nor was it the European diplomats who headed the different departments. It was OThe Fusion¹, a section in the headquarters of the OSCE in Pristina. It was under the direction of British general John Drewienkiewicz, one of the vice directors of the mission. Officially, he was in charge of co-ordinating security. In reality, no one knew with any certainty what his responsibilities were. (. . .) Little by little we came to understand that this was a center for the co-ordination of information going into the hands of American and British military personnel.²

What kind of information are we talking about here?

³All kinds,² went on our monitor-witness. ³Beginning with the movements and positions of Yugoslav army troops, which means the army or the paramilitary groups. (. . .)²

This information then went to NATO?

³Certainly. If not, how would they have known the Serbs' objectives with such precision?²

It is also the opinion of Pascal Neuffer, the 32 yr. old Tessian (Swiss) geologist who was part of the Swiss contingent of the OSCE mission during its last month.

³We understood from the beginning that the information collected by the OSCE patrols during our mission was intended to supplement the information NATO collected by satellite. We had a very strong feeling that we were working as spies for the Atlantic Alliance.²

The OSCE was supposed to look into human rights violations committed by either party, the Yugoslav soldiers or the Serb paramilitaries, and the KLA rebels. But the verifiers noticed that when the collected testimony did not correspond with the general view (and certainly not the official view!) of the mission, it was often manipulated.

Pascal Neuffer again: ³The information was selected and processed by The Fusion. When the reports were not sufficiently critical of the actions of the Serb troops, they were amended, or even shredded.

³The investigators who wrote up reports that were too critical of the KLA,² confirms another monitor, ³were mysteriously not assigned to new missions.

³Just before they were evacuated, the Verification Monitors received an order to destroy all written documents. In executing this task, a member of the Italian contingent who had just been relieved of his investigation into human rights violations, happened upon one of his reports denouncing the KLA. But there was a second report attached to his, and edited by his Albanian interpreter who was working under contract to the OSCE. This second report accused the Italian of falsifying the testimony he had collected and of being pro-Serb! On the basis of this second report, all the testimony the Italian Monitor had amassed was discarded, without any investigation or additional research.

³The strange thing was,² continues our witness, ³the Albanian interpreter's report was addressed to The Fusion and not, as would have been the normal practice, to the Human Rights Section. From this he concluded that the interpreter was in the pay of The Fusion. . . . Unfortunately all these documents were destroyed. But I know for certain that this was not an isolated case.²

AN ANTI-SERB PSYCHOSIS

Welcomed by the directors of the mission on their arrival in Kosovo, the Verification Monitors were surprised by the dominant point of view that the enemy was uniquely the Yugoslavs and the Serbs. ³During the four days of training we received on arrival, those in charge of security, almost all Americans, tried subtly to instil an anti-Serb psychosis. No one took into consideration that the KLA might be shooting at us. Even though this had already happened.²

A feeling shared by the Swiss Pascal Neuffer. ³The bias of the OSCE was more than obvious. Collaboration with the Serbian police, however legitimate, in certain investigations was taken for collaboration with the enemy. And then it was forbidden. The Germans from the Police section, under the direct control of The Fusion, told me that their suggestion for how to deal with these collaborations was just to systematically block them.²

Neuffer also points out a revealing detail. ³Certain Verification Monitors in charge of human rights violations took part in funerals for KLA soldiers, but if the Serb police were ambushed we wouldn't even mention it. Obviously, only the deaths of Albanian rebels was considered a human rights violation. All dead bodies found in Kosovo were automatically assigned to

be victims of Serbian police aggression.

³The situation on the ground, on the eve of the NATO bombing, did not justify a military intervention,² declared Pascal Neuffer. ³In many regions of Kosovo, you didn't feel a climate of war. All the incidents, all the battles between Serb forces and Albanian rebels, with the displaced populations that ensued, were limited to mountain villages near the strongholds of the KLA: at the beginning of the year, in Kacanik, in the South, and then in Podujevo. In the important towns like Mitrovica, Pec, Pristina or Orahovac, there weren't any deportations. Certainly Kosovo suffered an apartheid and an Oethnic cleansing¹. But before the bombing it was still limited. Many of us were shocked when we got the order to evacuate: we would certainly have been able to continue our work. And the explanations given in the Press, saying that the mission had been compromised by Serb threats, did not correspond to what I had seen. Let's say rather that we were evacuated because NATO had decided to start bombing.

³It's a pity, because the OSCE could have played a more important part. In light of what has happened, we started asking ourselves if we had ever been intended as a peace mission or only as a pretext to a military intervention.²

The accusations against the OSCE mission unfortunately were not limited to a few cases of espionage or to the manipulation of testimony. Some were much more serious. The OSCE was not only used (however unwittingly) to lay blame for human rights violations exclusively at the feet of the Serbs, or nearly so. It might also have played an indirect role in the reduction of tensions that then exploded with the military intervention of NATO.

A DRAMATIC EPISODE

A dramatic event took place to support this theory. (. . .) The commander of the regular Serb troops, apparently on his own initiative, warned the OSCE mission of the fact that the Serb police were aware of an Albanian rebel project to transport arms from Albania into Kosovo. And he asked that the other camp¹ be warned so as to avoid a blood bath. The information was discussed at the very heart of the Security Council of the mission, which decided not to transmit the message to the KLA. The result: A few kilometres from the Albanian border, more than 30 Kosovo Albanians were killed by Serb forces. (This encounter took place on the 14th of December 1998, and was reported in the international press.) (. . .)

This was the most serious incident since the conclusion in mid-October of accords between Milosevic and the international community to institute a cease fire and to set up international monitoring in the province.

From the other side, it also seems that moderates from the KLA tried to communicate with the Serbs, through the offices of the OSCE, certain information about projected attacks against Serbs. All for naught. You have to ask yourself if there weren't some people who just didn't want the tensions relieved.²

Sarah d'Adda, *Giornale del Popolo*,
repris par *La Liberté*, 22 avril 1999.

van holst en steijnen

From: Ruza <despot@wish.net>
To: Nico & Neeltje steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>
Sent: maandag 18 maart 2002 14:50
Subject: Fw: Urgent warning: PRESIDENT MILOSEVIC ILL!

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

From: Vladimir Krsljanin
To: <mailto:Undisclosed-Recipient:@smtp.sps.org.yu>
Sent: Monday, March 18, 2002 5:45 PM
Subject: Urgent warning: PRESIDENT MILOSEVIC ILL!

PRESIDENT MILOSEVIC ILL!**Urgent warning:**

The Hague/Belgrade, March 18, 2002

Today's session of the kangaroo court is canceled, due to medical problems of President Milosevic.

His body temperature is 38.5 C. The prison doctor's diagnosis is - virus infection, flu. Last week his temperature was increased for a day, but we hoped it wouldn't be necessary to link it with his life conditions. After that, for a day, a hermetically sealed prison in the building used by Nazis for the same purpose, stayed without the inflow of air. Now the health condition of president became worse.

President Milosevic, 60, is facing a show trial organized by NATO security machinery in most inhuman way ever recorded in history. President Milosevic, abducted from his country, prevented from regular visits of family, friends and even lawyers, is kept in a dirty prison and forced to participate actively, without food and fresh air, in every day whole-day proceedings that have to last SEVERAL YEARS!

NATO SLAUGHTER OF YUGOSLAVIA MUST END!

Where is democracy, rule of law and human rights?

In Nazi trial of Dimitrov they were much more present!

The methods of NATO bullies and butchers can be compared only with INQUISITION!

WE HAVE TO FIGHT FOR OUR BARE LIVES!

All friends of humanity, rise!

Time is up to make the most powerful protests!

President Milosevic needs international medical experts to check his condition and efforts of all of us to stop the cannibal machinery!

To join or help this struggle, visit:

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

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

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

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

van holst en steijnen

From: CDSM <cdsm_b@btopenworld.com>
To: <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>
Sent: dinsdag 19 maart 2002 08:00
Subject: Rights to coverage of Milosevic trial

Comment from Branka: "Interesting to see this on B92. Puts a lie on all that stuff about not being able to afford to transmit!"

Rights to coverage of Milosevic trial

BELGRADE, March 14, 2002 – In view of the amount of false information in circulation on this matter, B92 presents the following facts:

*

No one has exclusive rights to live broadcasts of the trial of Slobodan Milosevic at The Hague.

*

Any television station wanting to broadcast the trial may subscribe to the Eurovision live coverage broadcasts.

*

Any television station with mobile satellite access can connect to the Tribunal's internal television system and broadcast the trial free of charge. This is how B92 is obtaining its live feed.

B92 has a correspondent, a technical team and a satellite van in The Hague. The company is also preparing to broadcast other proceedings of interest during the examining of protected witness and during longer recesses in the Milosevic trial.

B92's program is rebroadcast by the more than thirty local television stations in the Association of Independent Electronic Media network. These same stations also rebroadcast other programs produced by B92 which deal with the issue of truth, responsibility and reconciliation and which shed light on the causes of wars and crime in the former Yugoslavia.

B92 began preparing for live coverage from The Hague a year ago by applying to a number of foundations and international organisations for assistance. This made it possible for us to be prepared when the trial began. We have already secured coverage of the trial for the next twelve months, thanks to IREX, an organisation which deals with improving the quality of media and information. This coverage will continue regardless of whether the domestic audience is interested in the trial or not. In addition to the live coverage, we also produce a program at 7.00 p.m. each day which is a review of the most important events at the Tribunal.

B92's editors believe that the trial itself, and all other proceedings against people from other nations, deserve the attention of people in Serbia as part of the process of facing the recent past and as one of the ways to learn the most important facts from our past. In the same way we shall also strive to cover trials in local courts once they begin. We shall also attempt to provide as much information as possible on the ways in which the proceedings are conducted, and also produce short critical analyses as part of our attempt to influence the proceedings in the sense of seeing to it that they be fair and correct. Regardless of the proceedings, the role of the media and journalists is to try, through professional investigative journalism, to assemble as many facts as possible which shed light on all the relevant events. Just how complete the picture of our past will be exactly depends on this, because it is clear that we won't get this picture just by watching the proceedings at the Tribunal.

In addition to the live coverage, B92 will also produce documentaries and organise ongoing debates on the crimes and the causes of violence. The "Wars 1991-1999" documentation centre operating within B92 is very important in this role. Its aim is to collect and preserve documentation on wars and the testimonies of those involved in them: soldiers and victims, silent observers and those who opposed the wars.

We are convinced that the processes of democratisation, reform and economic prosperity, the renaissance of the country, will be slowed down if we fail to face the evil of the past with a heavy dose of criticism and show our willingness to accept unpleasant truths about ourselves.

We shall do everything within the power of our profession to expedite those process which can improve the quality of life of each and every individual.

Veran Matic
 Editor in Chief RTV B92

van holst en steijnen

From: CDSM <cdsm_b@btopenworld.com>
To: <Undisclosed-Recipient:>
Sent: donderdag 21 maart 2002 10:54
Subject: Meeting in Belgrade

Dear friends,

Please find below details of the meeting in Belgrade this weekend and my presentation to the gathering.

Paul Davidson

**INTERNATIONAL ROUND TABLE
 NATO AGGRESSION - THREE YEARS AFTER
 DEFENSE OF PRESIDENT MILOSEVIC - DEFENSE OF YUGOSLAVIA**

- NATO tribunal as a weapon of aggression and terrorism
- NATO in alliance with Al Qaida and narco-mafia in Kosovo and Metohia
- Overcoming consequences of the NATO activities in the Balkans

BELGRADE, MARCH 23, 2002

Organizers: SPS Council for International Relations, Patriotic Alliance of Yugoslavia, Freedom Association, Belgrade Forum, Center for Peace and Tolerance, Women Forum, "Smisao" Theoretical Journal

Venue: Studentski Trg 15, Belgrade; Beginning: 10:00 a.m.

PRESENTATION BY PAUL DAVIDSON

Dear friends,

My name is Paul Davidson. I am a co-ordinator of the Committee to Defend Slobodan Milosevic in Britain. On behalf of that committee I thank the organisers of this conference for inviting me here, as a representative, and for making me welcome.

This is an intense moment for me. I have come here to meet with you, to listen and to learn. And we know that while we are deliberating here, President Milosevic remains behind those grey prison walls in The Hague. Surely it must be understood that this is an injustice. For those conditions are not conducive to his health, nor to his ability to conduct his defence. That is why we have called for his immediate release

They say that my own country, Britain, is governed according to civilised laws and procedures. But can they deny that were those same laws and procedures to be applied in this 'tribunal' in Holland, then the defendant would be immediately released from prison pending the outcome of his trial. Dare I say it that were the norms of international justice to have been applied in that court, the judge would have found already that there was no case to answer and would have dismissed the trial.

And those who prop up this sham court with political and military pressure and with grants of money are the same ones who lecture us on the virtues of justice and accuse the Serb people of being in denial of its own history. While the very fortress in which they hold President Milosevic is itself a testimony to their own past. Can civilised Europe be in denial of its own barbaric past?

How can this trial bring peace and reconciliation to The Balkans?

It is clear that there is a cross-section of our population that has deep suspicions about what our government and our media tell us with regard to the region of the Balkans. But I bring you greetings from a much smaller circle that makes up our committee. Our committee seeks to educate to the doubters and to organise them in defence of human rights to peace, progress and justice, which are universal rights. The preservation and enforcement of these universal rights is not based upon the unilateral intervention of the big powers but upon respect for national sovereignty and international law.

And therefore our target audience is rather large. For issues of national sovereignty and international law cut across the political spectrum of left and

right. And additionally the conditions in which your President remains imprisoned, even in illness, make this case one of human rights.

It gives me no pleasure to say that my country is one that has had much to do with the suffering of your people. It has been a prominent member of the NATO alliance that has used brute force to deny the Balkan peoples their rights to self-determination. Before it lectures others, my country has to face up to its own past and its present role, so that it will cease to be in denial of it. That is the process we have to engage in.

I want to express three thoughts to you. The first concerns our group. It concerns the question of why we set it up and what is our purpose.

We set up our defence committee in September 2001 shortly after the abduction (or what the CIA euphemistically calls "rendition") of President Milosevic. We organised ourselves in response to the fact that committees were being set up all over Europe and beyond Europe with the aim of defending President Milosevic. We founded our committee with four clear aims:

1. To support the stand that President Milosevic continues to take against the dismemberment of his nation.
2. To defend President Milosevic and all Serbia against the attack of the unjust tribunal at The Hague
3. To expose the illegitimacy of that tribunal and fight for its closure
4. To expose the context of NATO's colonial strategy in your region

We determined to work closely with the International Defence Committee.

For let us be clear, NATO is the alliance of which my country is part. We the citizens of Britain fund this NATO monster with the taxes we pay with every wage cheque we receive and with every purchase we make. Can we be in denial of this?

With those four simple yet noble aims in mind we seek to educate and organise that section of the public which deeply questions our government and our corporate media and hence which refuses to be in denial.

Secondly, what can we offer you? What do we bring to the table? We are not historians. We cannot feign to give an account of your complex history, even the contemporary history. We cannot assume the posture of the historian who is able to say with apparent certainty, that this and this happened but that this did not happen and to say who is responsible for what within the region. We are citizens of Britain and cannot write your history.

If a lie is told in our press we will attempt to expose it. If confusion is sewn we will try to cut through it. But it is not for us to define nor defend any one version of your history. That is your job, not ours. Our focus, which we share with you, is on universal values, justice, freedom and human rights, as they apply to the unjust, unfree and inhuman treatment of Slobodan Milosevic.

It is our own history we have to write. We have to give an account of our role in this injustice. For it was the British government in slavish obedience to our trans-Atlantic friends that has intervened time and time again in your region. Intervened not to bring peace and reconciliation but to promote war and injustice. We in the committee will not play that interventionist game, for any end.

And the so-called tribunal in little civilised and democratic Holland is nothing more than the extension of this policy of war by other means. As for the British judge who sits there and listens to the British prosecutor, the provocatively names Mr. Nice, these people are nothing but vigilantes in wigs. Can we be in denial of this?

Thirdly, where has all this policy of war and hatred taken us? We, the ordinary citizens of Britain have to ask ourselves in all honesty, what have we got out of it?

After ten years of intervention do we live in a more secure world? Three years after the bombing, where are the economic fruits for the ordinary people? Do we enjoy more trade? After fifteen years of unremitting propaganda, are we more educated or more ignorant? Have we learned anything new, or have we merely unlearned that which we once knew? Have we forgotten that the Serb people were our allies during six years of intense war against the Nazi tyranny. Can we be in denial of that?

I tell you that the ordinary people of my land have gained nothing from the destruction of yours. We come away the poorer, the more illiterate, the less cultured, the more barbaric, the less secure, the more controlled and the less law-bound . . . than WE previously were before this interventionism of the New World Order swept away whatever good sense we had.

And the court case at The Hague will bring us nothing. One can only imagine that its true purpose is not to bring peace and reconciliation to the peoples of the region but to further the cause of animosity and enflamed hatred. So, they keep stirring the pot.

Only where division rules can Empire rule.

Our mission can be therefore summed up in one simple phrase – to rescue foreign policy from a treasonous government and get OUR government off YOUR backs. And this for our own interests as it is for yours.

We in this committee have issued thousands of leaflets to our fellow citizens, during anti-war marches and civil protest. In the short space of six months we have issued press statements, given TV and radio interviews, published articles and letters in the media and established our own email list. We have held a public meeting of almost 100 people and raised money for the defence fund. We have made tentative progress to put questions in the arena of parliamentary politics. We have come here to join with you now, today.

But I can honestly tell you that we have not done enough.

This will be a long fight and there are those of us who are committed to it with our whole hearts It is in the name of those that I speak when I say, without hesitation

Freedom for President Milosevic!

Long live peace, justice and progress and true reconciliation between the peoples!

Thank you



- > Refer: "HOW THE MEDIA AND SCHOLARS WRITE ABOUT SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC" By
> Francisco Gil-White, Assistant Professor of Psychology at the University
of
> Pennsylvania. Fellow at the Soloman Asch Centre for Study of Ethnopolitical
Conflict published with Emperors Clothes at
> <http://emperors-clothes.com/milo/milosaid.html> (www). Also refer above
> Emperors Clothes Web sites.
>
> Copies of UN and other international agencies' reports which provide the
> truth about the war in Sarajevo to include quotes from UN Commanders
which
> pin point Bosnian Muslim forces responsibility for provoking war in that
> city - Who really held the city under siege - Who really were the snipers
of
> Sarajevo - Re Gorazde, the document "The Truth About Gorazde" 1994 by the
> Task Force on Terrorism & Unconventional Warfare House Republican
Research
> Committee US House of Representatives Washington. - Re Srebrenica, "The
> Truth About Srebrenica" - "The Truth About Omarska and Trnopolje" and so
on
> plus analysis of the UN/EU etc etc etc "Expert" reports on rape in
Bosnia
> conclude not 60,000 Muslim women victims as the media claimed but less
> than 300 rapes - 126 case reports were handed to the EU Commission by the
> Bosnian Muslim leadership - the other victims being Serb women raped in
20
> camps operated by Croatian and Bosnian Muslim forces in Bosnia, can be
> obtained from CDSM-Ireland E-mail: janekelly3@hotmail.com
>
> BOOKS OF VITAL IMPORTANCE now available from the International Action

23-3-2002

26-03-02

-
- > and the Belgrade Forum re your mass rallies and International Conferences
> this weekend - The 3rd Anniversary of the NATO aggression against the
> peoples of Yugoslavia.
> From Committee to Defend Slobodan Milosevic-Ireland
>
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- > Milosevic-Britain, the International Committee to Defend Slobodan
- > Milosevic
- > and the Belgrade Forum re your mass rallies and International Conferences
- > this weekend - The 3rd Anniversary of the NATO aggression against the
- > peoples of Yugoslavia.
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van holst en steijnen

From: CDSM <cdsm_b@btopenworld.com>
To: <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>
Sent: dinsdag 26 maart 2002 11:40
Subject: Sloba runs rings round his accusers

Slobo runs rings round his accusers

Adam Sage

Monday 25th March 2002

In his trial in The Hague, Milosevic, applying the old Marxist-Leninist view that politics is a trial of strength, plays brilliantly to world opinion. By Adam Sage

Slobodan Milosevic was smiling, Justice Richard May was scowling, the witness was fidgeting and the prosecutor was staring at his desk.

The former Yugoslavian dictator had been trying to discredit evidence given by Sabit Kadriu, a Kosovar human rights activist, and was preparing for his final assault.

He wanted to show that Kadriu had links to the Kosovo Liberation Army and that the Kosovo Liberation Army had links to Osama Bin Laden.

"This document," he said, pausing to wave a piece of paper above his water jug, "reveals the presence of the al-Qaeda network in Kosovo and Albania."

Kadriu, 41, tapped his foot nervously and spat out: "That's a figment of your imagination."

Milosevic beamed. "No, it's an FBI statement to Congress talking about al-Qaeda, that's what it is. It is dated 18 December. It shows that the mujahedin were active in Kosovo and that . . ."

May, the presiding judge from Britain, cut in. "Mr Milosevic, this is supposed to be a criminal trial and not some kind of general political occasion. You are meant to be cross-examining the witness, not making speeches."

Milosevic: "Dobro, dobro [all right]."

Both men have been through this before - several times a day, in fact, since the trial began on 12 February at the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia in The Hague, where Milosevic is accused of genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes.

Time and again, May orders Milosevic to stop developing political arguments. Time and again, Milosevic concurs with his customary "dobro, dobro", and then proceeds to develop a political argument. The 60-year-old ex-dictator is, after all, a communist apparatchik, and he applies those two Marxist-Leninist ideas that everything is political and that politics is a trial of strength.

He does not appear to hold out much hope of a not-guilty verdict at the end of what is expected to be a two-year hearing into massacres, deportations and persecutions in Croatia, Bosnia and Kosovo. In this, he may be right.

Yet the defendant is less concerned with the courtroom than with the "world opinion" that he evokes repeatedly. It is not clear whether he simply wants to sketch out his own political testament, or whether he hopes to emerge as a martyr of such heroic proportions that no country will accept him in its jails.

Whatever the truth, there is little doubt that he has so far outwitted a distinctly cumbersome prosecution team under the leadership of Carla Del Ponte from Switzerland. On the first day of the hearing, for instance, she accused him of orchestrating a decade of "medieval savagery" in the Balkans.

Her comment grabbed the headlines; but by focusing on the wider issue of Serbian atrocities, rather than on Milosevic's specific responsibility for them, she played straight into his hands.

"You are attacking a whole nation," he replied. "You are accusing all the Serbian people, inside and outside Serbia, who supported me and still support me to this day."

It was a bad start for the prosecution, and things have got worse since then. Milosevic, who is defending himself, is sharp, ruthless and domineering. He sits on the far side of a courtroom, shielded by bulletproof glass, perched on a blue swivel chair that gives him a clear view of prosecution witnesses for whom he shows not the slightest trace of compassion.

Agim Zeqiri, for instance, told of the murder of his wife and 15 of his relatives by Serbian forces at Celina, a small village in southern Kosovo, in March 1999. But faced with a gruelling cross-examination from Milosevic, he became confused, admitted that KLA gunmen had been present in the area on the day of the deaths, and finally pleaded with the judges to be allowed to leave.

Halit Barani, a Kosovar rights activist, then arrived in court with what he said was a Serb list of Kosovar Albanians "to eliminate". Milosevic took no time to spot the spelling mistakes in a document that he said could not have been written by a Serb-speaker, and which was therefore a forgery. Such victories, of which there have been many since 12 February, have boosted Milosevic's popularity in Serbia to such an extent that state television has stopped its daily half-hour broadcast from The Hague.

"This tribunal is allowing Milosevic to use his demagoguery and run the proceedings," said the Serbian prime minister, Zoran Djindjic. "It is a circus." Djindjic was exaggerating, but only a little.

For all his withering haughtiness, May is struggling to keep the most important international trial since Nuremberg within the boundaries of criminal law. The bench, for instance, is raised so that it can oversee proceedings, as in national jurisdictions. Yet such is the brute force of Milosevic's personality that other participants are often turned towards him, like pupils towards a teacher.

What they hear is a lesson in cunning cynicism. Milosevic claims, for instance, to be on his own, isolated from his family, his friends and his advisers by the international conspiracy against his country. In fact, he has two lawyers in The Hague, but they sit in the public gallery, out of view of the cameras that relay proceedings on the internet. He is at the centre of what can only be a powerful and wide-reaching support network.

One witness said he had been dismissed from his civil service job in Kosovo. Milosevic knew that he had, in fact, been given early retirement and was receiving a pension. Another said he had been fired as a train driver for speaking Albanian in 1990. Milosevic said he had been sacked after an accident three years earlier.

This information is coming from a unit set up in Belgrade by Milosevic's supporters, who appear to have unfettered access to Serbian secret service files. Milosevic telephones them several times a day as he prepares for prosecution witnesses. When he conducts his cross-examinations, he keeps his voice low, and drapes his arm over the chair beside him.

To date, just one prosecution witness has stood up the former Serbian strongman: Lord Ashdown. The Liberal Democrat peer came to tell the court of the ethnic cleansing he had witnessed in Kosovo in 1998, and of his subsequent meeting with Milosevic in Belgrade.

When the defendant tried to draw him into a broad debate over the Nato intervention in 1999, Kosovar terrorism and the supposed western conspiracy against Serbia, Lord Ashdown just laughed.

"I have heard some fantastic conspiracy theories from you, but this one exceeds all the others," he said. "The idea that this is some kind of hegemony by the west to run other countries is so far-fetched that I don't think even you believe it."

Milosevic, for once, was silenced.

van holst en steijnen

From: CDSM <cdsm_b@btopenworld.com>
To: <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>
Sent: woensdag 27 maart 2002 10:02
Subject: Milosevic trial streaming video

Subject: Milosevic trial streaming video

FYI -

* BARD COLLEGE has established a Web site that provides streaming video of the trial of Slobodan Milosevic, Yugoslavia's former president, who is accused of using torture and genocide in an attempt to create an ethnically pure Serbian nation.
--> SEE <http://chronicle.com/free/2002/03/2002032201t.htm>

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From: CDSM <cdsm_b@btopenworld.com>
To: <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>
Sent: maandag 1 april 2002 13:36
Subject: US ambassador shown Perisic surveillance video: Blic

> HOME - ARCHIVESB92, March 28, 2002
> US ambassador shown Perisic surveillance video: Blic
> 13:13 BELGRADE, Thursday - The US ambassador in Belgrade, William
> Montgomery, has been shown military security video footage of his first
> secretary, David Neighbor, meeting former Deputy Serbian Prime Minister
> Momcilo Perisic, Blic writes today.
> Quoting a reliable source, the Belgrade daily claims that, confronted with
> the evidence of contacts between Neighbor and Perisic, Montgomery
> commented
> "Thas what I was afraid of".
> Blis source claims that three tapes were shown to Montgomery and senior
> Belgrade officials. The crucial one, shot in Perisis apartment last
> November
> is alleged to show Perisic receiving money, counting it and signing a
> receipt.
> According to the source, Serbian Prime Minister Zoran Djindjic, on seeing
> this, remarked "Thers no more than a thousand Deutschmarks there".
>
>

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From: CDSM <cdsm_b@btopenworld.com>
To: <Undisclosed-Recipient:;>
Sent: maandag 1 april 2002 13:49
Subject: Damning admissions by Lord Ashdown

WSWS

The Milosevic trial: Damning admissions by former British Liberal Party leader Lord Ashdown

By Paul Mitchell
 27 March 2002

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Lord Paddy Ashdown was the first Western leader to appear as a prosecution witness in the trial of former Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic. He will in all probability be the only one to do so.

Ashdown was leader of the Liberal Democrat Party in Britain during the 1990s and will become the United Nations High Representative in Bosnia in May.

In April 1999 Ashdown said Milosevic was the "central problem" in Yugoslavia, repeating Western statements that the civil war in Kosovo had only one source—Milosevic's genocidal policies. He called for Milosevic's indictment at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and one month later Milosevic was indicted for war crimes.

Ashdown was called by the prosecution to give an eyewitness account of his four-day visit to the Suvo Reka Valley in Kosovo in September 1998. There he states that he saw 16 burned out villages and spoke to villagers hiding nearby who all told him similar stories—of how the Yugoslav Army had told them to leave their villages before shelling and looting them.

Ashdown said he then consulted with British officials, who agreed the Yugoslav Army action was against the Geneva Convention and could be considered a war crime. On the last day of that September 1998 visit he handed Milosevic a pre-prepared letter from British Prime Minister Tony Blair telling him to stop the "excessive and indiscriminate use of force" in Kosovo. In the courtroom at The Hague trial, Ashdown turned to Milosevic and said, "I said to you that if you took those steps and went on doing this you would end up in this court. And here you are."

Milosevic has defended the Yugoslav Army action, saying it was involved in a counter-insurgency campaign in Kosovo against a terrorist organization, the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA). He insists that anti-terrorist operations are standard practice in all Western countries and the "war against terrorism" has dominated Western policy since the September 11 attack on New York.

Therefore Ashdown's admission to the court that the KLA was a terrorist organisation was a setback for the prosecution. It prompted Milosevic to remark that Ashdown was the first witness to admit that fact. Ashdown also admitted to have seen substantial quantities of small arms being smuggled across the border from neighbouring Albania. Last year he had written that the "KLA rebellion in 1998" had lit "the fuse which led to war and NATO's intervention".

Whilst admitting that Yugoslav forces were engaged in a counter-insurgency operation, Ashdown's indictment of Milosevic was that the response to the KLA was an

over-reaction. The Yugoslav Army went in to "shoot cattle, burn houses, break the stoves in those houses, urinate on those houses," he said, comparing this to an "indiscriminate scorched earth policy of a kind not seen since the days of the German occupation".

Ashdown then drew an unfortunate contrast with the British Army, saying it "has never used tanks, artillery, looting and burning to drive people out of their homes, and if we did we would be before this court". When Milosevic tried to answer this statement by raising the British Army's role in Northern Ireland he was stopped by Judge Richard May because his reference to Bloody Sunday was deemed too "political". Milosevic was referring to the well-known incident when a peaceful civil rights march in 1972 was met by indiscriminate British gunfire that left 14 civilians dead. General Sir Michael Jackson, who led the British forces in Kosovo, was a captain and adjutant to the Parachute Regiment during Bloody Sunday. Ashdown himself served as a soldier in Belfast in 1970 and has written of how the army "arrive as heroes to the oppressed, but soon become the enemy who keeps them from their political ambitions."

At the trial Ashdown tried to prove Milosevic had a worked-out plan to carve up the Balkans by referring to the dinner he, Ashdown, had with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman in May 1995. Tudjman sketched a map of Yugoslavia on a menu and drew a line through Bosnia-Herzegovina saying that in 10 years time one part would belong to Croatia and the other part to Serbia. According to Ashdown, Tudjman and Milosevic seemed to have reached an agreement, but he did not give any direct evidence of Milosevic's involvement. Nor did he say if he ever called for Tudjman's indictment.

This story is of dubious pedigree in that it bears a somewhat remarkable similarity to a famous event some 50 years earlier. In October 1944, Joseph Stalin met with Winston Churchill to discuss post-World War II Europe. Sliding a slip of paper suggesting a 50:50 split of the Balkans across to Stalin, Churchill wrote, "There was a slight pause. Then he took his blue pencil and made a large tick upon it, and passed it back to us. It was all settled in no more time than it takes to set it down."

More important in some respects than the veracity of the events described by Ashdown is the fact that he should cite the late Franjo Tudjman at all as a reliable source. The evidence of Tudjman being an advocate of ethnic cleansing is not disputed. He served two jail terms in Tito's Yugoslavia for promoting Croatian nationalism and was an admirer of the Ustashe Nazi collaborators in World War Two. In his book entitled *Nationalism in Contemporary Europe*, Tudjman argued that Bosnia-Herzegovina should form part of Croatia because "together they comprise an indivisible, geographic and economic entity".

After Bosnia declared independence in 1992 and a civil war broke out, audiotapes record Tudjman talking about "cleansing" the area around Baranja. In 1995, having rearmed in contravention of a UN arms embargo, and with secret US support, Croatia launched Operation Storm, a bloody offensive resulting in at least 250,000 Serb refugees fleeing out of the Krajina region and establishing Croatian control over much of Bosnia. It remains the greatest single instance of ethnic cleansing in the Balkan conflict.

Rather belatedly, British Foreign Office Minister Tony Lloyd explained to a Parliamentary Committee in 2000, that the Balkan region was dominated by Tudjman "and if anyone deserved to appear before the war crimes tribunal alongside Milosevic, it was him. I regret to say, however, that he did not."

According to the report published by the same committee, it was Milosevic who—with the encouragement of the West—went to the Bosnian Serb Parliament in 1993 to persuade it, unsuccessfully, to accept the Vance-Owen plan. Drawn up by another Liberal Democrat leader, Lord David Owen and US envoy Cyrus Vance, the plan envisaged Bosnia being divided up into 10 autonomous provinces or cantons based largely along ethnic lines. Of Milosevic, Owen said he was "heading towards leading Serbia back into the European family. I have no doubt of that." Milosevic was also, "used as an instrument to

bring about Dayton"—referring to the Dayton-Paris Accord that divided Bosnia into two areas—a Croat-Muslim Federation and Bosnian Serb Republic two years later.

In the midst of all this, Ashdown was dining with Tudjman, a guest of the British government, at a banquet in London to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the defeat of Japan in World War II.

At the trial, Milosevic drew attention to the extraordinary level of activity that Ashdown—the leader of a small opposition party in Britain—displayed in the Balkans. As a young man, Ashdown served in the Royal Marines and the Special Boat Service—the navy's equivalent of the SAS. Afterwards he is supposed to have worked for the British intelligence service MI6, whilst serving as First Secretary of the British mission to the United Nations in Geneva. Towards the end of his career as Liberal Democrat leader in the late 1990s, he made several expenses-paid trips to Yugoslavia courtesy of George Soros's Open Society Institute. The pro-capitalist, free market institute operates mainly in former Stalinist countries and boasts of the "exceptional levels of cooperation and coordination" between Western institutions in the Yugoslav election campaign in 2000, which led to the overthrow of Milosevic.

What service did he perform for the Soros foundation and the British government? Although he poses as protector of the Kosovars and a humanitarian envoy—he gave evidence to The Hague with tears in his eyes—Ashdown will be remembered as the most bellicose and consistent advocate of a full-scale ground war and occupation in the Balkans. A recent Economist article entitled Paddy Ashdown, latest proconsul: Must outsiders run the Balkans indefinitely? (a proconsul was a military governor in the Roman Empire) described Ashdown's calls for a stronger military presence in the early 1990s in the Balkans when European governments "dithered".

In 1999 Ashdown warned the British parliament about the conflict in Kosovo. He said there would not be a "durable and sustainable peace" unless the Western powers established "by law or in fact, an international protectorate." He explained that, "Rambouillet is one way to do that, but if Milosevic will not agree we shall do it anyway. The only way to do that and to secure peace is to have troops on the ground."

Last summer—as the threat of civil war grew in Macedonia—Ashdown said, "If the West is to extract peace out of this witches brew, it will only be by taking the initiative." He called for a "third major NATO deployment" and "a wider regional settlement—a Dayton for the southern Balkans and an end to the practice of solving its problems through conflict and piecemeal resolution. I hope that the British government will lead the way towards the West playing a more proactive role"

Ashdown speaks at The Hague as an advocate of imperialist militarism in the Balkans and elsewhere. In 2000, he published an article in the Independent newspaper calling for a European rapid-reaction force. Ashdown argued: "Yet today Europe undoubtedly is a power, even a superpower. It has the world's second most powerful currency and arguably the world's biggest single market. And so it has an economic space to protect and interests to pursue. That is why it speaks in most of the world's fora with one European voice ... where its vital interests and powers can be affected. It is why Europe has to care about what goes on around its borders (as it did with regard to the Balkans) and why, sooner or later, we are going to wake up to the fact that we cannot rely any longer on the US' willingness to risk its young citizens' lives and its taxpayers' money bailing out Europe in its own backyard."

In February this year Ashdown complained about George W. Bush turning the US into a "lone star nation" and insisted that September 11 was a temporary plaster over growing cracks in US-European relations. "It is simply inevitable," he wrote, "that the competition for spheres of influence and trading advantage between these two is bound to increase—unless we can provide a framework which manages that competition and guards against outright confrontation."

These statements show Ashdown is well aware that self-interest

and spheres of influence are the raison d'être of Western policy makers and that his claims to a humanitarian impulse for Britain, the US and Europe in their conflict with Milosevic is rank nonsense. When General Michael Jackson assumed control of KFOR troops, he told the media, "[We] will certainly remain here for a long time so that we can also guarantee the security and energy corridors which traverse this country."

Yet Ashdown was bold enough to answer Milosevic's accusation that the West has tried to "enslave the Balkans" ever since the First World War with the statement, "I have heard some fantastic conspiracy theories from you, but I think this is one which will exceed all others. The idea that it is some great conspiracy of hegemony by Western powers to run other countries is I think so far-fetched that I cannot even believe you believe it." His ability to do so with a straight face is testament to the depth of hypocrisy routinely employed by imperialist politicians and a priori apologia for his coming role as the new High Representative in Bosnia.

»Der Nationalismus ist das schlimmste Problem«

Was Milosevic 1989 auf dem Amselfeld wirklich gesagt hat – und wie es in Deutschland verfälscht wird

Zu den Propagandastandards für die Rechtfertigung des Kriegs gegen Jugoslawien gehört die Lüge über den großserbischen Nationalismus, dessen Verwirklichung Slobodan Milosevic in einer Rede auf dem Amselfeld (Kosovo Polje) am 28. Juni 1989 annonciert habe. So behauptete Rudolf Scharping auf dem SPD-Kriegsparteitag im April 1999: »1989 hat Milosevic auf dem Amselfeld eine Rede gehalten und ein ethnisch reines Großserbien verkündet.« Zur gleichen Zeit schrieb der »Spiegel«: »Auf der 600-Jahr-Feier der Amselfeld-Schlacht hämmerte Milosevic 1989 Hunderttausenden geschichtseligen Landsleuten ein, daß sie »vor weiteren Kämpfen« stünden. Zwei Jahre später fielen in Slowenien, das mit solchen Serben nichts mehr zu tun haben wollte, die ersten Schüsse des neuen Balkankrieges.«

Die Auslieferung des »Schlächters« (»Bild«, »Hamburger Morgenpost« und andere über Milosevic) nach Den Haag just am 12. Jahrestag der Rede haben die deutschen Medien für eine Neuaufgabe dieser Behauptungen genutzt. ARD und ZDF berichteten übereinstimmend, »der Diktator« habe seinen Landsleuten damals ein »Großserbien versprochen« und in den folgenden zehn Jahren »vier Kriege geführt, um dieses Versprechen einzulösen«. »Mit dieser Rede mobilisierte Milosevic die serbischen Nationalisten für die Kriege in Kroatien, Bosnien und im Kosovo,« schrieb die »Tageszeitung«. Auch in der »Frankfurter Rundschau« hieß es, Milosevic habe seinen Auftritt genutzt, um »Krieg als mögliches Mittel zur Erreichung der serbischen Ziele anzukündigen«.

Daß diese Darstellungen nicht der Wahrheit entsprechen, kann man hier nachlesen: **KONKRET** veröffentlicht erstmals die angebliche Brandrede in voller Länge auf deutsch. Die Fassung der »FAZ« vom Juni 1999 unterschlug wesentliche Passagen – diese werden im folgenden durch Kursivierung kenntlich gemacht – und enthielt insbesondere am Schluß einige tendenziöse Fehler.

Die Rede

An diesem Ort, im Herzen Serbiens, auf dem Kosovo Polje, hat vor sechs Jahrhunderten, vor genau 600 Jahren, eine der größten Schlachten aller Zeiten stattgefunden. Fragen und Geheimnisse haben dieses Geschehen wie viele andere große Ereignisse begleitet, es wurde Gegenstand ununterbrochener wissenschaftlicher Untersuchungen und nicht zuletzt auch der Neugier des Volkes. Durch soziale Umstände bedingt, findet das große 600jährige Jubiläum der Kosovo-Schlacht in einem Jahr statt, in dem Serbien nach vielen Jahrzehnten seine staatliche, nationale und geistige Integrität wiedergefunden hat. So fällt es uns heute nicht schwer, die Frage zu beantworten: Wie werden wir vor Milos¹ auftreten? Wie das Leben und die Geschichte spielen, sieht es so aus, als ob Serbien gerade 1989 seinen Staat und seine Würde wiedergewonnen hat, um

¹ Der serbische Adlige Milos Obilic brachte in der Schlacht 1389 den türkischen Sultan um und gilt seither als Nationalheld (Anm. d. Red.)

das historische Ereignis fern der Vergangenheit zu feiern, das für Serbien sowohl symbolisch als auch historisch eine große Bedeutung für die Zukunft hat.

Heute ist schwer zu sagen, was bei der Kosovo-Schlacht historische Fakten sind und was zur Legende gehört. *Aber das ist auch nicht mehr wichtig.* Erfüllt von Schmerzen, aber auch von Hoffnung, ist das Volk gewöhnt, sich zu erinnern, ganz wie es eigentlich auch bei anderen Völkern der Fall ist. Das Volk hat sich wegen des Verrates geschämt, hat aber auch die Tapferkeit gepriesen. Deshalb ist heute schwer zu sagen, ob die Kosovo-Schlacht eine Niederlage oder ein Sieg für das serbische Volk war, ob wir als Folge der Niederlage in die Sklaverei kamen oder ob wir aus dieser Niederlage gelernt haben, die Zeiten der Sklaverei zu überleben. Die Antworten auf diese Frage suchen das Volk und die Wissenschaft unablässig. Was aber nach all diesen Jahrhunderten, die hinter uns liegen, Gewißheit geworden ist, das ist die Tatsache, daß wir auf dem Kosovo Polje vor 600 Jahren unsere Uneinigkeit erfahren mußten.

Wenn wir eine Niederlage auf dem Kosovo Polje erlitten haben, dann war das kein Ergebnis der gesellschaftlichen oder militärischen Überlegenheit des Osmanischen Reiches, sondern Ergebnis der tragischen Uneinigkeit an der Spitze des serbischen Staates. Damals, im fern 1389, war das Osmanische Reich nicht nur stärker als das serbische Königreich, sondern auch glücklicher. Uneinigkeit und Verrat im Kosovo haben das serbische Volk weiter als böses Schicksal durch seine ganze Geschichte hindurch begleitet. Auch im letzten Krieg haben Uneinigkeit und Verrat das serbische Volk und Serbien in eine Agonie geführt, deren geschichtliche und moralische Konsequenzen die der faschistischen Aggression übertroffen haben.

Auch später, nach der Gründung des sozialistischen Jugoslawiens, war die Spitze der serbischen Führung in diesem neuen Land uneinig und neigte zu Kompromissen auf dem Rücken des eigenen Volkes. Die Zugeständnisse, die viele der serbischen Führer zum Nachteil des eigenen Volkes machten, wären weder historisch noch ethisch von irgendeinem Volk auf der Welt akzeptiert worden. Dies gilt um so mehr, als die Serben während ihrer ganzen Geschichte niemals Eroberer oder Ausbeuter waren. Das nationale und historische Wesen der Serben in ihrer ganzen Geschichte, insbesondere auch während der beiden Weltkriege, war die Befreiung von Knechtschaft und das Leben in Freiheit, und so bleibt es auch heute. Die Serben haben sich immer wieder selbst befreit und, wenn es ihnen möglich war, halfen sie auch anderen, sich zu befreien. Und die Tatsache, daß sie in dieser Region als ein großes Volk gelten, ist doch keine Schande und keine Sünde. Es ist ein Vorteil, den sie niemals gegen andere ausspielten. Aber ich muß sagen, hier auf diesem legendären Kosovo Polje, daß die Serben diesen Vorteil auch niemals zu ihrem eigenen Wohl genutzt haben.

Den serbischen Politikern und Führern und deren Vasallenmentalität ist zu verdanken, daß die Serben Schuldgefühle den anderen und sich selber gegenüber hatten. Die Uneinigkeit der serbischen Politik hat Serbien zurückgeworfen, und deren Inferiorität hat Serbien gedemütigt. Das ging so über Jahre und Jahrzehnte. Wir sind heute hier auf das Kosovo Polje gekommen, um zu sagen, daß heute die Dinge anders liegen. *Es gibt keinen anderen, keinen geeigneteren Ort als Kosovo Polje, um zu sagen, daß die Einigkeit in Serbien dem serbischen Volk, den Serben und jedem Bürger Serbiens, unabhängig von seiner nationalen und religiösen Zugehörigkeit, Wohlstand bringen wird.*

Serbien ist heute geeint und anderen Republiken gleichgestellt. Es ist bereit, alles zu tun, um das materielle und soziale Leben aller seiner Bürger zu verbessern. Mit Verständnis füreinander, mit Zusammenarbeit und Geduld wird Serbien dabei erfolgreich sein. Deshalb ist auch der Optimismus mit Blick auf die Zukunft, wie er heute allenthalben in Serbien festzustellen ist, durchaus gerechtfertigt. *Dieser Optimismus basiert auf der Freiheit, die allen Menschen ermöglicht, positive, kreative und humanitäre Fähigkeiten zum Wohl der gesamten Gesellschaft und auch zum eigenen Wohl zu entfalten.*

In Serbien haben niemals nur Serben gelebt. Heute leben in diesem Lande mehr als jemals zuvor Bürger anderer Völker und Nationalitäten. Und das ist natürlich kein Nachteil für Serbien. Im Gegenteil: Es ist ein Vorteil Serbiens. *In diesem Sinne ändert sich die nationale Zusammensetzung auch in anderen Ländern, insbesondere in den hochentwickelten Ländern der Welt. Immer mehr und immer erfolgreicher leben Bürger verschiedener Nationen und verschiede-*

Religionen in einem gemeinsamen Land zusammen. Im besonderen Maße soll der Sozialismus als eine progressive, demokratische Gesellschaft die Menschen zusammenführen und dazu beitragen, deren Trennung nach nationaler oder religiöser Zugehörigkeit zu überbrücken. Der einzig maßgebende Unterschied zwischen den Menschen im Sozialismus sollte der Unterschied zwischen denen sein, die arbeiten, und denen, die nicht arbeiten wollen. Zwischen Menschen, die füreinander da sind und sich gegenseitig achten, und solchen, die keinen Respekt vor ihren Mitmenschen haben. Die Bürger Serbiens, die von ihrer eignen Arbeit leben, verdienen die Achtung aller, sie müssen einander respektieren, unabhängig von ihrer nationalen Zugehörigkeit. Gerade auf solchen Prinzipien der gegenseitigen Achtung und des gegenseitigen Respekts basiert unser Land.

Jugoslawien ist eine multinationale Einheit und kann nur überleben, wenn völlige Gleichberechtigung zwischen allen im Land lebenden Nationen hergestellt wird. Die Krise, die Jugoslawien getroffen hat, hat sowohl nationale als auch soziale, kulturelle und religiöse Zwietracht hervorgebracht. Dabei ist der Nationalismus das schlimmste Problem. Ihn zu überwinden ist die Voraussetzung dafür, die anderen Mißstände zu beseitigen und die Konsequenzen zu mildern, die sie hervorgebracht haben.

Seit dem Bestehen von multinationalen Gesellschaften war deren Schwachstelle immer das Verhältnis zwischen den einzelnen Nationen. Es besteht die Gefahr, daß die Frage der angeblichen Bedrohung einer Nation durch eine andere aufgeworfen werden kann, was wiederum zu einer Welle von Verdächtigungen, Anschuldigungen und Intoleranz führen kann, einer Welle, die unaufhaltsam wächst und sehr schwer zu stoppen ist. Diese Gefahr bedrohte uns die ganze Zeit. Innere und äußere Feinde multinationaler Gesellschaften wissen das und tun alles, sie durch das Anstacheln nationaler Konflikte zu zerstören. Wir verhalten uns gegenwärtig in Jugoslawien so, als ob wir nie zuvor solche tragischen nationalen Konflikte, die die Existenz unserer Gesellschaft in Frage stellen, zu ertragen gehabt hätten.

Gleichberechtigte und harmonische Beziehungen zwischen den jugoslawischen Völkern sind die unabdingbaren Voraussetzungen für das Überleben Jugoslawiens, die einzige Möglichkeit, aus der gegenwärtigen Krise einen Ausweg zu finden, vor allem um ökonomische und soziale Prosperität für das Land zu erreichen. In dieser Hinsicht unterscheidet sich Jugoslawien nicht von anderen Ländern der Welt, und insbesondere nicht von den entwickelten Ländern.

Die heutige Welt zeichnet sich immer stärker durch Toleranz, Kooperation und Gleichberechtigung zwischen den Nationen aus. Die moderne ökonomische, technologische, aber auch politische und kulturelle Entwicklung führt die Menschen verschiedener Nationen zueinander, macht die Völker voneinander abhängig und trägt Zug um Zug zu ihrer Gleichberechtigung bei. Zur Zivilisation, der die Menschheit zustrebt, haben vor allem die gleichberechtigten und vereinten Völker Zutritt. Auch wenn wir nicht an der Spitze dieses Weges in die Zivilisation sein können, so möchten wir doch auch nicht die letzten sein.

Zur Zeit der großen historischen Schlacht auf dem Kosovo Polje blickten die Menschen hinauf zu den Sternen, von denen sie sich das Heil erhofften. Jetzt, sechs Jahrhunderte später, blicken sie wieder hinauf zu diesen Sternen – um sie zu erobern (»FAZ«: »... und bitten für den Sieg«). Und auf jeden Fall dürfen sie sich heute nicht mehr erlauben, uneinig zu sein und sich von Haß und Verrat leiten zu lassen, leben sie doch nicht mehr in kleinen, schwachen und kaum miteinander verbundenen Welten. Heute können die Menschen dieses Planeten nicht einmal ihren eigenen Planeten erobern, geschweige denn andere Planeten, solange sie nicht in Harmonie und Solidarität leben.

Gerade deshalb haben auf dem Amselfeld, dem Symbol der Uneinigkeit und des Verrats, vielleicht wie nirgendwo sonst auf dem Boden unseres Heimatlandes die Worte Einigkeit, Solidarität und Gemeinsamkeit so viel Sinn. Diese Uneinigkeit, die für die Niederlage in der Schlacht verantwortlich war und auch für das unglückliche

Schicksal, das Serbien ganze fünf Jahrhunderte lang ertragen mußte, ist im Gedächtnis des serbischen Volkes und wird es bleiben. Auch wenn es mit den historischen Gegebenheiten nicht unbedingt übereinstimmen mag, so bleibt doch die Gewißheit, daß das Volk seine Uneinigkeit als seine größte Tragödie erlebt hat. Deshalb haben wir die unbedingte Verpflichtung, die Uneinigkeit zu überwinden – das ist die unbedingte Voraussetzung, um künftig Niederlagen, Mißerfolge und Stagnation durchzustehen.

Das Volk in Serbien ist sich in diesem Jahr bewußt geworden, daß es seine innere Einheit als unverzichtbare Voraussetzung für das heutige Leben und seine weitere Entwicklung finden muß. Ich bin überzeugt, daß Serbien aufgrund dieses Bewußtseins der Einigkeit nicht nur als Staat, sondern auch als erfolgreicher Staat leben wird. Deshalb, so denke ich, macht es doch Sinn, gerade hier auf dem Kosovo Polje, wo einmal Uneinigkeit auf tragische Weise und für Jahrhunderte Serbien zurückgeworfen hat, zu sagen, daß nur die

Einheit uns die Kraft geben wird, Serbien zu erneuern und die Würde zurückzuerlangen. Und dieses Bewußtsein von der inneren Einigkeit stellt auch für Jugoslawien eine Notwendigkeit dar, weil das Schicksal Jugoslawiens in den Händen aller seiner Völker liegt.

Die Kosovo-Schlacht ist auch ein Symbol für Tapferkeit. Das drückt sich in Gedichten, Legenden, in der Literatur und in Erzählungen aus. Die Helden des Kosovo inspirieren seit sechs Jahrhunderten unsere Kreativität, sie nähren unseren Stolz, sie lehren uns, nicht zu vergessen, daß es einmal eine Armee gegeben hat, die tapfer und stolz war – eine der wenigen, die trotz der Niederlage nicht verloren hat. Sechs Jahrhunderte später stehen heute wieder Kämpfe bevor. (»FAZ«: »Sechs Jahrhunderte später befinden wir uns wieder in Kriegen ...«) Es sind keine bewaffneten Kämpfe (»FAZ«: »Schlachten«), die wir auszutragen haben, obwohl auch solche nicht auszuschließen sind. Aber unabhängig davon, welche Kämpfe uns bevorstehen, sie können nicht ohne Entschlossenheit, Tapferkeit und Aufopferung gewonnen werden, also nicht ohne die guten Eigenschaften, die man auch damals auf dem Kosovo Polje demonstrierte.

Unser heutiger Kampf zielt auf die Verwirklichung der ökonomischen, politischen, kulturellen, der umfassenden Prosperität unseres Landes. Und dieser Kampf wird um so erfolgreicher sein, je mehr wir uns der Zivilisation nähern, in der die Menschheit im 21. Jahrhundert leben wird. Auch für einen solchen Kampf brauchen wir Tapferkeit. Natürlich eine andere Art von Tapferkeit. Es bleibt aber eine Herzensangelegenheit, ohne die nichts auf der Welt, nichts Ernsthaftes, nichts wirklich Großes erreicht werden kann. Eine Tapferkeit, die aus dem Herzen kommt und immer für die Menschheit lebensnotwendig bleiben wird.

Vor 600 Jahren verteidigte Serbien hier auf dem Kosovo Polje tapfer nicht nur sich selbst, sondern auch Europa. Serbien stand damals für die Verteidigung europäischer Kultur, Religion und der europäischen Gesellschaft insgesamt. Deshalb ist es heute ungerrecht und im Widerspruch zur Geschichte, ja es ist sogar absurd, die Zugehörigkeit Serbiens zu Europa in Zweifel zu ziehen. Serbien gehört zu Europa, heute wie in der Vergangenheit, und zwar auf eine Art und Weise, die seiner Würde und seinem Wesen entspricht. In diesem Geiste möchten wir heute eine Gesellschaft aufbauen, die reich und demokratisch ist. Dadurch wollen wir zum Wohlergehen unserer Kinder und unseres Landes beitragen, das heute völlig zu Unrecht leiden muß. Wir wollen das Unsere tun, um das Streben aller progressiven Menschen unserer Zeit nach einer neuen, schöneren Welt zu unterstützen.

Die Erinnerungen an die Tapferkeit der Kosovo-Helden soll ewig leben!
Hoch lebe Serbien!
Hoch lebe Jugoslawien!
Hoch lebe der Frieden, hoch lebe die Brüderlichkeit zwischen den Völkern!

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