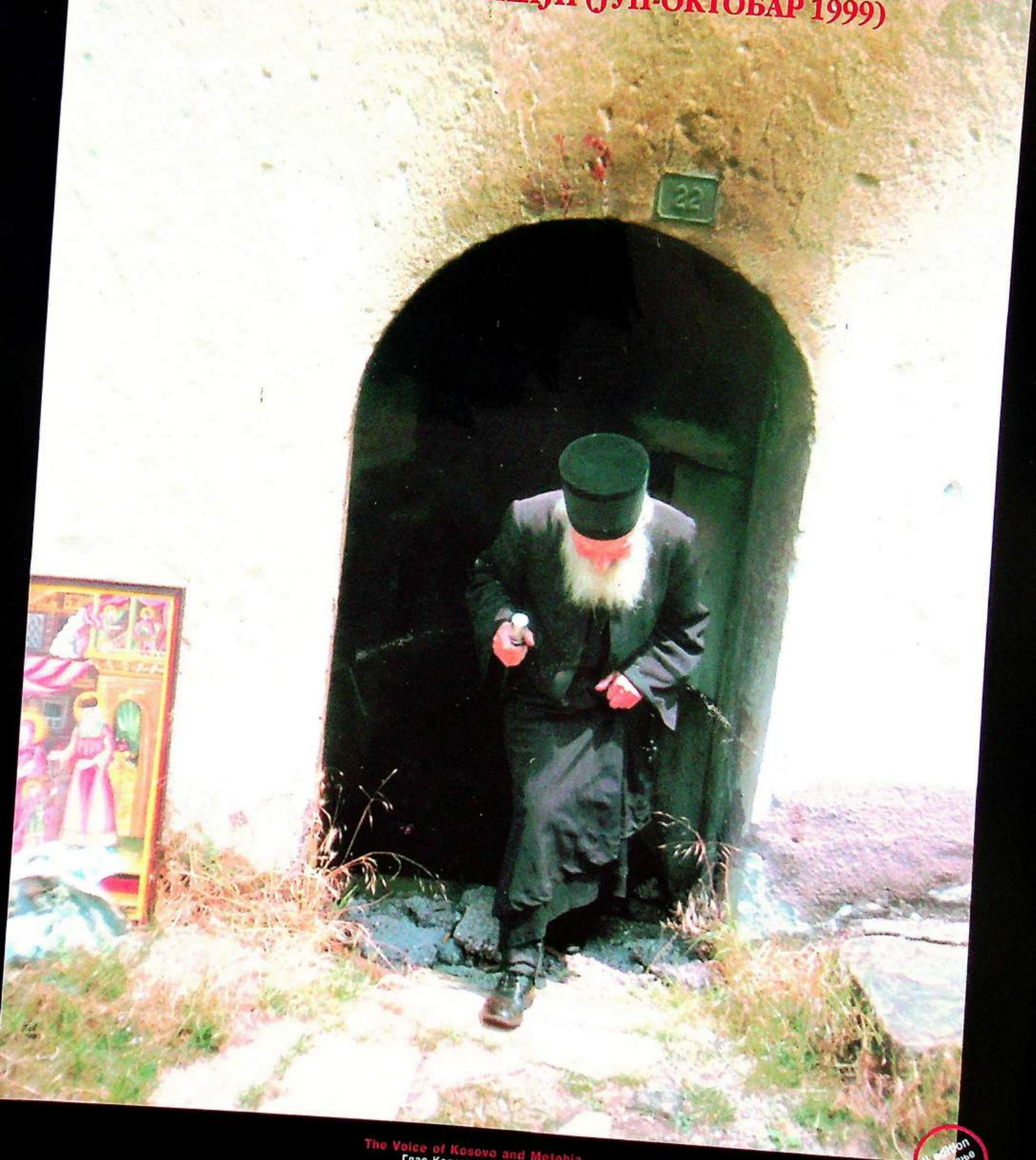


CRUCIFIED KOSOVO

DESTROYED AND DESECRATED SERBIAN ORTHODOX CHURCHES
IN KOSOVO AND METOHIA (JUNE-OCTOBER 1999)

РАСПЕТО КОСОВО

УНИШТЕНЕ И ОСКРНАВЉЕНЕ СРПСКЕ ПРАВОСЛАВНЕ ЦРКВЕ
НА КОСОВУ И МЕТОХИЈИ (ЈУН-ОКТОБАР 1999)



CRUCIFIED KOSOVO: DESTROYED AND DESECRATED SERBIA ORTHODOX CHURCHES IN KOSOVO AND METOHIA (JUNE-OCTOBER 1999)

РАСПЕТО КОСОВО: УНИШТЕНЕ И ОСКРНАВЉЕНЕ СРПСКЕ ПРАВОСЛАВНЕ ЦРКВЕ НА КОСОВУ И МЕТОХИЈИ (ЈУН-ОКТОБАР 1999)

The list contains: A) NAME AND LOCATION OF THE CHURCH; B) EIGHT PHASES OF DESTRUCTION (I Shell-shocked monuments; II Looting of movable treasure; III Desecrating shrines; IV Burning of shrines and adjacent buildings; V First mining; VI Mining of the left-overs; VII Removing of the remains; VIII Terrain clearance and removal of all traces of existence) C) CHURCH FOUNDATION DATE

Следећи списак садржи: А) НАЗИВ И МЕСТО ЦРКВЕ, Б) ФАЗЕ УНИШТЕЊА (I Растрешеност објеката; II Пљачка покретног блага; III Скрнављење светиња; IV Палење храмова и пратећих објеката; V Прво минирање; VI Минирање преосталог; VII Разношење остатака; VIII Чишћење терена и уклањање трагова постојања.) и В) ВЕК НАСТАНКА ХРАМА.

1	THE HOLY TRINITY MONASTERY, Mušutište near Suva Reka / Манастир Свете Тројице у Мушутисту поред Суве Реке	I II III IV V VI VII	14 th
2	THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY VIRGIN, Mušutište near Suva Reka / ЦРКВА ПРЕСВЕТЕ БОГОРОДИЦЕ у Мушутисту поред Суве Реке	I II III IV V VI VII	14 th
3	ST MARK'S OF KORIŠA MONASTERY, Koriša near Prizren / Манастир св. Марка, у Кориши крај Призрена	I II III IV V VI	15 th
4	ST GABRIEL'S MONASTERY, Binač near Vitina / Манастир св. Архангела Гаврила у Биначу поред Витине	I II III IV	14 th
5	DEVIČ MONASTERY near Srbica / Манастир Девич поред Србице	I II III	15 th
6	ST UROŠ'S MONASTERY Šarenik, G. Nerodimlje / Манастир св. Уроша, Шареник, Г. Неродимље	I II III IV V VI	14 th
7	THE MONASTERY OF ST ARCHANGELS, Gornje Nerodimlje / Манастир св. Арханђела, Горње Неродимље	I II III IV V	14 th
8	ST NICHOLAS' OF THE SUMMER CHURCH, Donje Nerodimlje / ЦРКВА Св. НИКОЛЕ ЛЕЋЕГ, Доње Неродимље	I II III IV V	20 th
9	ST STEPHEN CHURCH, Donje Nerodimlje / ЦРКВА Св. СТЕФАНА, Доње Неродимље	I II III IV V	20 th (14 th)
10	THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY VIRGIN, Dolac near Klina / ЦРКВА ВАВЕДЕЊА БОГОРОДИЦЕ у Долцу поред Клине	I II III IV V VI	14 th
11	ST NICHOLAS' CHURCH, Slovinje near Lipljan / ЦРКВА Св. НИКОЛЕ у Словињу код Липљана	I II III IV V	16 th
12	THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY APOSTLES PETER and PAUL, Suva Reka / ЦРКВА СВЕТИХ АПОСТОЛА ПЕТРА И ПАВЛА у Сувој Реци	I II III IV V VI	20 th
13	THE HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, Petrič near Peć / ЦРКВА СВЕТЕ ТРОЈИЦЕ у Петричу поред Пећи	I II III IV V VI	20 th
14	THE HOLY VIRGIN CHURCH, Belo Polje near Peć / ЦРКВА ВАВЕДЕЊА ПРЕСВЕТЕ БОГОРОДИЦЕ у Белом Пољу поред Пећи	I II III IV	16 th
15	ST UROŠ'S CATHEDRAL, Uroševac / КАТЕДРАЛНА ЦРКВА Св. УРОША у Урошевцу	I II III IV	20 th
16	ST ELIJAH'S CHURCH, Vučitrn / ЦРКВА Св. ИЛИЈЕ у Вучитрну	I II III IV	19 th
17	ST JOHN THE BAPTIST CHURCH, Samodreža near Vučitrn / ЦРКВА СВЕТОГ ЈОВАНА ПРЕТЕЧЕ у Самодрежи поред Вучитрна	I II III IV V VI	20 th (14 th)
18	ST PARASCEVA'S CHURCH, Drsnik near Peć / ЦРКВА Св. ПАРАСКЕВЕ у Дрснику код Пећи	I II III IV	16 th
19	THE HOLY VIRGIN CHURCH, Naklo near Peć / БОГОРОДИЧИНА ЦРКВА, село Накло код Пећи	I II III IV	20 th
20	THE HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, Velika Reka near Vučitrn / ЦРКВА СВЕТЕ ТРОЈИЦЕ у Великој Реци поред Вучитрна	I II III IV V	20 th
21	THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY APOSTLES, Petrovac near Kos. Kamenica / ЦРКВА Св. АПОСТОЛА у Петровцу код Косовске Каменице	I II III IV	20 th
22	THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY VIRGIN, Podgorce, near Vitina / ЦРКВА Св. БОГОРОДИЦЕ у селу Подгорце код Витине	I II III IV	20 th
23	ST JOHN THE BAPTIST CHURCH, Pečka Banja / ЦРКВА ЗАЧЕЋА Св. ЈОВАНА ПРЕТЕЧЕ у Пећкој Бањи	I II III IV	20 th
24	THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY VIRGIN, Đurakovac near Peć / ЦРКВА ПРЕСВЕТЕ БОГОРОДИЦЕ у Ђураковцу	I II III	20 th
25	THE HOLY TRINITY CATHEDRAL, Đakovica / ЦРКВА СВЕТЕ ТРОЈИЦЕ у Ђаковици	I II III IV V VI	20 th
26	ST NICHOLAS' CHURCH, Osojane near Peć / ЦРКВА Св. НИКОЛЕ у селу Осојане код Пећи	I II III	20 th
27	ST ELIJAH'S CHURCH, Bistražin near Đakovica / ЦРКВА Св. ИЛИЈЕ у Бистражину поред Ђаковице	I II III	20 th
28	ST DEMETRIOS' CHURCH, Siga, near Peć / ЦРКВА Св. ДИМИТРИЈА у Сиги код Пећи	I II III IV V	20 th

Number of destroyed and desecrated Serbian shrines in different zones of responsibility of KFOR units deployed in Kosovo and Metohia (total 76)
Број оскрнављених и уништених српских светиња по зонама одговорности КФОР-а на Косову и Метохији (укупно 76)

21		USA / САД
21		Italija / Италија
17		Germany / Немачка
10		United Kingdom / В. Британија
7		France / Француска

29	ST ELIJAH'S PARISH CHURCH, Žegra near Gnjilane / ПАРОХИЈСКА ЦРКВА Св. ИЛИЈЕ у селу Жегра код Ђиљана	I II III IV	20 th
30	THE CHURCH OF HOLY COSMAS AND DAMIAN, Novake near Prizren / ЦРКВА СВЕТИХ ВРАЧА КОЗМЕ И ДАМЈАНА у селу Новаке	I II III IV V	20 th
31	THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY VIRGIN, Veliko Kruševu / ЦРКВА ВАВЕДЕЊА ПРЕСВЕТЕ БОГОРОДИЦЕ у Великом Крушеву	I II III IV	20 th
32	ZOČIŠTE MONASTERY & THE CHURCH OF HOLY COSMAS AND DAMIAN / Манастир Зочиште и ЦРКВА Св. ВРАЧА КУЗМАНА И ДАМЈАНА	I II III IV V	14 th
33	THE PARISH CHURCH, Grmovo, near Vitina / ПАРОХИЈСКА ЦРКВА у селу Грмово код Витине	I II III IV V VI	20 th
34	ST NICHOLAS' CHURCH, Kijevo near Klina / ЦРКВА Св. НИКОЛЕ у Кијеву код Клине	I II III IV V VI	14 th
35	ST MARK'S CHURCH, Klina / ЦРКВА Св. МАРКА, Клина	I II III IV V	20 th
36	ST NICHOLAS' CHURCH, Ljubižda near Prizren / ЦРКВА Св. НИКОЛЕ, Љубижда код Призрена	I II III IV V	16 th
37	ST ELIJAH'S CHURCH, Ljubižda near Prizren / ЦРКВА Св. ИЛИЈЕ, Љубижда код Призрена	I II III IV V	20 th (16 th)
38	PARASCEVA'S CHURCH, Dobrčane near Gnjilane / ЦРКВА Св. ПЕТКЕ, у селу Добрчане код Ђиљана	I II III IV	20 th
39	THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF CHRIST THE SAVIOR, Priština / КАТЕДРАЛНА ЦРКВА ХРИСТА СПАСА у Приштини	I II III IV V	20 th
40	ST ELIJAH'S CHURCH, Smač near Prizren / ЦРКВА Св. ИЛИЈЕ у Смаћу, поред Призрена	I II III IV V	20 th
41	THE CHURCH OF ST BASIL THE GREAT, Srbica near Prizren / ЦРКВА Св. ВАСИЛИЈА ВЕЛИКОГ, у селу Србица код Призрена	I II III IV V	19 th
42	ST PARASCEVA'S CHURCH, Zaskok near Uroševac / ЦРКВА Св. ПЕТКЕ у селу Заскок код Урошевца	I II III IV V	20 th
43	ST NICHOLAS' CHURCH, of Gatnje near Uroševac / ЦРКВА Св. НИКОЛЕ, село Гатње код Урошевца	I II III IV V	20 th
44	THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY VIRGIN, Donje Nerodimlje / ЦРКВА ПРЕСВЕТЕ БОГОРОДИЦЕ, Доње Неродимље	I II III IV V	20 th
45	ST ELIJAH'S CHURCH, the Nekodim near Uroševac / ЦРКВА Св. ИЛИЈЕ у селу Некодим код Урошевца	I II III IV	20 th
46	THE CHURCH OF HOLY PETER AND PAUL, Talinovac near Uroševac / ЦРКВА СВЕТИХ АПОСТОЛА ПЕТРА И ПАВЛА, у Талиновцу крај Урошевца	I II III IV	20 th
47	THE HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, Babljak near Uroševac / ЦРКВА СВЕТЕ ТРОЈИЦЕ, село Бабљак код Урошевца	I II III IV	20 th
48	THE CHURCH OF THE BIRTH OF HOLY VIRGIN, Softović near Uroševac / ЦРКВА РОЂЕЊА ПРЕСВЕТЕ БОГОРОДИЦЕ, у селу Софтовић	I II III IV	20 th
49	THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY PROPHET ELIJAH, Kačanik / ЦРКВА Св. ПРОРОКА ИЛИЈЕ у Качанику	I II III	20 th
50	THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY VIRGIN, Koriša near Prizren / ЦРКВА ПОКРОВА ПРЕСВЕТЕ БОГОРОДИЦЕ, Кориша код Призрена	I II III IV V	16 th
51	ST JEREMIAH'S CHURCH, Grebnik near Klina / ЦРКВА Св. ЈЕРЕМИЈЕ у Гребнику код Клине	I II III IV V VI VII VIII	20 th
52	THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY KNEZ LAZAR, Koš near Istok / ЦРКВА Св. КНЕЗА ЛАЗАРА у Кошу поред Истока	I II III	20 th
53	THE HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, Žitinja near Vitina / ЦРКВА Св. ТРОЈИЦЕ у Житињу код Витине	I II III IV	20 th
54	ST PARASCEVA'S CHURCH, Klokot near Vitina / ЦРКВА Св. ПЕТКЕ, Клокот поред Витине	I II III IV V	20 th
55	ST LAZAR CHURCH, Belica near Istok / ЦРКВА Св. КНЕЗА ЛАЗАРА, Белица поред Истока	I II III IV	14 th
56	THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY PROPHET ELIJAH, Pomazatin / ЦРКВА Св. ПРОРОКА ИЛИЈЕ у Помазатину поред Приштине	I II III IV V	20 th

57	ST GEORGE'S CHURCH, Rudnik near Srbica / ЦРКВА СВ. ЋОРЂА у Руднику код Србице	I II III IV V	16 th (14 th)
58	THE HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, Donja Ratiša near Dečani / ЦРКВА СВ. ТРОЈИЦЕ у Доњем Ратишу код Дечана	I II III IV V VI	20 th
59	THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY APOSTLE LUKE, Vitomirica near Peć / ЦРКВА СВ. АПОСТОЛА ЛУКЕ у Витомирици поред Пећи	I II III IV	20 th
60	ST ELIJAH'S CHURCH, Podujevo / ЦРКВА СВ. ИЛИЈЕ у Подујеву	I II III IV	20 th
61	THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY APOSTLES, Gornja Pakaštica near Podujevo / ЦРКВА СВ. АПОСТОЛА ПЕТРА И ПАВЛА, Горња Пакаштица поред Подујева	I II III IV	20 th
62	A PARACLESION at the Serb cemetery, Kosovska Mitrovica / ПАРАКЛИС на српском гробљу у Косовској Митровици	I II III	20 th
63	THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY APOSTLES PETER AND PAUL, Istok / ЦРКВА СВ. АПОСТОЛА ПЕТРА И ПАВЛА у Истоку	I II III IV	20 th
64	ST NICHOLAS' CHURCH, Prizren / ЦРКВА СВ. НИКОЛЕ (РАЈКОВА) у Призрену	I II III IV V	19 th
65	THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SAVIOUR, Dvorani near Mušutište / ЦРКВА СВ. СПАСА у Дворанима код Мушутиста	I II III IV V	16 th
66	ST ELIJAH'S CHURCH, of Lokvice near Prizren / ЦРКВА СВ. ИЛИЈЕ у селу Локвице поред Призрена	I II III IV V	19 th
67	THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY KNEZ LAZAR, Piskote near Đakovica / ЦРКВА СВ. КНЕЗА ЛАЗАРА у Пискотама код Ђаковице	I II III IV V	20 th
68	ST PARASCEVA'S CHURCH, Binač near Vitina / ЦРКВА СВ. ПЕТКЕ у Биначу код Витине	I II III IV V VI	20 th
69	ST PARASCEVA'S CHURCH, Gojbulja near Vučitrn / ЦРКВА СВ. ПЕТКЕ у Гојбуљи код Вучитрна	I II III	19 th
70	ST NICHOLAS' CHURCH, Štimlje / ЦРКВА СВ. НИКОЛЕ у Штимљу	I II III	20 th
71	THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY ARCHANGEL, Štimlje / ЦРКВА СВ. АРХАНЂЕЛА МИХАИЛА у Штимљу	I II III	20 th
72	THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SAVIOUR, Meciševa Mahala / ЦРКВА СВ. СПАСА у Мечишевој Махали, Призренски Подгор	I II III	20 th
73	ST PARASCEVA'S CHURCH, near Mušutište / ЦРКВА СВ. ПЕТКЕ код села Мушутисте	I II III	20 th
74	THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY ARCHANGEL, Mušutište / ЦРКВА СВ. АРХАНЂЕЛА у Мушутисту	I II III IV	20 th
75	THE KOSOVO BATTLE MEMORIAL / СПОМЕН-ОБЕЛЕЖЈЕ КОСОВСКИМ ЈУНАЦИМА	I II III IV	20 th
76	THE CHURCH in Gornji Zakut near Podujevo / ЦРКВА у Горњем Закуту поред Подујева	I II III IV	20 th

76 76 76 64 39 14 5 1

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With the blessing of His Grace Artemy, Bishop of Raška and Prizren, Serbian Orthodox Church
CRUCIFIED KOSOVO

Destroyed and Desecrated Serbian Orthodox Churches in Kosovo and Metohia (June-October 1999)

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РАСПЕТО КОСОВО

Уништене и оскрнављене српске православне цркве на Косову и Метохији (јун-октобар 1999)

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Introductory word by His Holiness Patriarch Pavle

This humble publication is our cry and appeal to the Christian and civilized world. It is distressing to learn that in the year of the greatest Christian Jubilee, at the end of two millennia of Christianity, Christian churches are still being destroyed — not in a war but in the time of peace guaranteed by the international community. We hope that these photos of the destroyed and desecrated Orthodox shrines will stir the consciousness of those who are in a position to stop the crimes and we believe that those who already stood up against one evil will not remain mere witnesses passively watching another kind of evil take place before their eyes.

We also wish to make our appeal to all Kosovo Albanians, who undoubtedly see their future in coexistence with the Serbs, to resist and not allow the acts of insanity to happen.

In Kosovo and Metohija there will be no victory of humanity and justice while revenge and disorder prevail. No one has a moral right to celebrate victory complacently for as long as one kind of evil replaces another and the freedom of one people rests upon the slavery of another.

Patriarch Pavle

+Pavle

Уводна реч Његове Светости Патријарха Српског Господина Павла

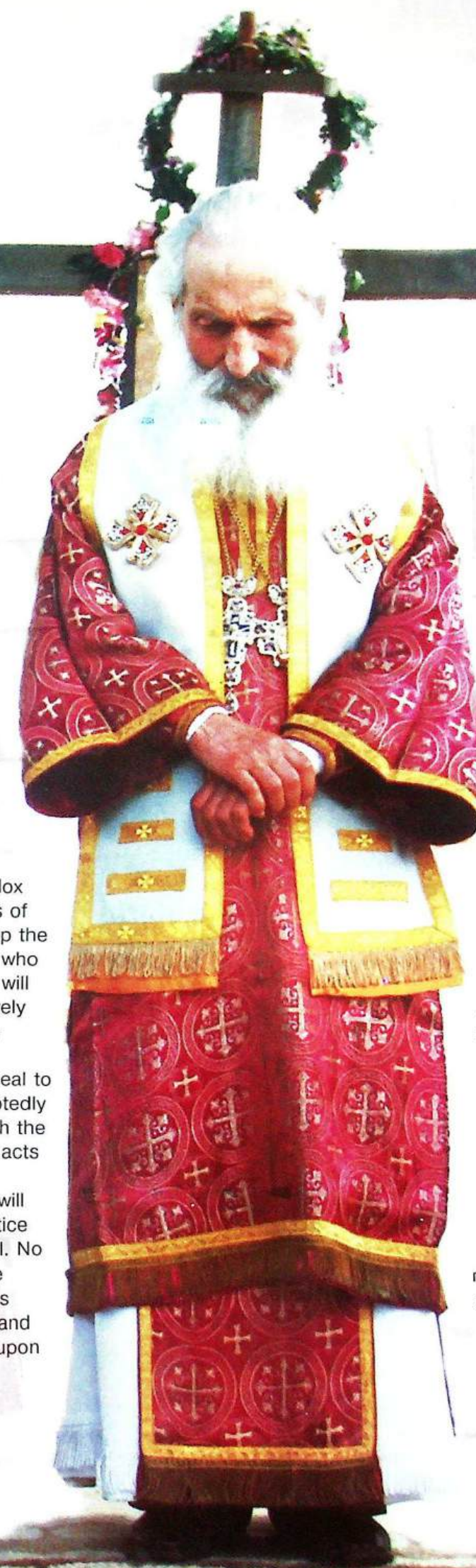
Окромна ова публикација само је одјек наших вапаја, апел хришћанском и цивилизованом свету. Болно је сазнање да се у години највећег хришћанског јубилеја, при завршетку две хиљаде година Хришћанства, и даље у Европи руше хришћанске цркве и то не у време рата, већ у току мира који гарантује међународна заједница. Надамо се да ће слике срушених и оскрнављених православних храмова да пробуде савест оних људи који могу да спрече злочин, да сви они који су устали против једне несреће и сами не остану само пасивни сведоци другог зла које се дешава пред њиховим очима.

Апелујемо и на све косовске Албанце, који своју будућност разумно виде у заједничком животу са Србима, да се успротиве и да спрече недела безумника.

Није победила ни хуманост, ни правда, док царује још освета, и безакоње на Косову и Метохији. Нико нема морално право да спокојно слави победу ако једно зло замени друго, ако слобода једног почива на робовању другог.

Патријарх Павле

+Pavle



FOREWORD

The peoples of Kosovo and Metohia are living through the most difficult days in their history. The ethnic Albanians experienced their days of suffering, exile and death inflicted by the immoral and destructive policy of Mr. Milošević's regime. Now the Serbs are being exposed to suffering, exile and death from the immoral and destructive policy of the ethnic Albanian nationalists.

The KFOR peace forces entered Kosovo and Metohia on 13 June 1999 with a goal to guarantee peace and security to the entire population of the province. Since their arrival, however, more than 180.000 Serbs left or were expelled from their homes. Albanian extremists killed or abducted several hundred people and burned thousands of Serb homes.

During the last five months and despite the presence of almost 40.000 elite NATO troops, UN civil administration, numerous humanitarian organizations, non-governmental organizations and hundreds of journalists, more than 70 Serb Orthodox shrines, churches and monasteries were completely razed to the ground, damaged or desecrated.

These acts of vandalism cannot be referred to as mere acts of individual and blind revenge. It is becoming increasingly evident that there is a systematic strategy in the background aimed at complete annihilation of all traces of the Serb and Christian culture in Kosovo and Metohia. There are more than 1.400 such sites in the area. Our churches and monasteries are usually destroyed by miners with military training, and a veil of tacit conspiracy between the perpetrators and witnesses shrouds all their actions, often reiterated.

So it happened that the Albanian crowd in Đakovica jubilated during the night of 23 July 1999 after one of the most beautiful new Orthodox cathedrals in Kosovo and Metohia had been destroyed. The leaders of the KLA (UÇK), which has the sovereign control of this city and the major part of the province, readily denied any responsibility for this event but at the same time did nothing to prevent further destruction of other Christian churches in the middle of Europe and at the end of the 20th century.

So far KFOR has not managed to stop and prevent further destruction although some of the mined churches are situated within a few hundred yards of the neighbouring military posts. Investigations have not shown, as yet, who stands behind such actions. It is hard to believe that NATO is incapable of carrying out the investigation while on the other hand a suspicion easily arises over their unwillingness to fully deal with the matter. The fragile peace, exiles, murders, ethnic cleansing of the non-Albanian population from Kosovo and Metohia, arson, destruction of the Serb cultural and religious monuments is becoming a disturbing evidence that the international community is facing an ever greater failure of its mission on a daily basis.

Why was the world so resolute in trying to stop the mass exodus of Kosovo Albanians only several months ago but now watches passively and helplessly the Serbian people and their culture exposed to uncontrolled violence? Is there the right in the world which justifies such merciless destruction, both physical and cultural, of one European people and their ancient culture? How can the cultured Albanians allow the destruction of the monuments which they themselves were proud of and which their ancestors often considered as holy? During the most difficult times they often protected these sites together with their Serb neighbours and thus preserved them to this very day.

How can the most valuable monuments of the Medieval Christian Serb art and architecture be permitted to be so blatantly endangered? Can the civilized Europe and the world allow the fight for the political rights over the territory of Kosovo and Metohia to be carried out at the expense of one nation, which is being exterminated and its holy shrines destroyed, regardless of which religion they belong to?

The rage of unrestrained violence and hatred must be brought to an end. The rule of chaos and insanity must be stopped once for ever.

This highly unreasonable revenge on innocent civilians as well as the vandalism of the monuments can never be an acceptable way into the future for either of the two peoples of Kosovo and Metohia nor can such methods ever bring a lasting peace in this region.

Hieromonk Sava (Janjić)

ПРЕДГОВОР

Народи Косова и Метохије проживљавају најтеже дане своје историје на овим просторима. Албански народ проживео је дане патње, прогона и убиства, зло је наносила неморална и деструктивна политика Милошевићевог режима. Сада српски народ поново проживљава дане патње, прогона и убиства, али зло сада долази од неморалне и деструктивне политике албанских националиста.

Мировне снаге KFOR-а ушле су на Косово и Метохију 13. јуна 1999. године, са циљем да гарантују мир и сигурност свим становницима Покрајине. Од тада па до данас преко сто осамдесет хиљада (180.000) Срба избегло је или протерано из својих домова, албански екстремисти убили су и отели више стотина људи, запалили хиљаде српских кућа.

Само у протеклих пет месеци, и поред присуства готово четрдесет хиљада (40.000) припадника елитних NATO снага, цивилне управе UN, бројних хуманитарних и невладиних организација, као и стотина новинара, преко седамдесет (70) српских православних светиња, цркава и манастира, до темеља је срушено, оштећено, или оскрнављено.

Ова рушилачка дела нису само последица личне и слепог освете. Све се више показује да је на делу систематски план да се заувек потру трагови српске и хришћанске културе на Косову и Метохији, а има их више од хиљаду четири стотине (1400). Уништење цркава и манастира често обављају минери који су прошли војну обуку, а сва њихова дејства, понекад и поновљена, прикрива општа и прећутна завера сачесника и сведока.

Па тако, маса албанског становништва у Ђаковици прати уништење једне од најлепших новијих цркава на Косову и Метохији, и прославља то у ноћи 23. јула. Лидери тзв. ОВК (УÇК), која суверено влада овим градом (као и већим делом Покрајине), поричу да су умешани у овај догађај, али не чине ништа да спрече рушење хришћанских цркава, у сред Европе, на измаку XX века.

KFOR до сада није успео да заустави и спречи даља уништења, иако су неке од минираних цркава удаљене тек педесетак метара од војних постаја. Истрага још није показала ко стоји иза таквих недела. Да то NATO не може тешко је претпоставити, а да то неће лако је посумњати.

Мир који није мир, прогони и убиства, етничко чишћење Косова и Метохије од не-албанског становништва, паљевине кућа и рушење српских културних и верских споменика, могу да буду поуздан знак да се међународна заједница, сваки даном све више, суочава са поразом своје мисије.

Зашто је пре неколико месеци читав свет одлучно настојао да заустави масовни егзодус Албанаца, а сад немо и беспомоћно посматра необуздано насиље над српским народом и његовом културом? Зар сме свет да дозволи да се немилосрдно уништава, и физички и духовно, један европски народ и његова древна култура? Зар смеју културни Албанци да дозволе рушење онога што је и њихов понос, и што су њихови преци неретко сматрали светим, и у најтежим временима често заједно чували са својим српским суседима, и сачували до дана данашњег?

Зар могу да буду угрожени најдрагоценији споменици српске средњовековне хришћанске уметности и архитектуре? Зар цивилизована Европа и свет смеју да дозволе да се борба за политичка права на територију Косова и Метохије оствари кроз истребљење једног народа — било којег — и кроз уништавање његових светиња, без обзира којој вери оне припадају.

Мора да се заустави појама необузданог насиља и мржње, владавина хаоса и безумља.

Неразумна освета над невиним народом, и рушилачки бес према споменицима, не могу да буду основа ни будућности оба народа, ни трајног мира у овим крајевима.

Јеромонах Сава (Јањић)

CRUCIFIED HERITAGE

Prof. dr Ljubiša Folić

РАСПЕТА БАШТИНА

Проф. др Љубиша Фолић



Dolac church (14 c). Main entrance. Mined and destroyed to the ground.

Црква у Долцу (XIV в). Главни улаз. Минирана и савијена са земљом.

Kosovo and Metohia are like a cathedral shrine to the Serbian people.

Byzantine sources confirm that colonisation of the Central Balkan region by Slav tribes was completed during the 7th century.

During the mid-10th century and under the Byzantine emperor Constantine VII the Porphyrogenitus (610-641) the Serbs settled in the province of Dalmatia. (Constantine Porphyrogenitus *De administrando imperio*, Ed Gy. Moravcsik, English translation by R. J. H. Jenkins, Budapest 1949. cap. 32). The 11th-12th century Constantinople acknowledged that the border of Dalmatia, inhabited by „Dalmati“ i. e. Serbs, started from Kosovo. (Anne Comnene, *Alexiade-Regne de l'Empereur Alexis I Comnene 1081-1118*; texte établi et traduit par B. Leib, Paris 1937-1945, II, 147-148, 157, 166, 184).

Archeological finds verify the uninterrupted presence of the Serbs in Kosovo and Metohia since the early Byzantine period, that is the 6th century. The oldest of such finds are tombstones-gromile on the mount Ostrovice, south-east of Prizren, from the times when the Serbs used to cremate their dead.

The gromile are succeeded by the 9th-11th century cemeteries in which jewellery, characteristic of the Slavs from the region between Moravska and Macedonia and bearing Serb ethnic quality, was found: Čečan, Matičane, Badovac and Gračanica.

Particularly important are the Serb cemeteries dating back to the 11th-13th century in Vrbnica near Prizren, Prčevo near Klinja and Vlaštica near Gnjilane because they speak of the permanent presence that can be followed up through the 14th-15th century tomb stones.

The Raška Diocese (eparchy) is first mentioned in the II chrysobull of the Byzantine emperor Basil II (976-1025), from the year 1020. It was, at the time, part of the Ohrid Archdiocese and it encompassed the Serbian territory around the rivers Raška, Ibar and Lim. In 1219, under Archbishop Sava, it became part of the autocephalous Archdiocese of Žiča. With the establishment of the Patriarchate of Peć, 1346, it was raised to the status of the Metropolitanate.

The Prizren Diocese is mentioned in 1019, in a chrysobull of the Byzantine emperor Basil II. The Diocese included the town of Prizren with the surroundings, Hvosno (the part around Dečani and Peć) and the area around the rivers Beli and Crni Drim. It became part of the independent Serbian Archdiocese in 1219. The Hvosno region came under special Hvosno diocese with the seat in the Monastery of Mala Studenica, north-east of Peć. With the Serb Orthodox Church being



Gromile-Serbian tumulus — kenotaphions from the 7th-9th century, dating back to the pre-Christian era, were found in the vicinity of Ravna gora, on the Mount of Ostrovice, between Prizren and Strbac. / Громиле — српски тумули — кенотафи из VII — IX века, из доба пре коначног примања хришћанства, нађени близу места Равна Гора, на планини Островица, између Призрена и Штрпца.



A Čečan note written in Glagolitic script testifying the presence and constitution of the Serbian state in Kosovo during the 9th and 10th century / Запис из Чечана исписан глагољицом. Сведочи о постојању и устројству српске државе на Косову током IX и X века.



Matičane-earrings, characteristic of the 9th-11th century Serbs, ascertaining that the center of their production was on the territory of Kosovo and Metohia (Čečan), in Serbia. / Матичане-наушнице особене за Словене IX до XI века које указују да је једно од средишта њихове производње било у Србији на подручју Косова и Метохије (Чечан).



The marble epigraph from 1592 with the last will of noblemen Nikodim and Petruš who donated a mill and the land to St George Church in Gornja Bitinja near Uroševac / Мермерни епиграф из 1592. властелина Никодима и Петруша којим се завештавају млин и земља цркви Св. Ђорђа у Горњој Битињи крај Урошевца

Kosovo and Metohija представљају саборни храм српског народа.

Византијски историјски извори потврђују да је коначно насељавање средњобалканског подручја словенским живљем завршено током VII века.

Средином X века византијски цар Константин VII Порфирогенит пише да је цар Ираклије (610-641) за насељавање доделио Србима провинцију Далмацију (Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, Ed Gy. Moravcsik, English translation by R. J. H. Jenkins, Budapest 1949. cap. 32). У Цариграду се XI-XII века знало да Далмација, у тадашњем смислу, почиње од Косова, где живе „Далмати“, односно Срби (Anne Comnene, *Alexiade — Regne de l'Empereur Alexis I Comnene 1081-1118*; texte établi et traduit par B. Leib, Paris 1937-1945, II, 147-148, 157, 166, 184).

Археолошки материјали сведоче о непрекидном присуству српског становништва на Косову и Метохији још од рановизантијског доба, односно од VI века. Најстарији српски налази су погребни споменици-громиле на планини Островици југоисточно од Призрена из времена када су Срби спаљивали покојнике.

На громиле се надовезују гробља IX-XI века, у којима је нађен накит уобичајен за Словене од Моравске до Македоније, са особинама српског етничког простора: Чечан, Матичане, Бадовац и Грачаница.

Посебно су значајна српска гробља датована од XI-XIII века у Врбници код Призрена, Прчево код Клине и Влаштици код Гњилана, јер говоре о непрекидном постојању које се може и касније пратити преко камених надгробних споменика, током XIV-XV века.

Рашка епархија се први пут помиње 1020. у II хрисовуљи византијског цара Василија II (976-1025). Била је у саставу охридске архиепископије и обухватала је централне српске крајеве око река Рашке, Ибра и Лима. У време архиепископа Саве 1219. улази у састав аутокефалне Жичке архиепископије, да би по проглашењу Пећке патријаршије 1346. била уздигнута на степен митрополије.

Призренска епархија се помиње 1019. године у повељи византијског цара Василија II. Обухватала је град Призрен са околином, Хвосно (простор око Дечана и Пећи) и пределе око ушћа река Белог и Црног Дрима. У састав самосталне Српске архиепископије улази 1219. године. Подручје Хвосна издваја се у посебну Хвостанску епархију са седиштем у манастиру Малој Студеници, североисточно од Пећи. Уздицањем Српске православне цркве на степен патријаршије, Призренска епископија постаје митрополија. После 1766. Призренској епархији су припојене стара Хвостанска и Липљанска, односно Грачаничка (Новобрдска) епархија.

elevated to the level of the Patriarchate, the Prizren Diocese acquired the status of a Metropolitanate. The old Hvosno and Lipljanska dioceses, i. e. that of Gračanica (Novo brdo), were added to the Prizren Diocese after 1766.

The Patriarchate of Peć was established at the end of the 13th century when the seat of the Serbian Church was moved from Žiča to Peć. It was abolished in 1766 and joined with the Prizren and Skenderia dioceses, and later with the Raška Diocese. After the old Serbia was liberated from the Turks, in 1912, the Peć Diocese was re-established.

In 1808 the Prizren Diocese was joined with the Diocese of Raška thus forming the Raška and Prizren Diocese, which has been in existence as such ever since. Its seat is in Prizren.

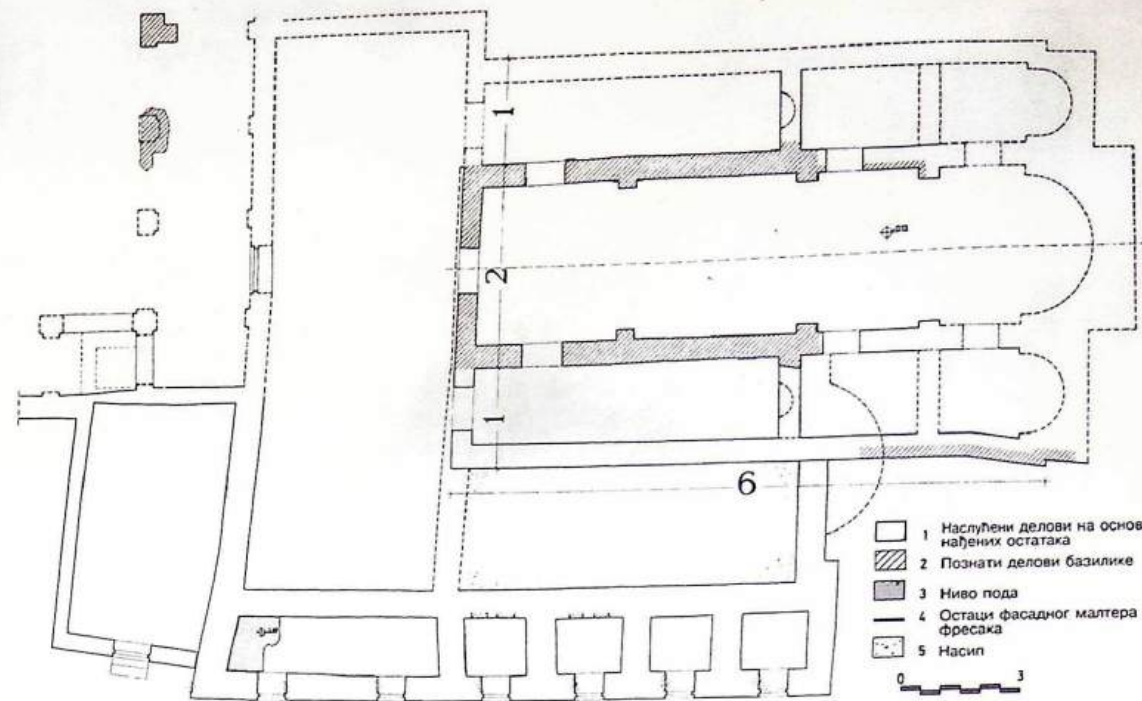
The shrines from the Raška and Prizren Diocese have always been a prey to various invaders and enemies of the Serbian people. Desecration and destruction began with the Turks and continued with Albanians (Shqiptars). A number of churches were converted into mosques. The old Christian sites served as the base for Muslim places of worship. Material from the original Serbian shrines was used for building mosques. At the beginning of the 17th century Sinan-pasha of Prizren built a huge mosque in this town using the material from the destroyed monastery of the Holy Archangel, the foundation of Tsar Dušan. In 1688 the Turkish Yegen-pasha looted Gračanica Monastery needing nine horses to take all the valuables to Constantinople.

During the First (1914-1918) and the Second (1941-1945) World War Serbia's oldest holy site was looted and shelled by Germans, Italians and Albanians. After the Second World War local Albanians continued to plunder while the communist regime nationalized property of the monasteries.

The Raška and Prizren Diocese has been the guardian of Serbia's spiritual heritage, accumulated over the centuries, from the days before St Sava onwards.

An official census of Kosovo and Metohia lists 1446 towns and villages. According to the 19th and the 20th century research 162 sites from this region were declared cultural heritage of extreme importance while 500 others were classified as cultural monuments and over 1400 were listed as cultural heritage of importance to Serbian people in this country.

The most cultured of all Serbian lands achieved its peak during the 13th and 14th century, and also enjoyed some days of glory in the 15th century. A testimony to this are beautiful shrines, Serbian prayers in stone: Visoki Dečani (1327-1335), the Patriarchate of Peć (1230-1330), Our Lady of Ljeviš (1219), Gračanica (1313-1321), as



The Ground plan of the Patriarchate of Peć Monastery prior to Nemanjić period (M. Čanak-Medić) / Пећка патријаршија. Основа базилике и манастирских зграда из преднемањичке епохе (М. Чанак-Медић)



Patriarchate of Peć Monastery. A complex of four churches built by the Nemanjići between 1230 and 1330 on the foundations of centuries old bishopric centre. / Манастир Пећка Патријаршија. Скуп четири цркве које су Немањићи изградили у периоду 1230-1330. на темељима вековног епископског средишта



Gračanica Monastery built in 1310 by King Milutin, on the foundations of a 11th century basilica / На темељима базилике из XI века, краљ Милутин је 1310. г. подигао Манастир Грачаницу



Dečani Monastery (1307-1328), founded by King Uroš III. The Church of Christ the Pantocrator / Манастир Дечани (1327-1335), ктитор Стефана Уроша III. Црква Христа Пантократора;

Пећка епархија је основана крајем XIII века када је седиште Српске цркве пренето из Жиче у Пећ. Укинута је 1766. и здружена са Призренском и Скенде-ријском, касније са Рашком епархијом. После ослобођења старе Србије од Турака 1912. године, Пећка епархија је обновљена.

Од 1808. године Призренска епархија је спојена са Рашком у једну Рашко-призренску епархију, са седиштем у Призрену, која и данас постоји.

Светиње Рашко-призренске епархије вековима су на удару разних завојевача и непријатеља српског народа. Скрнављења и рушења су започели Турци, а наставили Шиптари. Један број цркава је временом претворен у џамије, односно на црквиштима су подизане муслиманске богомоље, а од материјала са српских светиња грађене су џамије. (Почетком XVII века од материјала порушеног манастира Св. Арханђела, задужбине цара Душана, призренски Синан-паша је подигао у Призрену велику џамију која и данас постоји.) Турски Јеген-паша опљачкао је 1688. Грачаницу и на девет коња пренео у Цариград њене драгоцености.

У Првом (1914-1918) и Другом светском рату (1941-1945) најстарији српски духовни простор пљачкали су и гранатирани Немци, Италијани и Шиптари. После Другог светског рата, пустошење српских светиња на Косову и Метохији наставили су локални Шиптари, док је комунистичка власт манастирску имовину национализовала.

Рашко-призренска епархија је чувар светиња духовне баштине стваране вековима, од времена пре Светог Саве, па до данашњих дана.

По службеном попису на Косову и Метохији постоји 1446 насељених градова и села. Научна истраживања предузимана током XIX и XX века устано-вила су да на том простору има 162 об-

1. ДЕЧАНИ
2. БЕРОВОЦА
3. ПЕЧИЦА
4. РУПЕ
5. ПЕШЕ
6. БОЖАЧА
7. ДЕНЕЊК
8. БАКА
9. ЧАХОР
10. ШПЕЉ
11. ПЕЉ
12. ЧРНИ ВРХ
13. ТРЕБОВИЋИ
14. НАКЛ ВАС
15. ГОРАЖА ВАС
16. ЗАХАТ
17. ДАБЉАНИ
18. АУТОГЛАНИ I
19. ДУБОВО
20. М. СТУДЕНИЦА
21. ОСОЈАНИ
22. АРАЧЕВИЋИ
23. СНАЈЛИЦИ
24. ИГРНИЦЕ
25. ЦРКОЗЕ
26. РАКОВИ
27. СУХОБРО
28. БАЊЕ
29. КОСТУ
30. КРШЕВЦИ
31. ТУШЕ
32. ГОРЧИВЦИ
33. ГИМНИЦА
34. РЕШК
35. ГОЛУБОВИ
36. ЧАБИ
37. ДОБРОСЛА
38. КИЕВО
39. ПРИБО
40. БУРЧЕВИ I
41. ДАВАНЦИ
42. ГРАБЦ
43. БУРЧЕВИ II
44. КУШЕВО
45. КИНА
46. АРТИК
47. ДОЉ
48. ГИМНИ
49. ВИДЕ
50. НОВОСЛА
51. ПЕТР
52. ГРАБОВИЦА
53. ЧЕШОВО
54. ДИПОЉ
55. КОКОРИ
56. ЧЕШОВИ
57. БРОДНИ
58. ПРАПКАНИ
59. АУТОГЛАНИ II
60. СРЕЉ
61. АУЧУВА
62. ИСТРИ
63. ТУКА
64. БЕЉ
65. ЦРНИ БРГ
66. УЛОБАНИ
67. ТРА
68. УЕДНА
69. КОТРА
70. КОТРО
71. АКАНИЦА I
72. АКАНИЦА II
73. ОЧАНИ
74. ДОБОВИ
75. СКОП
76. ПЕЉОВИ
77. ДИВОВИ
78. ДОБОВИ
79. БРАТОНИ ДОЛ
80. ПРИБИ
81. ГИМНИ
82. ПЕЉИ
83. ПЕЉИ
84. ПЕЉИ
85. РАТИВОВИ
86. СОВИ
87. СРП

Church estates (metohs) in Metohia in medieval Serbia / Црквени метоси у Метохии у доба средњовековне српске државе

(карта М. Пешикана)

well as the remarkable ruins of St Peter of Koriša, Hvostan Studenica, the Holy Archangels, Banjska, Zvečani, Novo Brdo, Prilepac, Obožac, Ajnovac and a score of noblemen's endowments from the 13th and 14th century.

These are not the only valuables. There were hundreds of smaller churches, monastic sanctuaries, hermitages, hillforts in the fields next to river springs or roads.

Churches of the Kosovo-Metohia architectural group have characteristic ground plan in the form of an "inscribed cross", roofed with a dome. The walls were usually built with alternate rows of dressed stone and bricks. The Patriarchate of Peć, consisting of four churches and a spacious narthex, shows the influence of two schools: the 13th century Raška school (the Church of the Holy Apostles) and the Kosovo-Metohia school (the Church of St Demetrius and the Holy Virgin). Dečani represents a combination of multi-nave basilica with a dome in the Romanesque and partially the Gothic style since the master builder was a Roman Catholic monk Vita from Kotor. The Romanesque bell-tower of Bogorodica Ljeviška mirrors the western influence.

The Saxon church in Stari trg, built in the 13th century as a cathedral church for the well known German miners working in medieval Serbia, shows remarkable blending of the Byzantine and Gothic art.

The Holy Virgin Pelagonitisa, with Christ the Feeder of the Poor (fresco from Our Lady of Ljeviš Church in Prizren, 13th c)



Богородица Милостива, са Христом хранитељем сиротих (фреска из XIII века, Богородица Љевишка, Призрен)

јекта проглашено за културно добро од изузетне вредности, док је 500 проглашено споменицима културе, а преко 1400 евидентирано као културна баштина српског народа на овом тлу.

У овој најкултивисанијој области свих српских земаља врхунац се постиже током XIII и XIV века, па делом и XV века. Сведочанства су прекрасни храмови, српске молитве у камену: Високи Дечани (1327–1335), Пећка патријаршија (1230–1330), Богородица Љевишка (1219), Грачаница (1313–1321), као и импозантни остаци Св. Петра Коришког, Студенице Хвостанске, Св. Арханђела, Бањске, Звечана, Новог Брда, Прилепа, Убошца, Ајновца и десетине властeosких задужбина XIII и XIV века.

Но, ове драгоцености нису усамљене, уз њих су ницале стотине и стотине мањих цркава, манастирских ћелија, испосница, црквшта у пољима крај извора река и путева.

За цркве косовско-метохијске архитектонске групе карактеристична је основа у облику уписаног крста, надвишена куполом. Структура зидава је обично од наизменично ређаних тесаника и опеке. Пећка патријаршија, која се састоји од четири цркве и простране припрате, заступљена је са две школе: рашком из XIII века (црква Св. Апостола) и косовско-метохијском (црква Св. Димитрија и Св. Богородице). Дечани су комбинација вишебродне базилике са кубетом у романској обради а делом и готској, будући да је градитељ био католички калуђер — фра Вита из Котора. Романска кула-звоник је огледало западног утицаја на Богородици Љевишкој.

Укрштање византијске и готске уметности изражено је на Саској цркви у Старом Тргу, која је подигнута у XIII веку као катедрална црква Саса, познатих немачких рудара у средњовековној Србији.

Српско монументално зидно сликарство из времена пре Немањића настало је крајем XII века и сачувано је између осталог и на зидовима у пећинском параклису (капели) Петра Коришког код Призрена.

Мајстори зидног сликарства у XIII веку дају зрела остварења. Стварајући нови стил дају и значајне новине: уместо плаве боје употребљавају злато, ликови мирних покрета цртају крупним потезима, богати колорит ефектно наглашавају игром светлости и сенке. Фигуре са пластичним облицима потичу из 1250. године и карактеристика су цркве Св. Апостола у Пећкој патријаршији. Ове одлике се запајају све до друге деценије XIV века кроз манастир Бањску

Serbian monumental wall painting from the pre Nemanjić days, developed at the end of the 12th century, has been preserved, among other places, on the walls of a cave parecclesion (chapel) of Peter of Koriša near Prizren.

The 13th century master wall painters produced mature works. Having created a new style they also introduced certain innovations: the blue colour was replaced with golden, still figures were painted in thick brush strokes, the rich colouring was effectively pronounced with the playful use of light and shadows. Figures showing plastic shapes date from 1250 and are characteristic of the Church of the Holy Apostles in the Patriarchate of Peć. These features were noticeable until the second decade of the 14th century the example of which can be seen in the Monastery of Banjska (1313-1317) where frescoes show "golden sky" instead of blue background.

At the beginning of the 14th century the themes used in painting expanded and apart from the Gospel scenes these included apocryphal stories, the Last Judgment, the Calendar, akathistos-hymn....

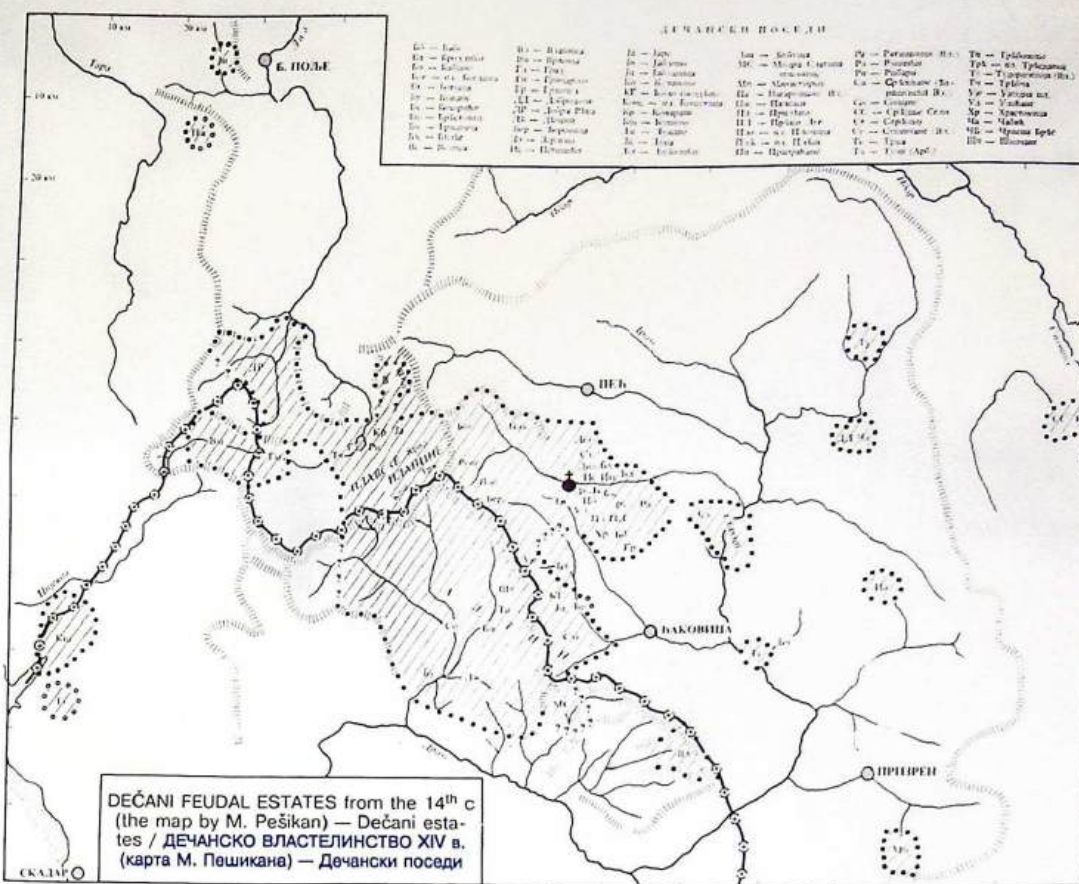
For the first time in the iconography of the Christian East there were representations from the Cycle of the Apostles and the Book of Genesis. The scenes became more lively and deeper, figures showed movements, colours were richer, shapes more plastic. Artists' imagination found its full expression. The expansion of themes caused the picture format, together with the size of the scenes and figures, to become smaller. Fresco figures were often lined up in ten and more zones.

A special, so-called Milutin court art school was founded.

The 13th and 14th century fresco painting of Kosovo and Metohia occupies a special place in the art of that period. The fresco painters, such as the temperamental colourist Mihailo Astrapa (the Holy Apostles in the Patriarchate in Peć, Bogorodica Ljeviška....), and some unknown fresco masters from Dečani and Gračаница rank among the best artists of that period in the world.

Significant achievements were attained in two fresco schools: the Peć-Dečani school and the Prizren school, both equally successful in producing expressive miniature art. Famous, as well as unknown, artists from those fresco schools and scriptoriums created some remarkable works of art among which are two Prizren icons from the first decades of the 15th century: Our Lady Hodegetria and Our Lady Umiljenija (originally part of the Bogorodica Ljeviška iconostasis).

The five Dečani icons, painted by the same zoographer's hand that made the outstanding frescoes in the Dečani churches, have stood the test of time for more than five centuries. Among



The Holy Virgin Pelagonitisa (icon, 14th c)

(1313–1317) где се налазе фреске рађене са „златним небом“ уместо са плавом позадином.

Почетком XIV века поред сцена из јеванђеља, тематика сликарства се проширује на апокрифне приче, Страшни суд, календар, песме-акатисте... Први пут је у иконографији Истока представљен Апостолски циклус и циклус о Постанку света. Сцена постаје живља и дубља, фигуре су у живом покрету, колорит је богатији, облици пластичнији. Маштовитост сликара долази до пуног изражаја. Проширена тематика условила је смањење формата сцене и фигуре. Фигуре фреска често се нижу у десет и више зона.

Створена је посебна, тзв. Милутинова дворска сликарска школа.

Фреско-сликарство Косова и Метохије из XIII и XIV века заузима значајно место у сликарству тога времена, а сликари фреска као што је темпераментни колориста Михаило Астрапа (Св. Апостоли у Пећкој патријаршији, Богородица Љевишка...) и непознати мајстори живописа у Дечанима и Грачаници, сврставају се у ред најбољих сликара тога доба у свету.

Значајна остварења постигнута су у двама иконописачким школама: пећко-дечанској и призренској, које су истовремено подједнако изразите у минијатурном сликарству. Познати и непознати мајстори из тих иконописних и преписивачких школа дали су врхунска уметничка остварења. Ту су пре свега две призренске иконе из првих деценија XIV века: Богородица Одигитрија и Богородица Умиљенија (првобитно су припадале иконостасу Богородице Љевишке).

Више од шест векова одолевају времену пет дечанских икона рађених

Богородица Пелагонитиса (икона из XIV века)

them shines the icon of Our Lady Pelagonitisa. A rich 14th-17th century icon collection helped establish artists such as the monk-zoographer Longin from Peć, the painter Radul, Maksim Tujković, unknown illuminators of handwritten church book, as well as painters working on canvas.

The treasures of Dečani, Gračanica and the Patriarchate of Peć contain over 300 handwritten and printed books spanning the period between the 12th and the 18th century. There are also 109 icons and over 100 liturgical utensils made of metal and textile. Other, smaller churches also possess a considerable number of icons and other movable valuables.

There was a printing shop at Gračanica Monastery in the 15th century. The Gračanica Octoechos was printed there at the beginning of 1539.

Cultural and artistic treasure of Kosovo and Metohia ranks among the greatest achievements of Christian civilization. Hierarchs, monarchs, monks and clergy together with people built and decorated churches, monasteries and cave hermitages. Many of such pearls of the medieval architecture stood the test of time and have been preserved until the present day.

Regrettably, instead of being recognized as world heritage they are being subjected to devastation in eight phases of destruction.

Phase I — Shell-shocked monuments — caused by war activities

Phase II — Looting of movable treasure — icons, books, movable property, relics etc... being carried out by terrorists gangs since the arrival of the KFOR international peace keeping forces.

Phase III — Desecrating shrines — the holy relics, holy thrones, altars, partitions for iconostasis, trespassing the church property (The Holy Virgin of Ljeviš)

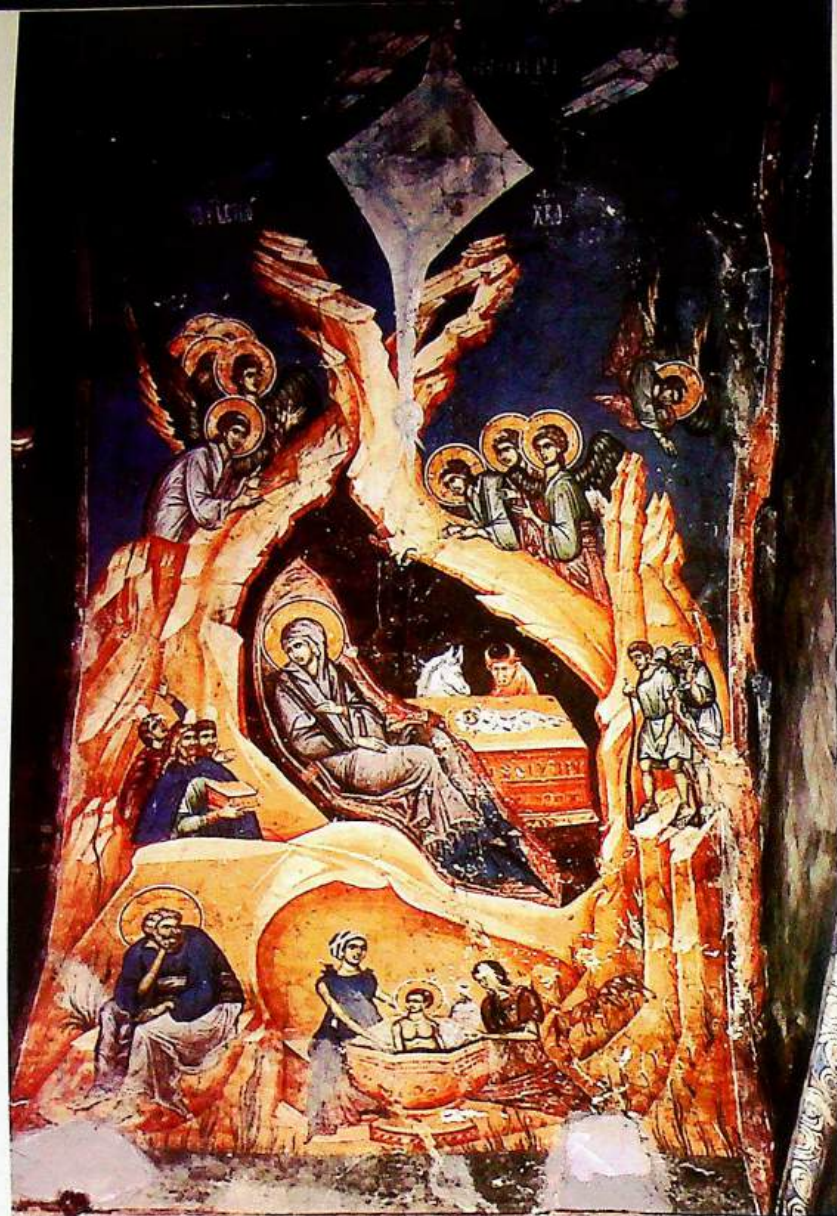
Phase IV — Burning of shrines and adjacent buildings

Phase V — First mining

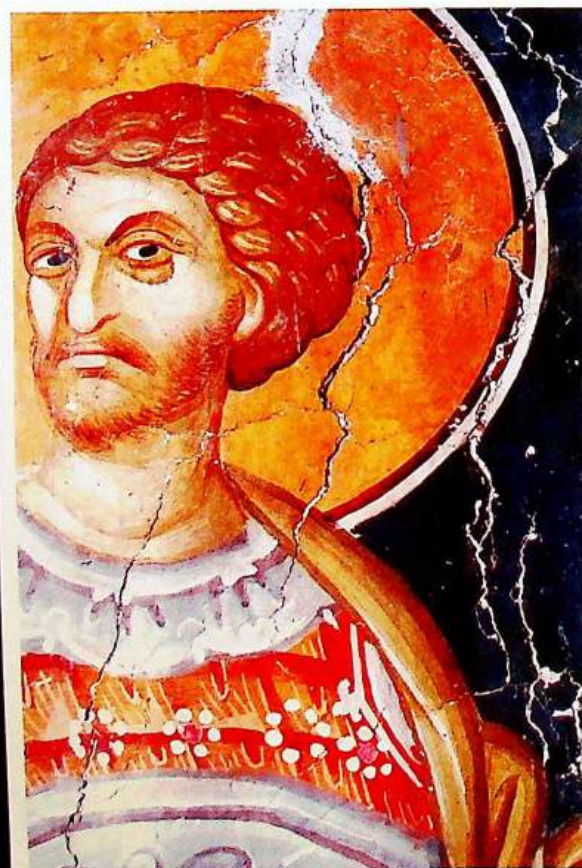
Phase VI — Mining of the left-overs — belfries, chapels,

Phase VII — Removing of the debris, various stone plastics, details, garlands, capitals, fresco fragments, and finally stone and bricks.

Phase VIII — Terrain clearance and removal of all traces of existence



The Birth of Christ, a fresco from 1340. Patriarchate of Peć. / Рођење Христово, фреска из 1340. године. Богородичина црква, Пећка патријаршија.



The fresco of St Mercury from the Patriarchate of Peć, photographed on 22nd April 1999. / У Пећкој патријаршији фреска Св. Меркурија фотографисана 22. априла 1999.

руком ових зографа који су сликали импресивне фреске дечанске цркве. Међу њима се посебно истиче Богородица Пелагонитиса. Богат фонд икона од XIV до XVII века истиче ствараоце као што су зограф монах Лонгин из Пећи, сликар Радул, Максим Тужковић и непознате илuminаторе рукописних црквених књига, као и сликаре на платну.

У ризницама манастира Дечана, Грачанице и Пећке патријаршије налази се преко 300 рукописних и штампаних књига од XII до XVIII века, затим 109 икона и преко 100 богослужбених предмета од метала и текстила. По другом, мањим црквама такође се налази значајан број икона и осталих покретних драгоцености.

У Грачаници је у XVI веку постојала штампарија. Почетком 1539. године у њој је штампан Октоих петогласник.

Културно-уметничко благо Косова и Метохије, улази у ред највиших уметничких остварења хришћанске цивилизације. Архијереји, владари, монаси и свештеници,

заједно са народом, подизали су и украшавали цркве, манастире и пећинске испоснице. Многи бисери средњовековне архитектуре одолели су зубу времена и сачувани су до данашњих дана.

На жалост, уместо да се том благу додели статус светске културне баштине, оно доживљава искорењивање кроз осам фаза затирања:

I фаза — Растресеност објеката услед оружаних дејстава

II фаза — Пљачка покретног блага икона, књига, мобилијара, реликвија и другог реализована од стране терористичких банди, а по доласку међународних мировних снага KFOR-а

III фаза — Скрнављење светиња мошти, светих трапеза, олтара, иконостасних преграда; улазак у посед црквене имовине (Богородица Љевишка)

IV фаза — Паљење храмова и пратећих објеката

V фаза — Прво минирање

VI фаза — Минирање преосталог: звоници, параклиси

VII фаза — Разношење материјала од којег је светиња била сазидана разношење камене пластике, детаља, надвратника, венаца, капитета, делова фресака и на крају камена и опеке.

VIII фаза — Чишћење терена и уклањање трагова постојања

Somebody stripped the frescoes

Somebody melded the iconostasis

Somebody uprooted the temple with its grounds

While somebody silently built that with his eyes

Ljiljana Dugalić

DESTROYED AND DESECRATED SANCTUARIES IN KOSOVO AND METOHIA

Simultaneously with the persecution of the Serbian Orthodox Christian population in the Kosovo and Metohia province — eviction from homes, looting, rapes, kidnappings, murders, massacres of victims, and other forms of violence against innocent people — another kind of terror is continuing: Orthodox churches and monasteries are being systematically looted, vandalized, set on fire, and completely destroyed with an attempt to annihilate the spiritual roots of the Serbian people. The information about the verified destructions and desecrations was provided by the Raška and Prizren Orthodox Diocese, while the historical and architectural data was gathered and written by Prof. Dr. Ljubiša Folić, architect.

Неко је фреске одлепио

Неко је иконостас претонио

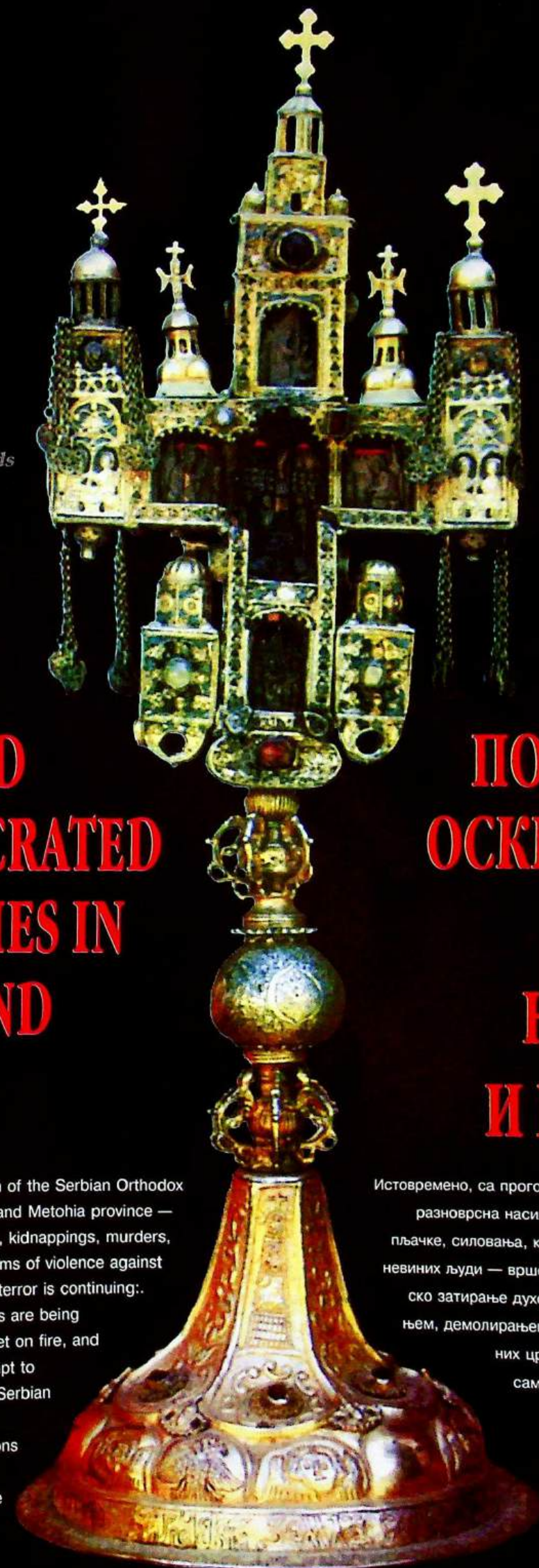
Неко је из земље храм с темељима извадио

А неко је све то тихо очима градио

Љиљана Дугалић

ПОРУШЕНЕ И ОСКРНАВЉЕНЕ СВЕТИЊЕ НА КОСОВУ И МЕТОХИЈИ

Истовремено, са прогоном православног српског народа из Косова и Метохије, различита насиља и злочине — избацивање из кућа, пљачке, силовања, киднаповања, убијања и масакрирања невиних људи — вршено је, и још увек се врши, систематско затирање духовних корена српског народа пљачком, демолирањем, паљењем и рушењем и православних цркава и манастира, од којих наводно само проверено. Податке о обесвећеним и уништеним црквама је обезбедила Епархија Рашко-Призренска, а стручне историјско-архитектонске белешке је приредио и написао проф. др Љубиша Фолић, архитекта.



The cross of Tsar Dušan, Dečani Monastery

THE HOLY TRINITY MONASTERY, in Mušutište, near Suva Reka

1

Манастир Свете Тројице у Муштутишту, поред Суве Реке

The Monastery of the Holy Trinity was built in the 14th century on the Rusinica hill above Mušutište, 2 km to the south. In the valuable collection of manuscripts from 14th to 18th century there were a Book of Commemoration from 1465 and a handwritten Gospel from the 14th century. The monastery also had a collection of icons from the 19th century — 1868-1985.



The Holy Trinity Monastery before destruction
Манастир Свете Тројице пре уништења



A nun in front of the destroyed church
Монахиња испред уништене цркве



The view of the destroyed church and the burned residential quarters
Поглед на порушену цркву и спаљени конак

Манастир Св. Тројице из XIV века на брду Русиница изнад Муштутишта, два километра јужно. Поменик се води од 1465. године. Вредна збирка рукописних књига од XIV-XVIII века. Имао рукописни Апостол из XIV-XV века и збирку икона из XIX века од 1868-1985.



Bishop Atanasije and Fr. Kingsley Joyce (British KFOR) visited the monastery 7 days before it was completely destroyed by Albanians / Владика Атанасије и о. Кингсли Џојс (британски KFOR) посетили су манастир седам дана пре него што су га Шиптари потпуно уништили.



The residential quarters for nuns / Конак



Desecrated monastic cemetery
Оскрнављено монашко гробље

In the second half of June 1999, after the German KFOR troops deployed in the area, Albanian extremists vandalized this holy place and plundered the valuables. Between 10th and 17th July they dynamited the monastery church so that it is now completely destroyed. The monastery konak (residential quarters) was previously burned to the ground. The valuable library, and its icons, disappeared in the flames and wreckage. The church was obviously destroyed by explosive used by experts with military training.

У другој половини јуна 1999, након доласка немачких снага KFOR-а, шиптарски екстремисти су демолирали ову светињу и олјачкали драгоцености, а у периоду између 10-17. јула потпуно су уништили манастирску цркву експлозивом, док су пре тога до темеља спаљили манастирске конаке. Вредна библиотека са старим иконама је нестала у ватри и рушевинама. Цркву су очигледно уништили професионални и војно обучени минери.

THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY VIRGIN, Mušutište near Suva Reka

2

ЦРКВА ПРЕСВЕТЕ БОГОРОДИЦЕ у Муштутишту поред Суве Реке

The church of the Holy Virgin Hodegetria was built as a foundation by Dragoslav, the then chief court governor, and his family, in 1315, in Mušutište, about 10 km to the south-east of Suva Reka. The founder's inscription above the entrance was one of the oldest and most beautiful Serbian epigraphic texts of its kind. It was an edifice with a semi-dome, had an inscribed cross in the ground plan and a semi-round apse. The wall was built of alternating rows of bricks and stone cubes. The frescoes of the Mušutište School, painted between 1316 and 1320 and famed for their plasticity and the saints' typology were known as the best examples of Serbian art. That earned them a place in the company of other mature artistic works of the Palaeologus era from the first quarter of the 14th century. In the altar area there was a unique portrait of the South-Slav educator, St Clement of Ohrid. In the north-western corner of the naos there were figures of holy women, the warriors SS Theodore Tyro and Theodore Stratilates, angels, and St Panтелеimon. Two throne icons of Christ and The Holy Virgin dated back to the year 1603.



The church before destruction / Црква пре уништења



The parish house destroyed by fire / Запаљени парохијски дом



The church after the mining / Црква након минирања



The view of the belfry and the destroyed church
Поглед на звоник и уништену цркву



Destroyed frescoes (1316-1320): unknown martyr, unknown saint, St Panteleimon, St Clement of Ohrid, St Theodore; also, desecrated icon of Christ (1603)
Уништене фреске (1316-1320): непозната мученица, непозната светица, Св. Пантелија, Св. Климент Охридски, Св. Теодор; оскрнављена Христова икона (1603)



After the arrival of the German KFOR forces, and after the evacuation of the Serbian population from the area (15th to 20th June 1999), the church was desecrated, vandalized and looted by the local Albanian villagers. The home of the priest, and the parish house, were looted and set on fire. Early in June, the church was destroyed by explosive.



Након доласка немачких снага KFOR-а и евакуације српског становништва из тог подручја (15-20. јуни 1999) цркву су димолирали, оскрнавили и опљачкали локални шиптарски сељаци. Свештеничка кућа и парохијски дом су опљачкани и запаљени. Почетком јула црква је потпуно уништена експлозивом.



ST MARK'S OF KORIŠA MONASTERY, in Koriša near Prizren

3

МОНАСТИР СВ. МАРКО у Кориши крај Призрена

The medieval monastery of St Mark of Koriša used to stand on a rocky outpost above the Koriša river, 3 km south-east of the village of Koriša. The church was built in 1467 with a single-nave, a rectangular foundation and a preserved fragment of the original, ancient fresco. On the western side, above the rock, a belfry with two bells was added in 1861 as a foundation of Sima Andrejević Igumanov. In April 1941, Albanians of Kabaš forcibly tore out the bells and repeatedly desecrated and vandalized the founder's grave. The monastery had a valuable library.

Средњовековни манастир Св. Марко Коришки налази се на стени изнад Коришке реке три километра југоисточно од села Корише. Црква Св. Марка саграђена је 1467. године као једнобродна, правоугаоне основе са делићем првобитног живописа. На западној страни изнад стене сазидао је 1861. године звоник са два звона као задужбина Симе Андрејевића Игуманова. Шиптари Кабашани су звона са звоника насилно ишчупали априла 1941. године, а гроб ктитора више пута скрнављили и разбијали. Манастир је поседовао знатну збирку књига.



The monastery before destruction / Манастир пре уништења



Desecrated grave stones (19th century) / Оскрнављене надгробне плоче (XIX век)



The monastery after destruction / Манастир након рушења



After the arrival of the German KFOR troops, the monastery was looted, burned, and completely destroyed by explosive. This was done by Albanian extremists.



Након доласка немачких снага KFOR-а, манастир је опљачкан, спаљен и потпуно срушен експлозивом од стране шиптарских екстремиста.

ST GABRIEL'S MONASTERY, in Binač near Vitina

4

МОНАСТИР СВ. АРХАНГЕЛА ГАВРИЛА у Биначу поред Витине

The monastery of the Holy Archangel Gabriel, also known under the names of Binač and Buzovik, was built in the 14th century. It was located some 4-5 km south of Vitina, at the spring of the river Sušica. The church had a rectangular foundation, a semi-round apse and a semi-cylindrical vault. There were two layers of frescoes, one on top of the other. The newer layer, from the 16th century, showed archbishops at liturgy. In 1867 ethnic Albanians slaughtered the priest. After that the monastery was abandoned and was renewed at the beginning of the 20th century. In the church there were valuable 14th century liturgical vessels.



The monastery church before it vandalized / Манастирска црква него паљења



The view of the church and the residential quarters after the Albanian vandalism / Изглед цркве и конака након шиптарског вандализма



Immediately after the peace was agreed in Kosovo in June 1999, Albanian extremists attacked this place. The church was desecrated and demolished, and then set on fire from the inside. The konak buildings were plundered and torched.



Шиптарски екстремисти су напали манастир одмах након што је склопљен мир на Косову у јуну 1999. Црква је димолирана и оскрнављена, а касније и запаљена изнутра. Конаци су опљачкани и запаљени.

DEVIČ MONASTERY, near Srbica

5

МОНАСТИР ДЕВИЧ, пored Србице

Devič monastery — Drenica (south of Srbica) — the Church of the Presentation of the Holy Virgin was built around the year 1434 by Despot Đurađ Branković in memory of his virgin („devica“) daughter, after whom the monastery was named, and her recovery from an illness. It was built on the original site where St Joannicius's, the first founder, small church once stood. The monastery was restored on several occasions and consisted of a number of churches dedicated to the Presentation of the Holy Virgin, St Joannicius and St George.

There were four churches in the monastery, together with the konaks (residential quarters), which were looted, desecrated, mined and destroyed by the Albanians Nazis in 1941 when the Italians occupied Kosovo. The monastery used to have a rich collection of manuscripts and printed books. There was also a scriptorium within the monastery complex. The entire Devič book collection, comprising of ancient as well as the 19th and 20th century books, and the iconostasis with icons, were lost in a fire. At the same time the recluse of St Joannicius of Devič, on the hill north of the monastery, was wrecked as was the spring in a ravine below the monastery.

The frescoes dated from the 15th century. Beside the portrait of St Joannicius of Devič, clad in a senior monk's robes and bearing a retained inscription which indicates that he was „the first founder of the place“, preserved were also an image of St Akakios and the compositions of *The Wedding in Kana Galilee* and *The healing of the Infirm*. There was also another layer of frescoes from the 15th century, as well as one from the 19th century. The monastery owned the lands in Lauša, Ludović, Lepina in Kosovo, Biča in Metohia, a vineyard in Velika Hoča, a number of houses and shops in Vučitrn, watermills, residential quarters, a bakery, a dairy... 60 hectares of arable land and 250 hectares of forest in total.



Манастир Девич — Дреница (јужно од Србице) — црква Ваведења Богородице, подигао је деспот Ђурађ Бранковић око 1434. године у спомен оздрављења кћери-девице по чему манастир добија име. Подигнута је на месту црквице првог ктитора Св. Јоаникија (Јанићија). Манастир Девич је обновљен неколико пута и састоји се од више цркава посвећених Ваведењу Богородице, Св. Јоаникију и Св. Ђорђу.

Манастир је имао четири храмовна дела која су опљачкана, оскрнављена, минирана и разорена заједно с конацима од стране шиптарских нациста 1941. године, када је Италија окупирала Космет. Манастир је имао богату збирку рукописних и штампаних књига. У Девичу је постојала и преписивачка радионица. Изгореле су све старе девичке књиге и иконостас са иконама, како из старијих векова тако и из XIX и XX века. Тада је срушена и испосница Св. Јанићија Девичког на северном брегу од манастира и Источник у јарузи ниже манастира.

Фреске су из XV века. Поред лика Св. Јанићија Девичког у одећи великосхимника и са очуваним натписом у коме стоји да је он први ктитор места сего, очуван је и лик Св. Акакија и композиције *Свадба у Кани Галилејској* и *Исцелјење раслабљеног*. Затим постоји други слој фресака из XVI века као и трећи из XIX века. Манастир је имао земљу у Лауши, Лудовићу, Лепини на Косову, Бичи у Метохији, виноград у Великој Хоци, куће и дућане у Вучитрну, воденице, конаке, пекару, млекару... Укупно 60 хектара земље и 250 хектара шуме.



Bullet holes and the UÇK signature made by knife on a Holy Virgin's icon / Рупе од метака и потпис УÇК, урезан ножем на икони



The remains of the burned and demolished monastery, March 1947. / Остаци спаљеног и разореног манастира, затечени марта 1947.



The remains of the 16th century frescoes / Остаци фрескописа из 16. века



Nuns — the guardians of the shrine / Монахиње — чувари светиње



Desecrated tomb of St. Joannicius / Оскрнављени кивот св. Јоаникија

On 15th June 1999, immediately after the retreat of the Yugoslav security forces from Kosovo and the arrival of the French KFOR troops, the monastery was attacked and occupied by Albanian extremists belonging to the KLA (UÇK). For three days they systematically robbed, desecrated and devastated this sacred place. The nuns and their spiritual father (Fr. Seraphim) were maltreated and some of them were injured.

Крајем јуна 1999, одмах након повлачења југословенских снага безбедности са Косова и доласка француских снага KFOR-а, манастир су напали албански екстремисти тзв. „ОВК“ (УÇК). Пошто су окупирали манастир, три дана су систематски демолирали, оскрнављивали и плачкали ову светињу. Монахиње са својим духовником, о. Серафимом, физички су злостављане, а неке од њих су повређене.

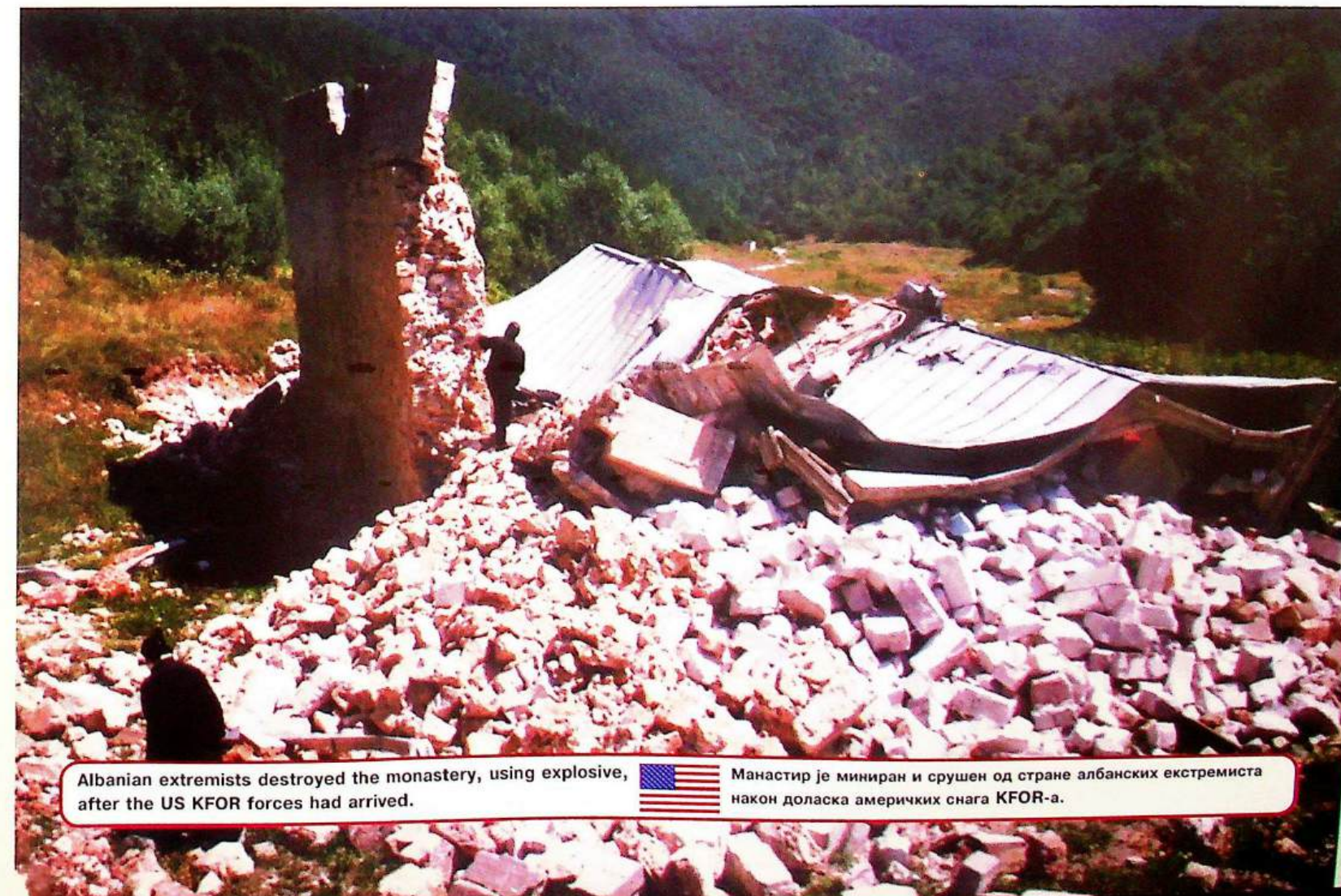
ST UROŠ'S MONASTERY with THE CHURCH OF THE ASCENSION OF THE HOLY VIRGIN, Šarenik, Gornje Nerodimlje

6

МОНАСТИР СВ. УРОША СА ЦРКВОМ УСПЕЊА ПРЕСВЕТЕ БОГОРОДИЦЕ, Шареник, Горње Неродимље

The Monastery of St Uroš, with the Church of the Ascension of the Holy Virgin, was built by Empress Helen at the end of the 14th century, west above Gornje Nerodimlje, in the small village of Šarenik. In 1647-49 Patriarch Paisios donated the manuscript of the hagiography of Emperor Uroš to the monastery.

Манастир Св. Уроша са црквом Успења Пресвете Богородице подигла је царица Јелена крајем XIV в. западно и изнад горње Неродимље у засеоку Шареник. Манастиру је 1649-47. године патријарх Пајсије приложио рукопис житија цара Уроша.



Albanian extremists destroyed the monastery, using explosive, after the US KFOR forces had arrived.

Манастир је миниран и срушен од стране албанских екстремиста након доласка америчких снага KFOR-а.

THE MONASTERY AND THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY ARCHANGEL, Gornje Nerodimlje

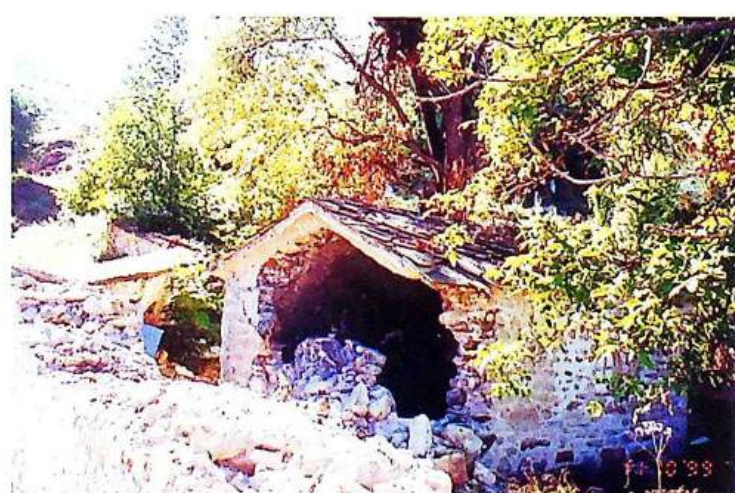
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МАНАСТИР И ЦРКВА СВ. АРХАНЂЕЛА, Горње Неродимље

The Monastery and the Church of the Holy Archangel, in Gornje Nerodimlje, were built in the 14th century and were reconstructed in the year 1700. The frescoes were painted in 14th and 15th century.



The scenes of destruction / Призори уништења



Unexploded mine in the church / Неексплодирана мина у цркви



The famous Tsar Dusan's pine tree (1336), cut down and burned / Познати Бор цара Душана (1336), посечен и запаљен

The monastery was looted and set on fire by Albanian extremists after the arrival of the US KFOR forces. A giant black pine tree, which was planted in 1336 by Emperor Dušan himself, was cut down and burned. The Christian cemetery was desecrated and the tombstones knocked over and damaged.



Манастир је опљачкан и спаљен од стране шиптарских екстремиста након доласка америчких снага KFOR-а. Горостасно стабло црног бора које је засадио 1336. године цар Душан, посечено је и спаљено. Гробље је оскрнављено а надгробни споменици су поразбијани и срушени.

ST NICHOLAS' OF THE SUMMER CHURCH, Donje Nerodimlje

8

ЦРКВА СВ. НИКОЛЕ ЛЕТЊЕГ, Доње Неродимље

The new Church of St Nicholas of the Summer, in Donje Nerodimlje, was built on the ancient foundations in 1983. It was a single-nave building with an altar apse and a little dome. In front of it, facing west, there stood a hundred-years-old oak tree where the congregation used to gather even at times when the church was in ruins.



The church and the belfry before vandalism / Црква и звоник пре оштећења



The terrorists placed the mine in the wall / Терористи су поставили мину у зиду



Desecrated interior of the church / Оскрнављена унутрашњост храма



The church was demolished, burned and destroyed by Albanian extremists after the arrival of the US forces of KFOR.



Црква је демолирана, спаљена и минирана од стране албанских екстремиста након доласка америчких снага KFOR-а.

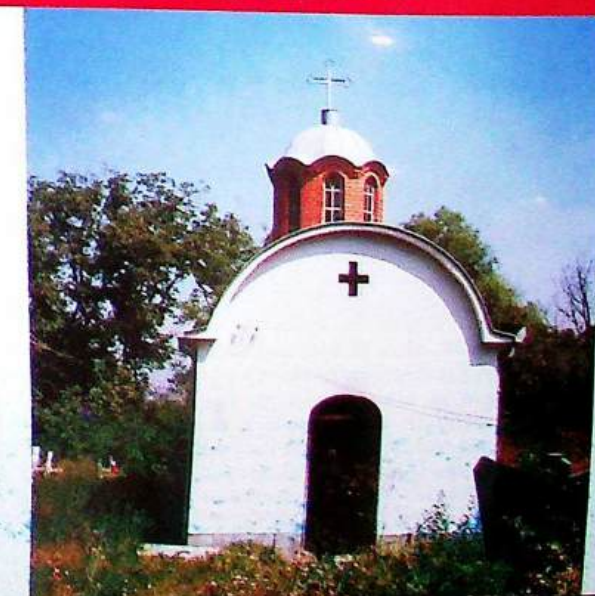
ST STEPHEN'S CHURCH, Donje Nerodimlje

9

ЦРКВА СВ. СТЕФАНА, Доње Неродимље

In Donje Nerodimlje, in the river Nerodimka valley, 5 km west of Uroševac there stood, at a cemetery, the Church of St Stephen from the 14th century, reconstructed in 1996.

У Доњем Неродимљу, у долини реке Неродимке, пет километара западно од Урошевца, на гробљу, налази се црква Св. Стефана из XIV века. Обновљена је 1996.



It was demolished, burned, and destroyed by explosive by Albanian extremists, after the arrival of the US KFOR forces.



Демолирана је, спаљена и минирана од стране албанских екстремиста након доласка америчких снага KFOR-а.

THE CHURCH OF THE PRESENTATION OF THE HOLY VIRGIN in Dolac near Klina

10

ЦРКВА ВАВЕДЕНЈА БОГОРОДИЦЕ у Долцу поред Клине

The monastery Church of the Holy Virgin (also known as the Church of our Immaculate Lady) was built in Dolac near Klina. The church was a single-nave building, rectangular at the foundations, with a semi-cylindrical vault and a semi-round apse. Two layers of frescoes were preserved. The more recent one dated from 1620 while the older, found underneath, was from the 14th century. These were roughly restored, especially those found in the lower zone of the southern wall. Fragments of an old fresco were known for their very fine drawings and colours. Similar features could be found in the later date fresco, from the 17th century. Many think that the church is older than Dečani and built four years before the Battle of Kosovo (1389).

A precious Evangelist from 14th-15th century and an Octoichos for I-IV voices from the 15th century used to be preserved in Dolac.



The frescoes which decorated the church /
Фреске које су украшавале цркву



The monastery before destruction / Манастир пре рушења

In July 1999, after the Italian KFOR soldiers deployed in this area, the Albanian extremists vandalized the church and smashed the altar table to pieces. The churches in the nearby villages of Klina and Đurakovac were also desecrated and vandalized as were several less famous churches in the vicinity. The latest information reveals that the church was blown up and levelled with the ground at the beginning of August.

Манастирска црква Ваведенја Богородице (у народу звана Света Пречиста) у Долцу код Клине. Црква је једнобродна грађевина правоугаоне основе са полуобличастим сводом и полу-кружном апсидом. Сачувана су два слоја живописа. Новији из 1620. године, а старији испод њега рађен крајем XIV века. Грубо су рестаурирани, нарочито у доњој зони јужног зида. Фрагменти старог живописа одликују се веома лепим цртежом и изнијансираним колоритом. Сличне квалитете има и новији живопис из XVII века. Сматра се да је ова црква старија од Дечана и саграђена четири године пре Косовске битке (1389). Из Долца су драгоцени рукописи: Четворојеванђеље из XIV-XV века и Октоих I-IV глас из XV века.



The vandalized and burned interior; the altar table smashed into pieces
Оштећена и спаљена унутрашњост; часна трпеза је смрљана у парчиће



The smashed pieces of frescoes / Делови смрљаних фреска



The monastery after destruction / Манастир после рушења

Јула месеца 1999, након доласка италијанских снага KFOR-а, албански екстремисти су демолирали ову цркву и разбили часну трпезу у комаде. Црква је изнутра запаљена. Суседне цркве у Клини и Ђураковцу су такође демолиране и оскрнављене као и још неке мање познате цркве у околини. Према најновијим информацијама ова црква је минирана почетком августа и савијена са земљом.

ST NICHOLAS' CHURCH, in Slovinje near Lipljan

11

ЦРКВА СВ. НИКОЛЕ у Словињу код Липљана

The Church of St Nicholas, in the village of Slovinje near Lipljan, was built in the 16th century, pulled down in the 19th century and reconstructed in 1996.



The church and the parish house before destruction — interior of the church / Црква и парохијски дом пре уништења — унутрашњост цркве



The scenes of destruction / Призори уништења



After the deployment of the British KFOR troops the church was vandalized in June 1999 by Albanian extremists. On 17th July 1999, using explosive, the extremists completely destroyed the shrine.



Након доласка британских снага KFOR-а, црква је демолирана у јуну 1999. од стране албанских екстремиста, а 17. јула 1999. терористи су је минирали и уништили до темеља.

THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY APOSTLES PETER and PAUL, in Suva Reka

12

ЦРКВА СВЕТИХ АПОСТОЛА ПЕТРА И ПАВЛА у Сувој Реци

The new Church of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul was built in 1938, on the eastern outskirts of the town of Suva Reka. Beside the church with a dome was a belfry.



In June 1999, as soon as the German KFOR had arrived, the KLA (UÇK) took control of the town. The church was then vandalized and looted by Albanian extremists. At 1 a.m. on 19th July 1999 the church was razed to the ground by a strong explosive, although it was in the vicinity of one German KFOR base.



Чим је немачки KFOR стигао у то подручје у јуну месецу и пошто је тзв. „ОВК“ (UÇK) преузела управу над градом, црква је демолирана и опљачкана од стране шиптарских екстремиста. Дана 19. јула 1999 у један ујутро црква је јаким експлозивом срушена до темеља иако се налазила недалеко од најближе немачке базе KFOR-а.

THE HOLY VIRGIN CHURCH, in Belo Polje, Peć

14

ЦРКВА ВАВЕДЕЊА ПРЕСВЕТЕ БОГОРОДИЦЕ у Белом Пољу, Пећ

The Church of the Presentation of the Holy Virgin, in Belo Polje near Peć, was built in the 16th century and restored in 1868 under the patronage of the Empress of Russia, Maria Alexandrovna. A collection of ancient icons, books and liturgical vessels was kept in the monastery among which particularly stood out a 15th-16th century Italo-Cretan icon of *The Holy Virgin with Christ*.

Црква Ваведења Пресвете Богородице у Белом Пољу код Пећи из XVI века, обновљена 1868. добротом руске царице Марије Александровне. У цркви се чувала збирка икона, књига и сасуда, међу којима се истицала итали-кретска икона Богородице са Христом из XV-XVI века.



Subsequent to the arrival of the Italian KFOR troops, the church was desecrated and vandalized, at the end of June 1999, by Albanian extremists. The entire Serbian population of the village was forced into exile. The last three remaining Serb peasants were murdered by UÇK militants.



Након доласка италијанских снага KFOR-а, црква је демолирана и оскрнављена крајем јуна 1999 од стране шиптарских екстремиста. Целокупно српско становништво из села је морало да напусти своје домове. Последња три сељака су убили наоружани припадници „УÇК“.

THE HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, in Petrič near Peć

13

ЦРКВА СВЕТЕ ТРОЈИЦЕ у Петричу поред Пећи

The new Church of the Holy Trinity in the village of Petrič, on the Peć-Priština road, was built as a foundation of the Karić family in 1992.

Нова црква Св. Тројице у селу Петрич на путу Пећ-Приштина саграђена је 1992. године као ктиторија породице Карић.



The church before destruction / Црква пре уништења



The church after first mining / Црква након првог минирања



The church after the second mining / Црква после другог минирања



After the Italian KFOR units were deployed in the area, the church was damaged at the beginning of July 1999. Albanian extremists looted, desecrated and vandalized the interior. Soon thereafter they partly destroyed the church. In mid-August they mined the church again and this time levelled it with the ground.



Након доласка италијанских снага KFOR-а, црква је демолирана, оскрнављена и опљачкана од стране шиптарских екстремиста почетком јула 1999. године и убрзо након тога је озбиљно оштећена експлозивом. Средином августа је поново минирана и савијена са земљом.

ST UROŠ'S CATHEDRAL, in Uroševac

The Cathedral Church of Holy King Uroš, in the city of Uroševac, was built between 1929 and 1933 by Josif Mihailović, the architect from Skopje. The icon collection, belonging to the medieval period of Serbian icon painting, also included the 1896 *Holy Trinity* icon painted, by Josif Radević from Lazaro-polje. The church had votive patens from 1909, a censer and several bells donated by the women of Kragujevac in 1912.



After the arrival of the US KFOR forces in Uroševac, at the end of June 1999, the cathedral demolished inside and set on fire by Albanian extremists.

15

КАТЕДРАЛНА ЦРКВА СВ. УРОША у Урошевцу

Катедрална црква Светог Краља Уроша у граду Урошевцу (1929–1933). Пројекат је израдио скопски архитекта Јосиф Михаиловић. Збирка икона припада средњовековном српском иконопису. Међу њима је икона Св. Тројице коју је сликао 1896. зограф Јосиф Радевич из Лазаропоља. Црква има заветни крст из 1909. године, кандило и звона из 1912. г. дар крагујевачких жена.



The burned interior and desecrated Balkans Wars Memorial cemetery / Запаљена унутрашњост цркве и оскрнављено гробље ветерана Балканских ратова



Црква је демолирана и запаљена од стране шиптарских екстремиста након доласка америчких снага KFOR-а у Урошевцу, крајем јуна 1999.

ST ELIJAH'S CHURCH, in Vučitrn

The Church of St Elijah in Vučitrn, was built in 1834, on the eastern outskirts of the city, at the site where previously buried holy relics had been discovered. The wall paintings, painted by Blaža Damjanović from Debar, date from 1871.



16

ЦРКВА СВ. ИЛИЈЕ у Вучитрну

Црква Св. Илије у Вучитрну подигнута је 1834. године на источној крају града где су пронађене закопане црквене утвари. Зидне слике је радио 1871. зограф Блажа Дамњановић из Дебра.



The church was desecrated in June 1999, in the presence of the French KFOR troops. The priest's house was looted and vandalized.



Црква је оскрнављена у јуну 1999, у присуству снага француског KFOR-а. Свештеничка кућа је опљачкана и демолирана.

ST JOHN THE BAPTIST CHURCH, in Samodreža near Vučitrn

The Church of St John the Baptist, in Samodreža near Vučitrn, is known in history as "the white church of Samodreža" in which saint King Lazar gave the Holy Communion to the Serbian knights on the eve of the Battle of Kosovo (1389). The new church, made from blocks of white marble according to the design of A. Deroko and P. Popovic, was erected on the foundations of the old church, in 1932. The famous poet and painter Živorad Nastasijević painted the frescoes in the new church in the same year. Albanians desecrated the church and damaged the frescoes in 1981.



The outside view of the vandalized church
Спољни изглед оштећене цркве



The Bishop in front of his church
Владика испред своје цркве

17

ЦРКВА СВЕТОГ ЈОВАНА ПРЕТЕЧЕ у Самодрежи поред Вучитрне

Црква Св. Јована Претече у Самодрежи код Вучитрне опевана као бијела црква Самодрежа у којој је Св. Кнез Лазар уочи косовске битке 1389. године причестио српске витезове. Године 1932. на остацима старе подигнута је нова Самодрежа од белих мермерних тесаника по пројектима професора Београдског универзитета А. Дерока и П. Половића. Фреске у новој Самодрежи урадио је познати сликар и песник Живорад Настасијевић 1932. године. Шиптари су 1981. године оскрнављивали цркву и оштетили фреске.



The walls of the desecrated church covered with UÇK (KLA) graffiti. On one of the walls a graffiti NATO + UÇK + FRANCE is enveloped by a heart. / Зидови оскрнављени цркве су прекривени графитима ОВК (УÇК). На једном од зидова графит НАТО + ОВК + ФРАНЦУСКА је уквирен срцем.

At the end of June 1999, after the French KFOR forces were deployed in the area, Albanian extremists vandalized Samodreža church, burned the interior.



Након доласка француских снага KFOR-а, црква је демолирана крајем јуна 1999. и запаљена изнутра од стране шиптарских екстремиста. Након тога је потпуно срушена.

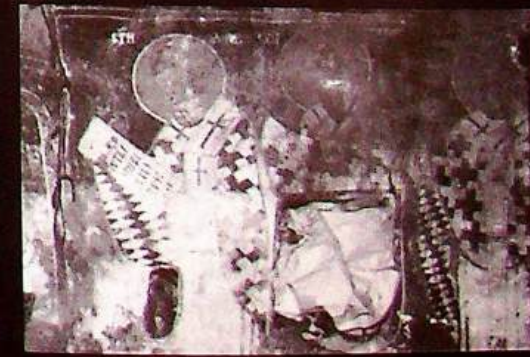
ST PARASCEVA'S CHURCH, in Drsnik near Peć

The Church of St Parasceva, in Drsnik near Peć, was at one time devoted to St Nicholas. It was a single-nave building, of rectangular foundation, with a semi-cylindrical vault. There was a semi-round apse facing east. The church had a gable roof covered in stone slates. The wall consisted of irregular layers of stone and plaster. The old frescoes were considerably damaged. The church was restored during the 1570's. Preserved was an icon from that period, remarkable for its fine drawing and strong colours. The technique was good and in spite of constant rain and snow, the frescoes were well preserved. Two marble crosses were elaborately shaped and placed on the eastern and western roof vertices respectively.

18

ЦРКВА СВ. ПАРАСКЕВЕ у Дрснику код Пећи

Црква Св. Параскеве раније била посвећена Св. Николи у Дрснику код Пећи. Једнобродна грађевина правоугаоне основе, засведена полуобличастим сводом. На источној страни цркве је полукружна апсида. Кров је двосливан, покривен каменом плочама. Структура зидова је од неправилних слојева камена и малтера. Стари живопис је доста оштећен. Црква је обновљена седамдесетих година XVI века из којег је периода сачуван и живопис који се истиче веома добрим цртежом и снажним колоритом. Техника рада је добра и фреске су и поред сталних киша и снегова као и недаћа којима су биле изложене, доста добро очуване. Два мермерна крста су декоративно обрађена и постављена на источном и западном темну крова.



1. The church of St Parasceva in Drsnik / Црква Св. Петке у Дрснику 2. The icon of St Nicholas (the eight decade of the 16th c) / Икона Св. Николе (осма деценија XVI века) 3. The fresco of St Basil / Фреска Св. Василија 4. The fresco of St Cyril / Фреска Св. Ћирила

After the Italian KFOR forces into the area the church was vandalized, set on fire and seriously damaged by Albanian extremists using explosives, in June 1999.



Након доласка италијанских снага KFOR-а, Црква је демолирана, запаљена и тешко оштећена експлозивом у јуну 1999. године, од стране албанских екстремиста.

THE HOLY VIRGIN CHURCH, Naklo village near Peć

19

БОГОРОДИЧИНА ЦРКВА, село Накло код Пећи

The Church of the Holy Virgin, in the village of Naklo near Peć, was built in 1985.



Богородичина црква у селу Накло код Пећи саграђена је 1985. године.

After the arrival of the Italian KFOR troops, this Christian shrine was demolished and set on fire by Albanian extremists.



Након доласка италијанских снага KFOR-а, црква је демолирана и спаљена од стране шиптарских екстремиста.

THE HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, in Velika Reka near Vučitrn

20

ЦРКВА СВЕТЕ ТРОЈИЦЕ у Великој Реци поред Вучитрна

The Church of the Holy Trinity, in the village of Velika Reka near Vučitrn, was built as a foundation of Dimitrije Ljiljak in 1997 according to the design of the architect Ljiljana Ljiljak.

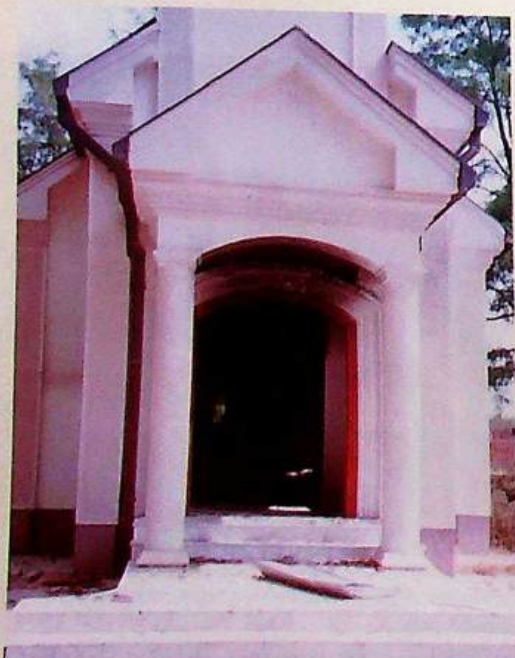


The church before burning / Црква пре паљења



The church after burning / Црква после паљења

Црква Св. Тројице у селу Велика Река код Вучитрна је ктиторија Димитрија Љиљка саграђена 1997. године, по пројекту архитект Љиљане Љиљак.



The church was vandalized, desecrated and set on fire by Albanian extremists in June 1999, after the French KFOR troops had arrived.



Црква је демолирана, обесвећена и запаљена од стране шиптарских екстремиста у јуну 1999. године, након доласка француских снага KFOR-а.

THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY APOSTLES, in Petrovac near Kosovska

21

ЦРКВА Св. АПОСТОЛА у Петровцу код Косовске Каменице

The church of the Holy Apostles in Petrovac near Kosovska Kamenica was demolished and set on fire by Albanian extremists after the US KFOR troops had taken control of the area.



Црква Св. Апостола у Петровцу код Косовске Каменице је демолирана и спаљена од стране шиптарских екстремиста, а након доласка америчких снага KFOR-а.

THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY VIRGIN, in the village of Podgorce near Vitina

22

ЦРКВА Св. БОГОРОДИЦЕ у селу Подгорце код Витине

The Church of the Holy Virgin, in the village of Podgorce near Vitina, has been recently built. It was consecrated in 1996.

The Church of The Holy Virgin in the village of Podgorce, near Vitina, was vandalized and set on fire by Albanian extremists after the arrival of the US KFOR troops.



Црква Св. Богородице у селу Подгорце код Витине, демолирана и спаљена од стране шиптарских екстремиста, а након доласка америчких снага KFOR-а.

ST JOHN THE BAPTIST CHURCH, Pečka Banja

23

ЦРКВА ЗАЧЕЋА Св. ЈОВАНА ПРЕТЕЧЕ у Пећкој Бањи

The Church of St John the Baptist was completed in 1998 as the Rajović family foundation in Pečka Banja. The complex ground plan of the church consisted of three parts. The church also had three belfries with a rectangular base, a narthex and a naos in the form of an inscribed cross in combination with a trefoil and an altar space. The ground plan with an inscribed cross was not completed because the eastern bay, somewhat shorter, immediately extended into the central apse, prothesis, and altar chapels on both sides. The belfries were open on all four sides at the base and connected by the roof board of the gallery. The project was designed by Ljubiša Folić and Radomir Folić. The frescoes were painted by Dragomir Jasović, the icon-painter was Pavle Aksentijević, the mosaic was done by Zdravko Vajagić and the horos and crosses were made by Bane Rakalić, the bells were made by Popović foundry.

Црква Зачећа Св. Јована Претече и Кума Божијег у Пећкој Бањи ктиторија породице Рајковић завршена 1998. године. Црква је пројектована са основом у сложеном облику у три целине; три звоника са правоугаоном базом, припратом и наосом у облику развијеног уписаног крста у комбинацији са триконхосом и олтарским простором. Основа развијеног уписаног крста није потпуна зато сто са источне стране има скраћени травеј и одмах се наставља простор централне апсиде, проскомидије и ђако-ника са обе стране. Звоници су у основи отворени на четири стране и спојени стропном плочом галерије. Аутор пројекта су Љубиша Фолић и Радомир Фолић. Храм живописао Драгомир Јасовић, иконописао Павле Аксентијевић, мозаик урадио Здравко Вајагић, полијелеј и крстовете израдио Бане Ракалић, звона из Ливнице „Поповић“.



The church was vandalized and set on fire by Albanian extremists after the arrival of the Italian KFOR units.



Црква је демолирана и унутра паљена од стране шиптарских екстремиста, а након доласка италијанских снага KFOR-а.

THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY VIRGIN, in Đurakovac

24

ЦРКВА СВ. БОГОРОДИЦЕ у Ђураковцу

The Church of the Holy Virgin in Đurakovac, from 1997, was vandalized. The parish house was looted and set on fire.



Црква Св. Богородице у Ђураковцу из 1997, демолирана. Парохијски дом је опљачкан и запаљен.



A torn icon on the desecrated altar table /
Исхидане иконе на оскрнављеној часној трпези



The vandalized church / Демолирана црква

After the Italian KFOR military units came to the region, Albanian extremists devastated the church, in July 1999.



Након доласка италијанских снага KFOR-а, црква је демолирана у јулу 1999. од стране шиптарских екстремиста.

THE HOLY TRINITY CATHEDRAL, in Đakovica

25

ЦРКВА СВЕТЕ ТРОЈИЦЕ у Ђаковици

The Church of the Holy Trinity in Đakovica was completed in 1999 on the foundations of a five-dome memorial church. The previous church on this site was built as a mausoleum for all killed, murdered and frozen soldiers in the wars of 1912-1918. This church was completed in 1940. But in 1949, on St Sava's Day, the memorial church was destroyed by atheists. Fifty years after, the same happened to a new shrine, which was first desecrated, then set ablaze, mined and finally completely destroyed on 24/25 July 1999.

The Đakovica cathedral was one of the most beautiful recently built churches. Several different types of the ground plan were combined in the interior organization of the space. The basic structure was in the form of an inscribed cross. The cathedral had a central dome and four smaller domes in the corner, lower bays. In this way a spiritual connection with the largest church of the SS Archangels Monastery near Prizren, was achieved. Additional side spaces gave to the church the form of a free cross which followed the pattern of the great early Christian churches, especially the churches of St John in Ephesus and the Holy Apostles in Constantinople built by Emperor Justinian. Side apses were added to transversal brackets whereby a continuity with Knez Lazar's medieval architectural style was successfully established.

The architects of the church were Ljubiša Folić and Radomir Folić.



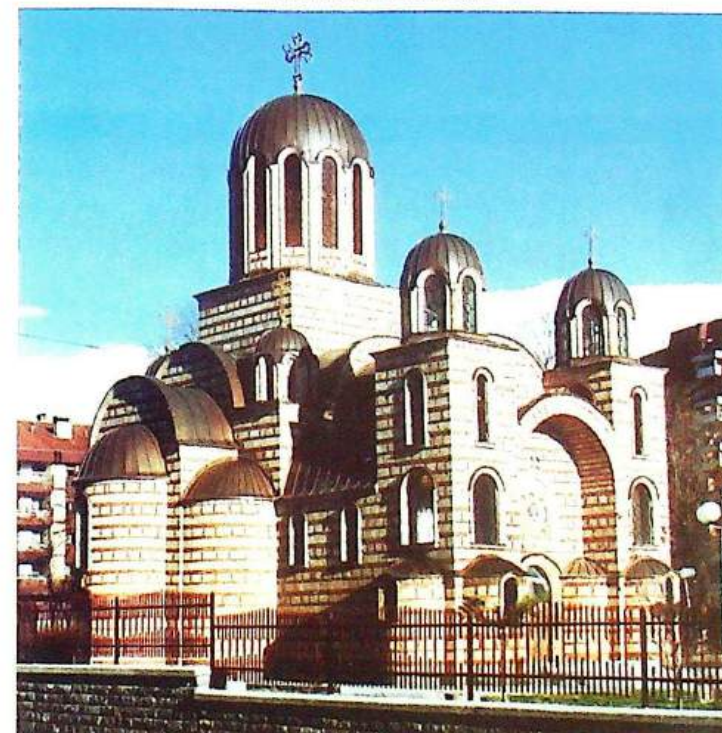
Саборни храм Свете Тројице у Ђаковици саграђен је 1999. године на темељима петокуполне спомен цркве. Стара црква је била предвиђена за маузолеј и похрањивање земних остатака изгинулих, побијених и смрзнутих у ратовима 1912-1918. године. Та црква је завршена 1940. године, срушена од безбожника 1949. године на дан Св. Саве. После педесет година, поново на том истом месту нови храм доживљава идентичну судбину: прво бива оскрнављен, потом запаљен, да би на крају био миниран и порушен 24/25 јула 1999. године.

Храм у Ђаковици је био један од најлепших новоизграђених храмова. Унутрашња организација простора предвиђала је комбинацију неколико различитих типова основа централног плана. Основни корпус је у облику уписаног крста са централном куполом и четири мање куполе у угаоним, нижим травејима. Тиме је постигнута духовна веза са највећом црквом манастира Св Арханђела код Призрена. Додатни бочни простори дају основни облик слободног крста као асоцијације на велике апостолионе ранохришћанског периода као што су: Св Јован у Ефесу и Св Апостоли у Цариграду из времена Јустинијана. Попречним крацима додате су бочне апсиде, тако да је успостављен континуитет са архитектуром из доба Кнеза Лазара.

Аутори пројекта су Љубиша Фолић и Радомир Фолић.



Đakovica, building of the previous church — mausoleum (photograph from 1940) / Ђаковица, зидање претходне цркве — маузолеја (снимак из 1940 год)



The Cathedral before complete destruction / Храм пре потпуног уништења



The church after destruction / Црква након рушења

Immediately after the arrival of the Italian KFOR, the local Albanian extremists desecrated the church, which stood in the very center of the city. The valuable Greek mosaic of the Holy Trinity, above the main entrance, was smashed to pieces. The interior of the church was set on fire and smeared with excrement. Everywhere on the walls the graffiti of the KLA (UÇK) and obscene drawings could be seen. In the end, several hundred kilograms of explosives were placed inside the church and detonated. It happened on 24th/25th July 1999. Numerous appeals of the Church leaders to KFOR prior to the destruction unfortunately brought no result whatsoever.



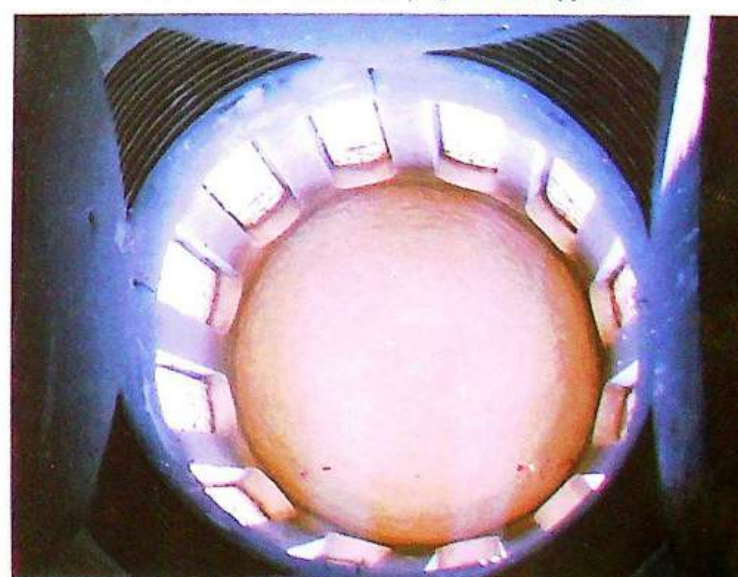
The smashed mosaic of the Holy Trinity / Сврљени мозаик Св. Тројице



The interior of the desecrated church before the final destruction
Унутрашњост оскрнављене цркве пре потпуног уништења



The church after destruction / Црква након рушења



Одмах по доласку снага италијанског KFOR-а локални шиптарски екстремисти почели су да скрнавље цркву која се налази у строгом центру града. Вредни грчки мозаик Свете Тројице изнад главног портала је разбијен у парампарчад. Унутрашњост цркве је запаљена и оскрнављена изметом. Свуда по зидовима цркве могли су се видети графити тзв. „ОВК“ (UÇK) и вулгарни цртежи. Коначно, ова мученичка црква је уништена стотинама килограма снажног експлозива 24/25. јула 1999, и поред сталних апела наше Цркве да KFOR обезбеди ову светињу.

ST NICHOLAS' CHURCH, village of Osojane near Peć

26

ЦРКВА СВ. НИКОЛЕ у селу Осојане код Пећи

The Church of St Nicholas — Nikoljača stands in a hilly meadow, in the old Serbian village of Osojane in the river Kujačevce valley, 8 km south-east of Istok. The name of the village is mentioned in King Milutin's charter to Banjska Monastery in 1314. The Dević katastichos ("letter" to the monastery) from 1761-79 contains the list of all Serb donors.

Црква Св. Николе — Никољача у ливади на брежуљку у старом српском селу Осојане у долини реке Кујавче, осам километара југоисточно од Истока. Место Осојане се помиње у повељи краља Милутина манастиру Бањска 1314. године. У Девичком катастиху од 1761-79. уписани су Срби дародавци.

The church of St Nicholas in the village of Osojane near Peć, was vandalized by Albanian extremists after the arrival of the Italian KFOR troops. It still remains desecrated.

Црква Св. Николе у селу Осојане код Пећи, демолирана и оскрнављена од стране шиптарских екстремиста, а након доласка италијанских снага KFOR-а.

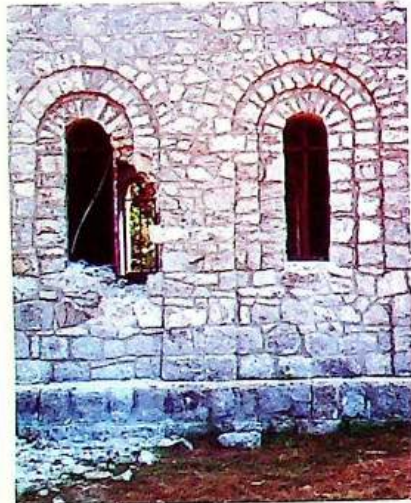
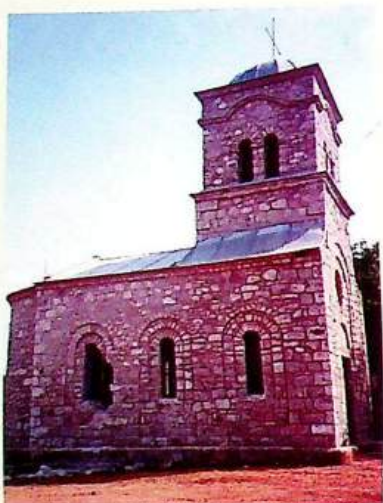
ST ELIJAH'S, CHURCH in Bistražin near Đakovica

27

ЦРКВА СВ. ИЛИЈЕ у Бистражину поред Ђаковице

The Church of the Holy Prophet Elijah in Bistražin was built between the two world wars on the foundations of a much older church from partially chiselled stone. The church has a belfry facing west. In April 1941 Albanian Nazis set on fire the church and pulled it down. In 1991 the church was restored.

Црква Св. Пророка Илије у Бистражину зидана од делимично тесаног камена са звоником на западној страни. Подигнута је између два светска рата на темељима старог црквишта. Шиптари-нацисти су је спалили и разорили априла 1941. године. Црква је обновљена 1991.



Albanian extremists vandalized the church again, in 1999, after the arrival of the Italian KFOR forces, using handgrenades which caused extensive damage inside.



Шиптарски екстремисти су је демолирали и озбиљно оштетили ручним бомбама у јуну 1999, након доласка италијанских снага KFOR-а.

ST DEMETRIOS' CHURCH, in Siga near Peć

28

ЦРКВА СВ. ДИМИТРИЈА у Сиги код Пећи

The Church of St Demetrios in Siga, near Peć, was reconstructed in 1937 on the foundations of an old church, which had an added narthex. An ancient upright candleholder, made of wrought iron, was found in it. In 1941 Albanian extremists vandalized the shrine.

Црква Св. Димитрија у Сиги код Пећи, обновљена 1937. године на темељима старе цркве са призиданом припратом за коју се сматрало да је била старија од Дечана. У старини је нађен примерак стојећег свећњака од кованог гвожђа. 1941. године Шиптари су демолирали храм.

In July 1999, after the Italian KFOR units settled in the surrounding area, Albanian extremists completely destroyed the church.



Храм је потпуно срушен у 1999. у јулу месецу од стране шиптарских екстремиста, након доласка снага италијанских KFOR-а.

ST ELIJAH'S PARISH CHURCH, in the village of Žegra near Gnjilane

29

ПАРОХИЈСКА ЦРКВА СВ. ИЛИЈЕ у селу Жегра код Гњилана

The Church of St Elijah in the village of Žegra, near Gnjilane, was built in 1931.

Црква Св. Илије у селу Жегри код Гњилана из 1931. године.



The church before the fire / Црква пре паљења

The church after the fire / Црква након паљења



The church after the fire / Црква након паљења

After the US KFOR had arrived, the church was vandalized and set on fire; the roof fell in. This was done by local Albanians, in June 1999. Two adjacent churches were also destroyed by arson and, at the cemetery, crosses and other grave stones were knocked down.



Након доласка америчких снага KFOR-а, црква је демолирана и затим сасвим спаљена (крив срушен), од стране локалних Шиптара у јуну 1999. Такође су паљене две црквене зграде, а на гробљу рушени крстови и споменици.

THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY HEALERS COSMAS AND DAMIAN, village of Novake near Prizren

30

ЦРКВА СВЕТИХ ВРАЧА КОЗМЕ И ДАМЈАНА у селу Новакe код Призрена

The ancient Church of the Holy Healers in the village of Novake, near Prizren, was restored in 1991.

Црква Светих Врача у селу Новакe код Призрена, старина обновљена 1991. године.



As soon as the German KFOR soldiers arrived here, Albanian extremists demolished the church and set it on fire. They tried to blow it up by explosives. Tombstones around the church were overturned and smashed.



Након доласка немачких снага KFOR-а, шиптарски екстремисти су је демолирали и запалили. Покушано је минирање, гробови око храма порушени.

THE CHURCH OF THE PRESENTATION OF THE HOLY VIRGIN, in Veliko Kruševo near Peć

31

ЦРКВА ВАВЕДЕЊА ПРЕСВЕТЕ БОГОРОДИЦЕ у Великом Крушеву код Пећи

The Church of the Presentation of the Holy Virgin, in Veliko Kruševo near Peć. Ancient, restored.

Црква Ваведења пресвете Богородице у Великом Крушеву код Пећи (стара, обновљена).

The old (reconstructed) church in Kruševo near Peć was broken into, desecrated and vandalized, and then partly burned by Albanian extremists.

Након доласка италијанских снага KFOR-а, црква у Крушеву код Пећи (стара, обновљена), проваљена је и обесвећена, а затим делимично спаљена од стране шиптарских екстремиста.

ZOČIŠTE MONASTERY AND THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY HEALERS COSMAS AND DAMIAN

32

МАНАСТИР ЗОЧИШТЕ И ЦРКВА Св. ВРАЧА БЕСРЕБРЕНИКА КУЗМАНА И ДАМЈАНА

The 14th century Zočište Monastery, 5 km south-east of Oraovac, was built in the time of the Medieval Serbian Nemanjić Dynasty. The Church of the Holy Healers Cosmas and Damian (who according to the legend charged no fee for curing the ill) had a semi-round vault and a wide narthex. The preserved frescoes, especially one of a prophet's bust, belonged to the 12th-14th century monumental style of painting. The monastery had a valuable collection of icons, books (the Zočište menaion from the 15th century), and liturgical vessels. The carved door of the iconostasis was known for its exceptional beauty.

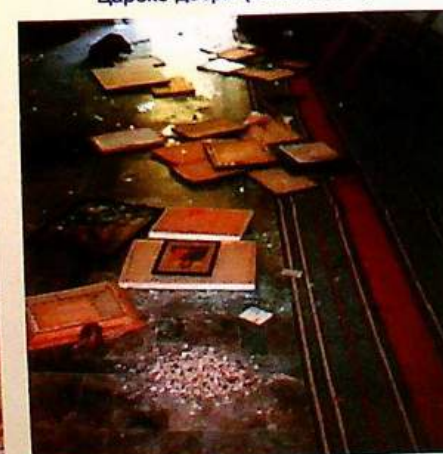
Манастир Зочиште из XIV века, пет километара југоисточно од Ораховца, из доба самосталне Немањичке државе и црква Св. Врача Бесребреника Кузмана и Дамјана са полуобличастим сводом и широм припратом од наоса. Очуване фреске посебно по-прсја пророка које припадају монументалном сликарству XII до XIV века. Вредна збирка икона, књига (Зочишни минеј из XV в.) и сасуда. Посебно се истичу царске двери.



The church before destruction / Црква пре уништења



Royal door (17-18 c.)
Царске двери (XVII-XVIII в.)



Dormitories destroyed by fire / Спаљени коначи



Albanian extremists looted and vandalized the monastery, and burned down the konaks (residential quarters), as soon as the German KFOR troops had settled in this area. The church was completely destroyed by explosive in September 1999.

Од стране шиптарских екстремиста, манастир је опљачкан и демолиран, а коначи спаљени, након доласка немачких снага KFOR-а. Црква је потпуно уништена експлозивом у септембру 1999.

THE PARISH CHURCH, in Grmovo near Vitina

33

ПАРОХИЈСКА ЦРКВА у селу Грмово код Витине

The new Church of St John in Grmovo, 4 km west of Vitina.

Нова парохијска црква Св. Јована у Грмову четири километра западно од Витине.



Burnt down, and then completely destroyed by explosive, on 25th July 1999 by Albanian extremists, after the US KFOR had moved into the area.



Најпре спаљена, а потом потпуно срушена експлозивом 25. јула 1999 од стране шиптарских екстремиста након доласка америчких снага KFOR-а.

ST NICHOLAS' CHURCH, in the village of Kijevo near Klina

34

ЦРКВА Св. НИКОЛЕ у Кијеву код Клине

The Church of St Nicholas, once stood in the village of Kijevo in Prekoruplje, 15 km south-east of Klina. The single-nave building, with a semi-round vault and semi-circle apse, was built in 14th century. The added spacious narthex was painted in 1602. Among the valuables of the church were three 17th century censers, nine icons from the second half of the 16th century among which was the icon of the Holy Apostle Thomas. The church had an extremely valuable collection of hand written books. The belfry was added in the 19th century. Now it is completely razed to the ground.

Црква Св. Николе у селу Кијеву у Прекорупљу петнаест километара југоисточно од Клине. Црква је из XIV века, једнобродна грађевина са полуобличастим сводом и полукружном апсидом. Дозидана пространа припрата је изликана 1602. године. Три кадионице из XVII века, девет икона из друге половине XVI века, међу њима је и икона Св. Апостола Томе са веома ретком представом његовог стојећег лика — сцена из његовог житија. Црква је имала и најбогатију збирку рукописних књига. Звоник је дозидан уз цркву у XIX в.



Albanian extremists mined the building in July 1999, after the arrival of the Italian KFOR troops. The building collapsed entirely. Crosses and tombstones at the cemetery were also destroyed.



Шиптарски екстремисти су цркву минирали у јулу 1999. године након доласка италијанских снага KFOR-а. Црква је срушена до темеља а на гробљу срушени крстови и споменици.

THE CHURCH OF THE ST EVANGELIST MARK, in Klina

35

ЦРКВА СВ. ЕВАНЂЕЛИСТЕ МАРКА, Клина

The Church of St Evangelist Mark, in Klina (Metohia), was erected on the foundations of the old Church of the Presentation of the Holy Virgin.

Црква Св. Јеванђелисте Марка подигнута у Клини (Метохија) на темељима старе цркве Св. Пречисте — Ваведење Пресвете Богородице.



The church was mined by Albanian extremists, after the arrival of the Italian KFOR troops to the area.



Срушена експлозивом шиптарских екстремиста након доласка италијанских снага KFOR-а.

ST NICHOLAS' CHURCH, in Ljubižda near Prizren

36

ЦРКВА СВ. НИКОЛЕ, Љубижда код Призрена



The Church of St Nicholas, in the village of Ljubižda near Prizren, was built in the 16th century and renewed in 1867. The Galician painter Vasilije Krstić of the famous Daskalović-Dinovski family, from Debar, painted the interior. The single-nave building had a semi-round vault and an extended narthex. The icons from the neighbouring churches were destroyed earlier. Among them was the 14th century double icon of *The Annunciation and the Meeting of Joachim and Ann*. The double door in the iconostasis dated back to the 16th century. The church used to have bells, a processional icon of the Mother of God with an artistically embroidered linen cloth 7-8m long, a wooden chalice, books, throne icons, triptych-icon, octagonal choir space with mother-of-pearl incrustations, a copper baptismery, a filigree cross with an inscription from the 19th century.

The fragment from the 14th century icon of the Annunciation — Archangel Gabriel

Црква Св. Николе у селу Љубижди саграђена у XVI веку, обновљена 1867. године. Осликао је галички зограф Василије Крстић из чувене дебарске породице Даскаловића-Ђиновских. Црква је једнобродна са полуобличастим сводом и проширеном припратом. У њу су пренете иконе из суседних порушених цркава међу којима и двојна икона Благовести и сусрета Јоакима и Ане из XIV века. Двери из XVI века. У цркви се чува неколико клепала, литијска икона Богородице са везеним ланеним платном дугим 7-8 м, дрвени путир, књиге, престоне иконе, икона-триптихона, осмострани певница инкрустирана седефом и коштаном плочама, бакарна крстионица, филигрански крст са натписом из XIX века.



Desecrated Altar / Оскрнављени олтар



The church was looted, vandalized and set on fire by Albanian extremists, after the German KFOR forces had already arrived to the area. The parish house was looted and set on fire.



Опљачкана, демолирана, унутра паљена од стране шиптарских екстремиста, након доласка немачких снага KFOR-а. Парохијски дом је опљачкан и спаљен.

THE CHURCH OF HOLY PROPHET ELIJAH, village of Ljubižda near Prizren

37

ЦРКВА СВ. ИЛИЈЕ, Љубижда код Призрена

The Church of the Holy Prophet Elijah in Ljubižda, 4 km north-east of Prizren. The church was restored in 1979, on the 16th century foundations.

Црква Св. Пророка Илије у Љубижди у призренском подгору четири километра североисточно од Призрена. Обновљена је 1979. године на старим темељима из XVI века.



Damaged church of St. Elijah / Оштећена црква Св. Илије



Albanian extremists moved in to plunder the valuables, vandalize, burn and mine the whole building, after the arrival of the German KFOR troops. The christian graves around it were desecrated.



Од стране шиптарских екстремиста опљачкана, демолирана, унутра паљена и минирана, након доласка немачких снага KFOR-а. Хришћанско гробље око ње порушено.



ST PARASCEVA'S CHURCH, in the village of Dobrčane near Gnjilane

38

ЦРКВА СВ. ПЕТКЕ, у селу Добрчане код Гњилана

The Church of St Parasceva, in the village of Dobrčane, 10 km east of Gnjilane and on the road to Kamenica, was built after World War I.

Црква Св. Петке у селу Добрчане налази се десет километара источно од Гњилана, на путу за Каменицу. Саграђена је после Првог светског рата.

After the US units of KFOR arrived, Albanian extremists burned the church down. The roof caved in.



Након доласка америчких снага KFOR-а, шиптарски екстремисти су спалили цркву, кров пао унутра.

THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF CHRIST THE SAVIOR, in Priština

39

КАТЕДРАЛНА ЦРКВА ХРИСТА СПАСА у Приштини

The Cathedral Church of Christ the Savior in Priština (new), is a single-dome building with the ground plan in the form of an inscribed cross and a trefoil. Its typological definition, an edifice of central type, was already known in the earliest period of the Middle Ages, especially during the Byzantine epoch. The author of the project is Spasoje Krunic.



Катедрална црква Христа Спаса у Приштини (нова), једнокуполна грађевина на основи облика уписаног крста са триконхосом. Тако типолошко одређење храма, као грађевине централног типа, јавља се у најранијем периоду средњег века, посебно у Византији. Аутор пројекта је архитекта Спасоје Крунић.



In the presence of the British KFOR in Priština Albanian extremists tried to set the church on fire in June. On 1st August 1999 at 01 o'clock a.m. there was an attempt of mining. Explosive charges were planted in four places inside. Only two devices went off. The structure was seriously shaken.



У присуству британских снага КFOR-а у Приштини, најпре се десио покушај паљења цркве од стране шиптарских екстремиста у јуну месецу. Дана 1. августа 1999. у 1 час подметнут је експлозив на четири места, два нису експлодирала. Структура цркве је озбиљно нарушена.

ST ELIJAH'S CHURCH, in Smač near Prizren

40

ЦРКВА СВ. ИЛИЈЕ у Смаћу, поред Призрена

The Church of St Elijah was built in 1994 in the village of Smač, in a field near Prizren, 10 km north of the city. It was built as the foundation of Živko Đorđević by Milosav Lukić.

Црква Св. Илије из 1994. село Смаћ у призренском пољу десет километара северно од Призрена. Ктиторија Живка Ђорђевића. Аутор пројекта Милосав Лукић.



After the German KFOR troops had arrived, this christian church was set on fire, vandalized and mined from the inside, by Albanian extremists, in July 1999. All explosive charges did not explode.



Након доласка немачких снага КFOR-а, паљена, демолирана и минирана изнутра у јулу 1999. године од стране шиптарских екстремиста (нису сви пакети динамита експлодирали).

THE CHURCH OF ST BASIL THE GREAT, in the village of Srbica

41

ЦРКВА СВ. ВАСИЛИЈА ВЕЛИКОГ, у селу Србица код Призрена

The Church of St Basil was built in 1863, in the village of Srbica near Prizren, on a slope facing south, among eight ancient oak trees and on the ruins of a much older church. This was a single-nave building which had a collection of icons and books from the 18th and 19th century.

The church was first set ablaze and then finally destroyed by Albanian extremists, after the German KFOR troops had arrived.



Спаљена је а затим порушена од стране шиптарских екстремиста, након доласка немачких снага КFOR-а.

ST PARASCEVA'S CHURCH, in the village of Zaskok, near Uroševac

42

ЦРКВА СВ. ПЕТКЕ у селу Заскок код Урошевца

The Church of St Parasceva (built recently), in the village of Zaskok near Uroševac.

Црква Св. Петке (новија) у селу Заскок код Урошевца



The church was mined and completely destroyed by Albanian extremists despite the presence of the US KFOR.



Минирана је и срушена од стране шиптарских екстремиста и поред присуства снага америчког КFOR-а.

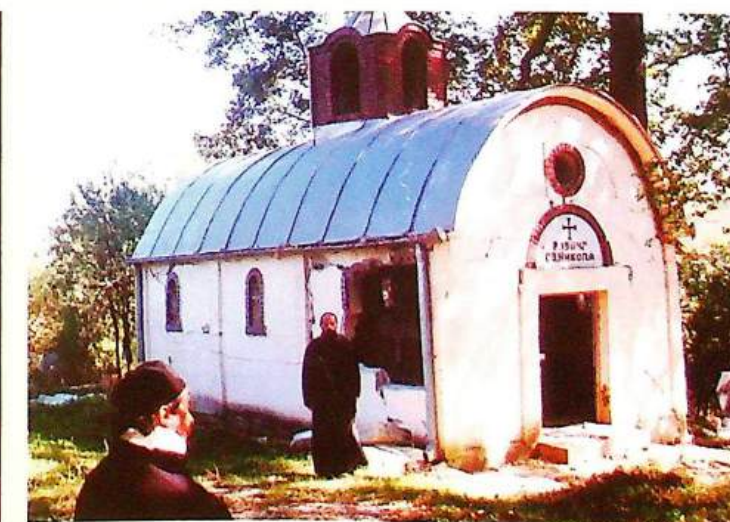
ST NICHOLAS' CHURCH, village of Gatnje near Uroševac

43

ЦРКВА СВ. НИКОЛЕ, село Гатње код Урошевца

The Church of St Nicholas was once in the village of Gatnje (Uroševac), east of today's Gornja Mahala. The new church was built on the old foundations in 1985.

Црква Св. Николе село Гатње (Урошевац), источно од садашње Горње Махале. На старим темељима подигнута је нова црква 1985. године.



The church was looted, vandalized and mined by Albanian extremists, after the arrival of the US KFOR units.



Црква је опљачкана, демолирана па срушена динамитом од стране шиптарских екстремиста, након доласка америчких снага КFOR-а.

THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY VIRGIN, Koriša near Prizren

50

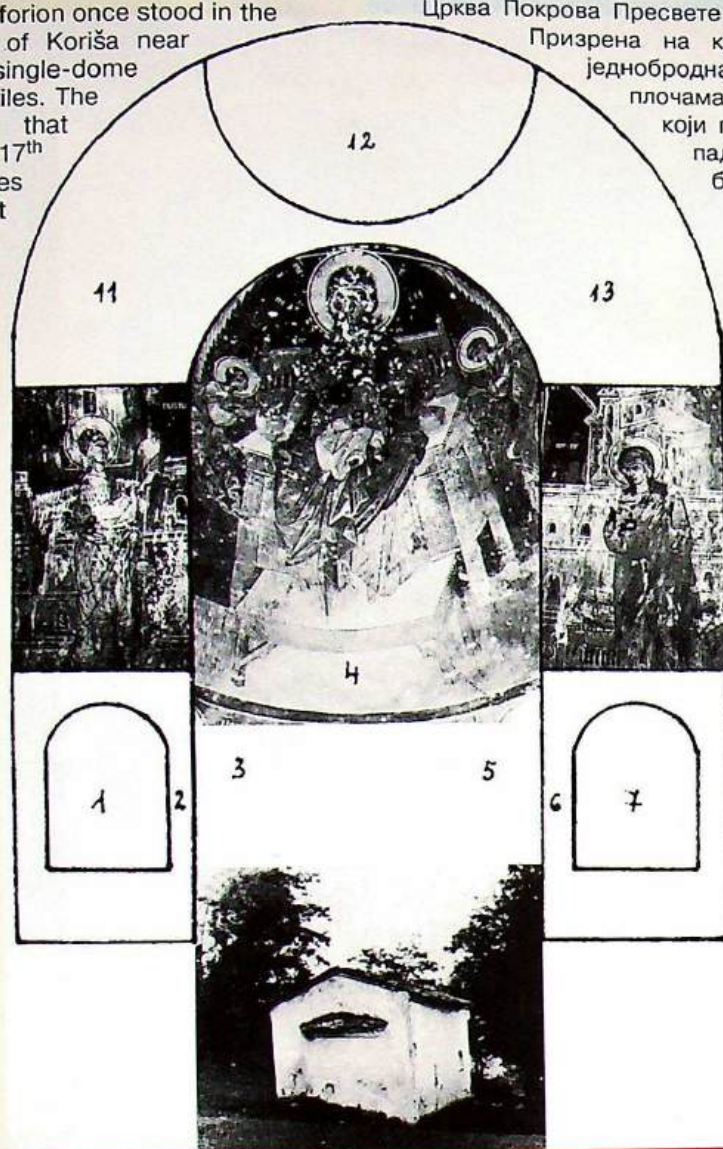
ЦРКВА ПОКРОВА ПРЕСВЕТЕ БОГОРОДИЦЕ у засеоку Кориша

The Church of the Holy Virgin's Maforion once stood in the easternmost part of the village of Koriša near Prizren. The church was a single-dome building covered with large stone tiles. The apse contained a painting that stylistically belonged to the 16th–17th century. The remains of the frescoes were rather well preserved, except for the fresco of *The Holy Mother with Christ* that was riddled with bullets fired by Albanian extremists. The church also had a collection of the 19th century icons and liturgical vessels.

Црква Покрова Пресвете Богородице у засеоку Кориша код Призрена на крајњем источном делу. Црква је једнобродна грађевина покривена каменим плочама. У апсиди цркве очуван је живопис који по својим стилским особинама припада XVI–XVII веку. Остаци фресака су били прилично добро очувани, осим Богородице са Христом која је изрешетана мецима шиптарских екстремиста. У цркви је било икона и сасуда из XIX века.

Arrangement of the frescoes in the apse of the Church of the Holy Virgin in Koriša:

1. Holy Archdeacon Stefan;
2. St Simeon Stolpnik;
3. St John the Goldmouth;
4. Christ on a discus;
5. St Basil the Great;
6. St Danilo Stolpnik;
7. Unknown saint, damaged;
8. Archangel Gabriel from the Annunciation;
9. The Mother of God with Christ and archangels Gabriel and Michael;
10. The Mother of God from the Annunciation;
11. prophet David;
12. Christ Emanuel;
13. prophet Solomon



Распоред живописа у апсиди цркве Пресвете Богородице у Кориши:

1. Св. архиђакон Стефан;
2. Св. Симеон Столпник;
3. Св. Јован Златоуст;
4. Христос на дискосу;
5. Св. Василије Велики;
6. Св. Данило Столпник;
7. Непознати, оштећени светитељ;
8. Арханђео Гаврило из Благовести;
9. Богородица са Христом и арханђелима Гаврилом и Михаилом;
10. Богородица из Благовести;
11. Пророк Давид;
12. Христ Емануел;
13. Пророк Соломон

This church, as well as the ruins of a nearby much older chapel, were totally destroyed by Albanian extremists after the arrival of the German KFOR forces. The christian cemetery was also destroyed.



Црква је данас срушена до темеља, као и старо црквиште од стране шиптарских екстремиста, након доласка немачких снага KFOR-а. Уништено је и хришћанско гробље.

ST JEREMIAH'S CHURCH, in Grebnik near Klina

51

ЦРКВА Св. ЈЕРЕМИЈЕ у Гребнику код Клине

The Church of St Jeremiah in Grebnik was built in 1920 on old church grounds in the place known as Kučine, 5 km south-east of Klina. The Dević katastichos from 1765–76 acknowledges Serbs as donors. Around the church were several centennial oak trees and an ancient cemetery.

Црква Св. Јеремије у Гребнику подигнута 1920. године на темељима старог црквиште на месту Кучине, 5 км југоисточно од Клине. У Девичком катастиху 1765–76. помињу се Срби Гребничани као дародавци. Око цркве је неколико столетних дубова и старо гробље.

The church was razed to the ground and Albanian extremists flattened the terrain by a bulldozer beside the presence of the Italian KFOR troops.



По доласку италијанских снага KFOR-а црква је срушена до темеља и терен поравнат булдожером од стране шиптарских екстремиста.

THE CHURCH OF THE ST PRINCE LAZAR, in Koš near Istok

52

ЦРКВА Св. КНЕЗА ЛАЗАРА у Кошу поред Истока

The church with a belfry dedicated to Vidovdan and St Prince Lazar was erected in 1969 in the village of Koš, on the left bank of the river Kujavča, 12 km south-east of Istok. St Stephen's Charter, granted by King Milutin in 1314, mentions the name of the village. The Dević katastichos from 1761 to 1780 refers to Košani Serbs as benefactors.

Црква са звоником посвећена Видовдану и Св. Кнезу Лазару подигнута је 1969. године у селу Кош са леве стране реке Кујавче 12 километара југоисточно од Истока. Село се помиње у Светостефанској хрисовуљи краља Милутина 1314. год. У Девичком катастиху од 1761. до 1780. помињу се дародавци Срби Кошани.

Stone crosses and tombstones from the old cemetery were broken by Albanian extremists, the church door was smashed and the interior vandalized after the arrival of the Italian KFOR troops.



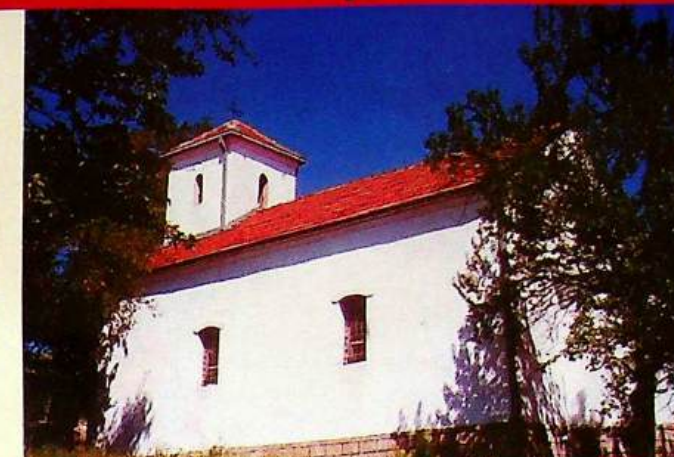
На старом гробљу камене крстаче и надгробне плоче су поломљене од стране шиптарских екстремиста, врата су разваљена и црква је унутра демолирана након доласка италијанских снага KFOR-а.

THE HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, in Žitinje near Vitina

53

ЦРКВА Св. ТРОЈИЦЕ у Житињу код Витине

The Holy Trinity Church in Žitinje, near Vitina, was built in 1980, on the foundations of the old Church of the Holy Virgin. The villagers had a bell and a new iconostasis made. During the restoration an old and damaged inscription was discovered within the ruins of the old church and was later incorporated in the new edifice. The 16th century katastichos of the Holy Trinity Monastery in Mušutište (1) contains the names of all benefactors from this village.



Црква Св. Тројице у Житињу код Витине, подигнута 1980. године на темељима старе цркве Св. Богородице. Мештани су поставили звоник и уградили нови иконостас. При обнови у остацима старе цркве нађен је оштећен стари натпис који је узидан у нову цркву. У поменику манастира Св. Тројице у Мушутшту (1) уписани су у XVI веку дародавци из овог села.

After the arrival of the US KFOR troops Albanians tried to burn the church through the windows on 19th July 1999. The windows were damaged.



Након доласка америчких снага KFOR-а Шиптари су покушали да запале цркву 19 јула 1999 кроз прозоре. Прозори су оштећени.

ST PARASCEVA'S CHURCH, in Klokot near Vitina

54

ЦРКВА Св. ПЕТКЕ, село Клокот поред Витине

The Church of St Parasceva was an old, restored sanctuary in the vicinity of the Serb village of Klokot. The place, 6 km north of Vitina, is known for its springs of mineral water and a spa of the same name. Its name is mentioned in Prince Lazar's Charter to the Ravanica Monastery from the year 1381.

Црква Св. Петке стара, обновљена светиња изнад српског села Клокот. Село је познато по изворима минералне воде и Клокот бањом. Налази се шест километара северно од Витине. Помиње се у Повељи Кнеза Лазара изdatoј 1381. манастиру Раваница.



After the arrival of the British KFOR troops the church interior was burnt and on 27th July 1999 it was mined by Albanian extremists.



Црква је унутра спаљена, и 27. јула 1999. године минирана од стране шиптарских екстремиста након доласка британских снага KFOR-а.

ST LAZAR'S CHURCH, in Belica near Istok

55

ЦРКВА Св. ЛАЗАРА у селу Белица поред Истока

The Church of St Lazar near the river Beličnica in the village of Belica in Kujavča, 13 km south-east of Istok, was built in the 14th century and underwent several restorations throughout the 16th, 17th, 18th and 20th century (1966–68). Lazarica was a single-nave and vaulted church with remains of the narthex in its front. Around the church are old and the new cemeteries.



Црква Св. Лазара поред речице Беличнице у селу Белица у Кујавчи тринаест километара југоисточно од Истока. Подигнута у XIV в, обнављана у XVI, XVII, XVIII и XX веку (1966–68). Лазарица је једнобродна и засведена црква испред које постоје остаци припрате. Око цркве је старо и ново гробље.

The church was looted and burnt by Albanian extremists after the arrival of the Italian KFOR troops.



Цркву су опљачкали шиптарски екстремисти, а затим је запалена након доласка италијанских снага KFOR-а.

THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY PROPHET ELIJAH, in Pomazatin

56

ЦРКВА СВ. ПРОРОКА ИЛИЈЕ у Помазатину поред Приштине

The Church of the Holy Prophet Elijah in Pomazatin, on the left bank of the river Drenica and 12 km west of Priština. It was erected in 1937 and demolished in 1941. In 1964 the church was reconstructed. During 1982-1985 the doors and windows were broken.

Црква Св. Пророка Илије у Помазатину на левој обали Дренице, дванаест километара западно од Приштине, подигнута 1937. године. Срушена 1941, обновљена 1964. У периоду 1982-1985. ломљени су врата и прозори.



After the arrival of the British KFOR troops the roof and the interior were burnt. One part of the church was destroyed by mines.



Сада је на крову и унутра паљена и делимично рушена минирањем након доласка британских снага KFOR-а.

ST GEORGE'S CHURCH, in Rudnik near Srbica

57

ЦРКВА СВ. ЂОРЂА у Руднику код Србице

The 14th century Church of St George, in Rudnik near Srbica, was restored in the 16th century during the reign of Patriarch Makarije Sokolović. Frescoes date from the same period. East of the church is a centennial mulberry-tree, planted by St. Sava. The seeds were brought from the Sion.

Црква Св. Ђорђа из XIV в. у Руднику код Србице обновљена у XVI веку у доба патријарха Макарија Соколовића из ког времена потиче и живопис. Источно од цркве је више стотина година старо дрво шам-дуда који је засадио Св. Сава доневши садницу са Сиона.



In mid-August 1999 the church was vandalized and burned inside. The stone vault of the roof and the south-east part of the altar were destroyed by explosive. The belfry was set on fire. These acts of vandalism took place after the arrival of the French KFOR troops.



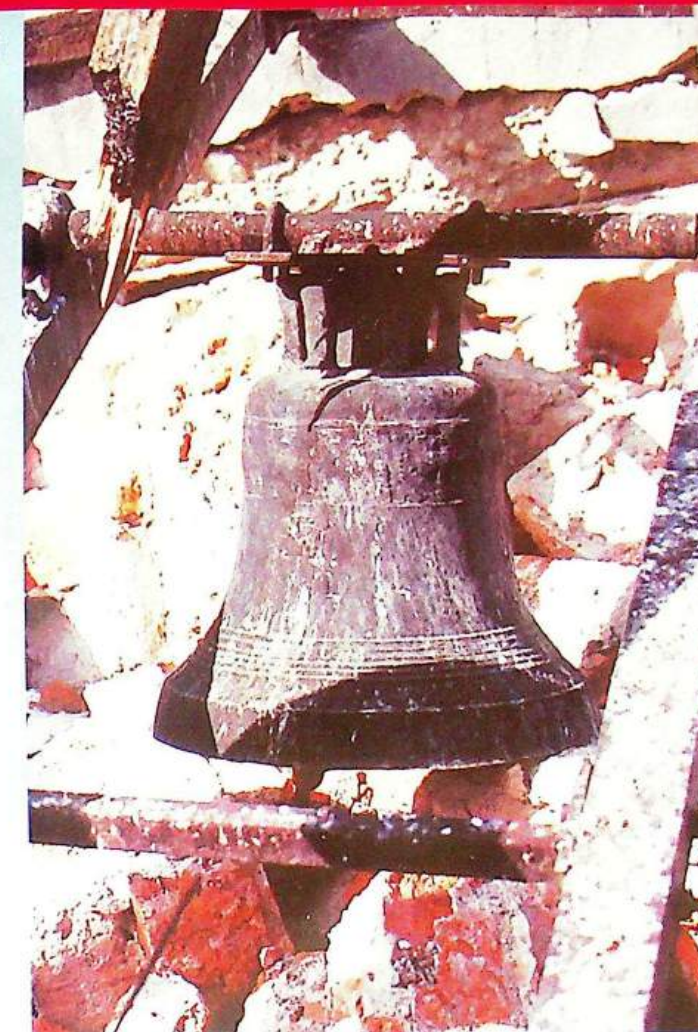
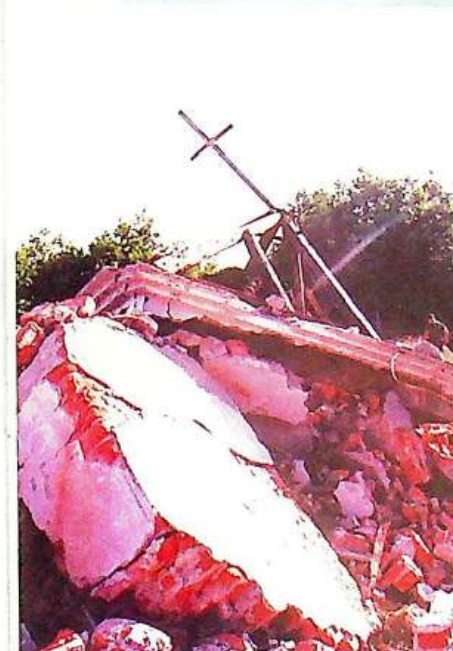
Половином августа 1999 димолирана и паљена унутра, затим експлозивом срушен камени свод крова и југоисточни део олтара а звоник паљен након доласка француских снага KFOR-а.

THE HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, in Donji Ratiš near Dečani

58

ЦРКВА СВ. ТРОЈИЦЕ у Доњем Ратишу код Дечана

The Holy Trinity Church in Donji Ratiš near Dečani was reconstructed in 1935. Albanian extremists destroyed it in 1941 but it was built again in 1992. Seven attacks were launched on it between 1996 and 1998.



Црква Св. Тројице у Доњем Ратишу код Дечана, стара, обновљена 1935. Уништена је од стране Шиптара 1941. а обновљена 1992. На њу су од 1996. до 1998. атаковали седам пута.



It was burnt and completely destroyed with explosive devices after the arrival of the Italian KFOR troops.

Данас је спаљена и потпуно срушена експлозивом након доласка италијанских снага KFOR-а.

THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY APOSTLE LUKE, in Vitomirci

59

ЦРКВА СВ. АПОСТОЛА ЛУКЕ у Витомирици поред Пећи

The Church of the Holy Apostle Luke was erected in 1912, in Vitomirica village 5 km north-east of Peć. It was built from the Banjska marble, in the shape of a trefoil, with one dome. The Montenegrin army liberated these parts from the Ottomans on Lučindan (St. Luke's Day), in 1912. Near the church there was a well tended village cemetery.

Црква Св. Апостола Луке саграђена је 1912 у Витомирици 5 км североисточно од Пећи. Црква је једнокуполна, зидана од Банског мермера у облику триконхоса. Црногорска војска је 1912. године ослободила ове крајеве од Турака на Лучиндан. Поред цркве било је и лепо уређено сеоско гробље.

The church was vandalized, desecrated and set on fire after the arrival of the Italian KFOR troops.

Након доласка италијанских снага KFOR-а црква је димолирана, оскрнављена, спаљена изнутра и потпуно срушена.

ST ELIJAH'S CHURCH, in Podujevo

60

ЦРКВА СВ. ИЛИЈЕ у Подујеву

The Church of St Elijah in Podujevo was built on the Merdez hill in 1930. During World War II Albanian Nazi troops destroyed the dome and desecrated the church. It was reconstructed on several occasions. Restoration works were completed in 1971.

Milan Rakić
ABANDONED CHURCH

*There rests an old picture of crucified Christ,
Blood streaming down his broken ribs,
Eyes lifeless, lips pale, the very image of death;
With a nimbus of cast silver over his head.*

*A gift by the old nobles and pious crowds
The golden necklace on his neck shines.
Rimmed with pure sterling silver,
And a golden frame artfully carved.*

*So lies Christ midst deserted temple,
Whilst the night silently drops,
And a flock of preys readily stalks,*

*Forsaken and alone, with vampires around,
Desperate and dire, his arms spread
Waiting forever for the non coming fold...*



Црква Св. Илије у Подујеву подигнута на брду Мерџез после Првог светског рата, 1930. За време Другог светског рата Шиптари су срушили кулу и цркву оскрнављивали. После више оправки црква је обновљена 1971. године.

Milan Rakić
NAPUŠTENA CRKVA

*Leži stara slika raspetoga Hrista
Mlaz mu krvi curi niz slomljena rebra;
Oči mrtve, usne blede, sam ista;
Nad glavom oreol od kovanog srebra.*

*Dar negdašnjeg plemstva i pobožnog sebra
Derdan od dukata o vratu mu blista.
Po okviru utisnuta srma čista,
A okvir je rez'o umetnik iz Debra.*

*Takav leži Hristos sred pustoga hrama.
I dok neosetno, svuda pada tama,
I jato se noćnih ptica na plen sprema,*

*Sam u pustoj crkvi, gde kruže vampiri,
Očajan i strašan, Hristos ruke širi,
Večno čekajući pastvu, koje nema...*

The church was vandalized, desecrated and burnt inside after the arrival of the British KFOR troops.



По доласку британских снага KFOR-а црква је демолирана, оскрнављена и унутра спаљена.

THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY APOSTLES PETER AND PAUL, Gornja Pakaštica near Podujevo

61

ЦРКВА СВ. АПОСТОЛА ПЕТРА И ПАВЛА у селу Горња Пакаштица, пored Подујева

The Church of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, the "King's Church" stands on the Kraljevica hill, in the village of Gornja Pakaštica some 20 km away from Podujevo. The edifice, which dates from the 14th century, was King Milutin's endowment. The new church was built in 1925, on the older foundations.



Црква Св. апостола Петра и Павла, „Краљева црква“ на брду Краљевици, Горња Пакаштица, село удаљено десет километара од Подујева. Ктиторија, задужбина Краља Милутина (1282–1321) из XIV века. На темељима старе цркве 1925. године подигнута нова.

The church was vandalized and desecrated while cemetery crosses and tombs were damaged after the arrival of the British KFOR troops.



Црква оштећена и оскрнављена а крстови и гробови демолирани након доласка британских снага KFOR-а.

A CHAPEL at the Serb cemetery in Kosovska Mitrovica

62

ПАРАКЛИС на српском гробљу у Косовској Митровици

The chapel was built on the foundations of an old church at the present-day Serb cemetery in Kosovska Mitrovica, at the exit from the city.



Параклис сазидан на старом црквисту, на садашњем српском гробљу у Косовској Митровици, на излазу из града.

Crosses and tombstones were vandalized after the French KFOR troops had arrived. The chapel was desecrated as well.



Крстови и гробнице демолирани по доласку француских снага KFOR-а. Параклис је такође оскрнављен.

THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY APOSTLES PETER AND PAUL, in Istok

63

ЦРКВА СВ. АПОСТОЛА ПЕТРА И ПАВЛА у Истоку

The Church of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul was built in 1929, in Istok, in the river valley. The iconostasis was built with the assistance of Patriarch Varnava. During World War II (1943–1944) the church, as well as the parish house, served as a prison in which Albanian Nazis kept Serbs from Istok, Dragoljevci, Kovrani and many other villages and had them sent on to working camps in Albania and the Italian islands.

The church was set on fire and desecrated after the Italian KFOR troops had arrived.



Црква је спаљена и оскрнављена након доласка италијанских снага KFOR-а.

ST NICHOLAS' CHURCH, in Prizren

64

ЦРКВА СВ. НИКОЛЕ (РАЈКОВА) у Призрену

The Church of St Nicholas („Rajkova“) in Prizren is the same church that Tsar Dušan bequeathed to the Monastery of the Holy Archangels in 1348. It was the endowment of a Prizren nobleman Rajko Kirizlić whose son's name, Bogdan, is mentioned in Prizren written sources, in 1361 and 1368. The church was in service until 1795 when Mahmud-pasha Bušatlija looted it. It was restored in 1857. The church treasured Prizren's oldest icon of The Holy Virgin Hodegetria from the mid-14th century as well as the 16th century icon of St Elijah in the Cave.

Црква Св. Николе (Рајкова) налази се у Призрену. Њу је 1348 год цар Душан приложио манастиру Св. Арханђела. Задужбина је призренског властелина Рајка Киризлића чији се син Богдан помиње у писаним призренским изворима 1361. и 1368. Црква је служила до 1795. када је опљачкана од стране Махмуд-паше Бушатлије. Обновљена је 1857. У цркви се сачувала најстарија призренска икона Богородице Одигитрије из средине XIV века као и икона „Св. Илија у пећини“ из XVI в.



Despite the presence of the German KFOR troops in Prizren, the church was mined with 20 explosive devices out of which 5 went off causing considerable damage to the edifice. The church was later completely destroyed.



И поред присуства немачких снага KFOR-а у Призрену црква је минирана с двадесет мина од којих је пет експлодирало и знатно оштетило цркву. Потом је црква сасвим срушена.

THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SAVIOUR, in Dvorani near Mušutište

65

ЦРКВА СВ. СПАСА у Дворанима код Мушутинца

The Church of the Holy Saviour in Dvorani was erected near Mušutište, at the foot of Mount Rusnica, 7 km south-east of Suva Reka. The katasichos of the Holy Trinity Monastery acknowledged Dvorani Serbs as the benefactors. A 1603 icon had a votive inscription.

Црква Св. Спаса у Дворанима код Мушутинца испод планине Руснице, око седам километара југоисточно од Суве Реке. У поменику манастира Св. Тројице (1) 1465. уписани су Срби дародавци из Дворана. На икони из 1603. год. је запис приложника.



The church was destroyed in summer 1999 in the presence of the German KFOR troops.



Црква је срушена у лето 1999 у присуству немачких снага KFOR-а

ST ELIJAH'S CHURCH, village of Lokvice near Prizren

66

ЦРКВА СВ. ИЛИЈЕ у селу Локвице поред Призрена

The Church of St Elijah is located in the village of Lokvice at the eastern foot of Mount Cvilen, 8 km east of Prizren. It was built on the foundations of an older church, in 1866. It had an 18th century icon collection. The church was mentioned by King Dragutin (1276-1282), King Milutin, 1308 and Tsar Dušan in 1348.

Црква Св. Илије у селу Локвице у источном подгорју планине Цвилена, осам километара југоисточно од Призрена. Сазидана је на темељима старије цркве 1866. У њој се налази збирка икона из XVIII в. Село помиње краљ Драгутин (1276-1282), краљ Милутин 1308. и цар Душан 1348.

The church was desecrated and mined in the presence of the German KFOR troops.



Црква је оскрнављена и минирана по доласку немачких снага KFOR-а.

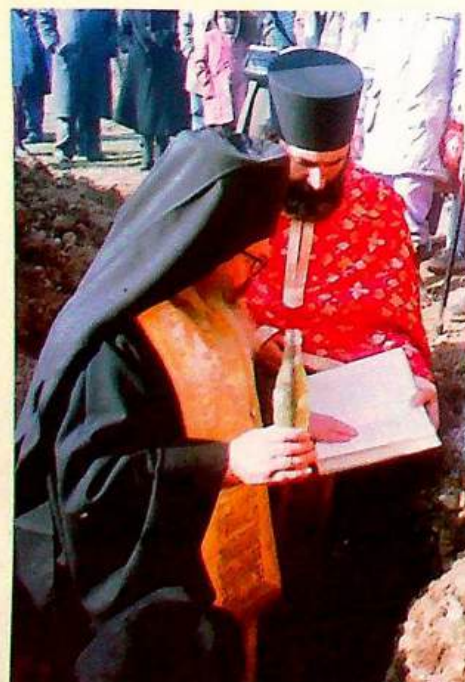
THE CHURCH OF ST KNEZ LAZAR, in Piskote near Đakovica

67

ЦРКВА СВ. КНЕЗА ЛАЗАРА у Пискотама код Ђаковице

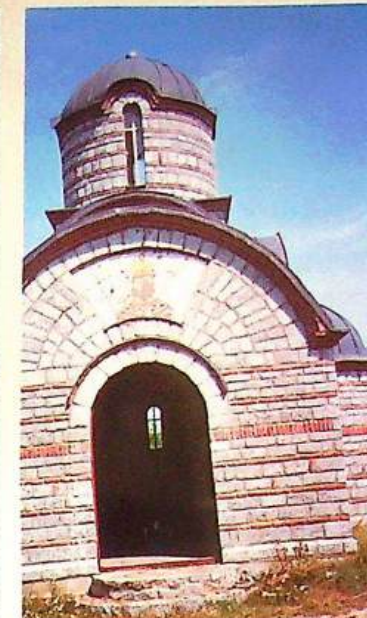
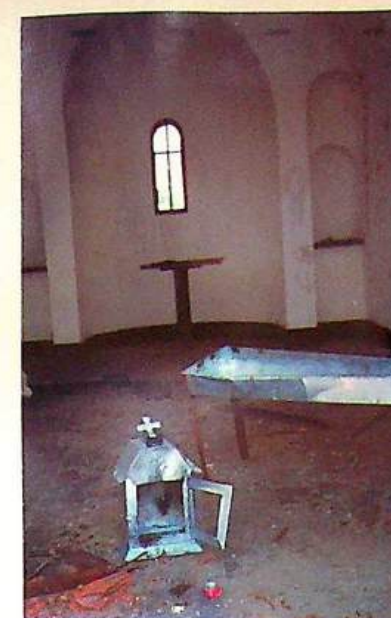
The Church of St Knez Lazar is located at the Serb cemetery in Piskote, near Đakovica. The single-dome shrine was built between 1991-1994 to the designs of Ljubiša Folić.

Црква Св. Кнеза Лазара у Пискотама на српском гробљу код Ђаковице. Једнокупни храм грађен од 1991-1994. године. Аутор пројекта је архитекта Љубиша Фолић.



Consecration of the foundations Dec. 1991
Освећење темеља децембар 1991

The church before desecration / Црква пре оскрнављења



The vandalized church / Оскрнављена црква

The burned parish house / Запаљени парохијски дом

After the arrival of the Italian KFOR troops the church was partially damaged, the mosaic was smashed, while the icons and the iconostasis were stolen. The parochial home was set on fire. Albanian extremists destroyed the cross on the top of the dome.



По доласку италијанских снага KFOR-а црква је делимично оштећена, мозаик разбијен, а иконе и иконостас покрадени. Парохијски дом запаљен. Шиптарски екстремисти су уништили крст на куполи.

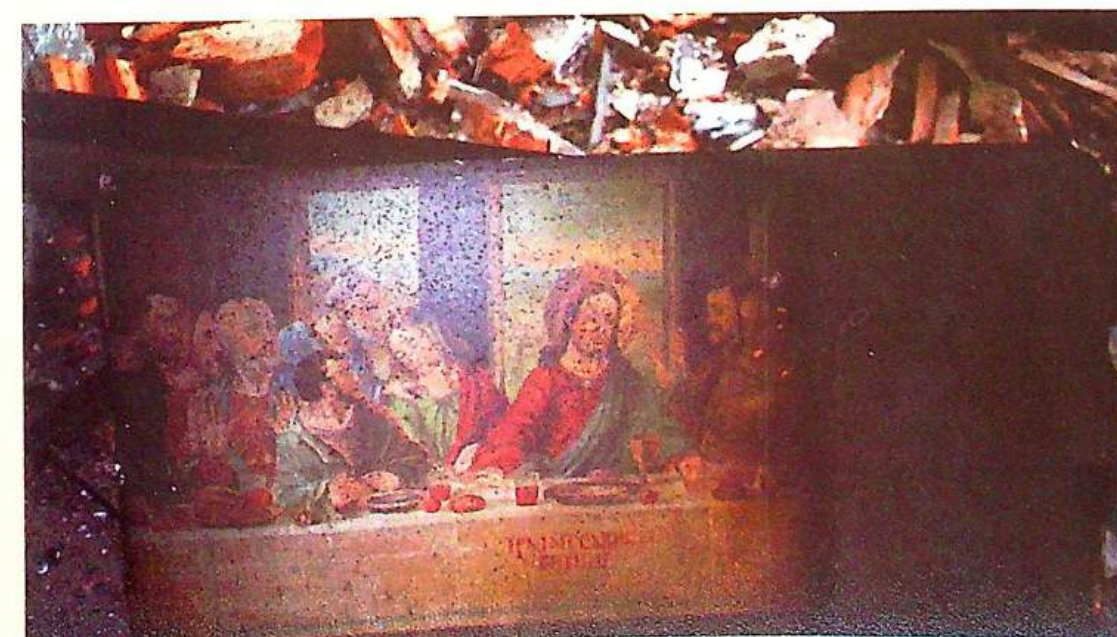
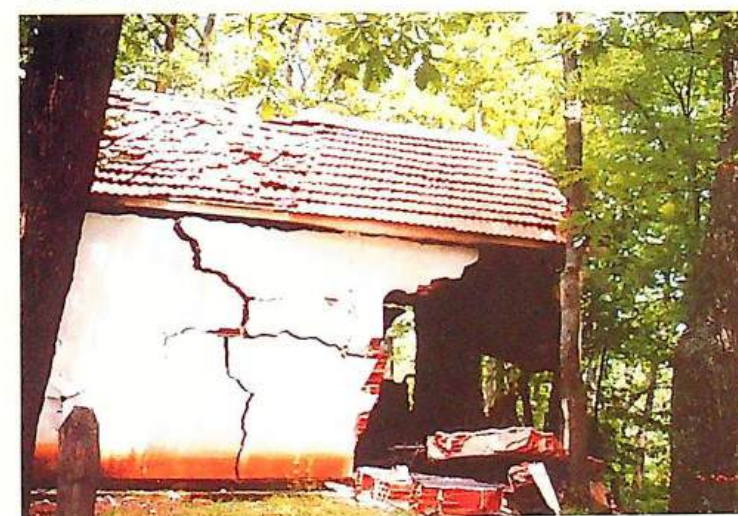
ST PARASCEVA'S CHURCH, in Binač near Vitina

68

ЦРКВА СВ. ПЕТКЕ у Биначу код Витине

The Church of St Parasceva stood once in Binač, 4 km south of Vitina. The new church was built on the old foundations at the cemetery, in 1973.

Црква Св. Петке у Биначу на четири километра јужно од Витине. На гробљу, на старим темељима, 1973. године подигнута је нова црква.



The terrorist KLA destroyed the church with explosives in the presence of the US KFOR troops.



Црква је разрушена експлозивом од стране терористичке тзв. „ОВК“ у присуству америчких снага KFOR-а.

ST PARASCEVA'S CHURCH, in Gojbulja near Vučitrn

69

ЦРКВА СВ. ПЕТКЕ у Гојбуљи код Вучитрн

The Church of St Parasceva stands in Gojbulja, at the foot of Mount Kopaonik, 3 km north-east of Vučitrn. The new church was built at the village cemetery, on the remains of an ancient, 1-2 m high wall, in August 1986 with preserved old arch, which vaulted the western narthex. The church had a rectangular ground plan, a semi-round apse and a smallish narthex. The old walls had traces of fresco plaster on them. There are also remains of an old Serb cemetery from the first half of the 18th century.



Црква Св. Петке у Гојбуљи у подножју Копаника, три километра североисточно од Вучитрн. На сеоском гробљу, на старим остацима зидова висине од једног до два метра, назида је нова црква августа 1986. године с очуваним старим луком изнад западног портала. Црква је правоугаоне основе са полукружном апсидом и малом припратом. На старим зидовима сачувани су трагови фреско-малтера. Сачувани су остаци старог српског гробља из прве половине XVIII в.



After the French KFOR soldiers had arrived, the church was vandalized, looted, desecrated and set on fire, by Albanian extremists, in June 1999. The parish house was also looted.



Након доласка француских снага KFOR-а црква је демолирана, опљачкана, оскрнављена и запаљена од стране шиптарских екстремиста у јуну 1999. Парохијски дом је такође опљачкан.

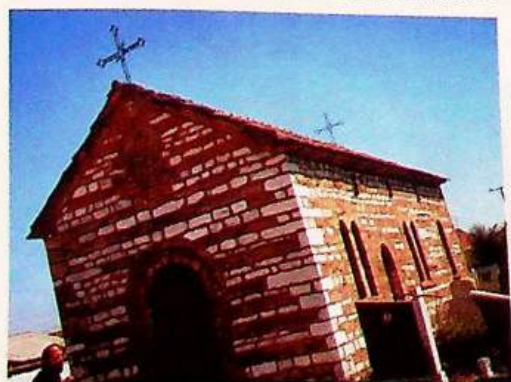
ST NICHOLAS' CHURCH, in Štimlje

70

ЦРКВА СВ. НИКОЛЕ у Штимљу

The Church of St Nicholas stands in Štimlje, 29 km south-west of Priština, at the foot of mount Crnoljeva and at the intersection of the Prizren, Uroševac and Lipjan roads. In the eastern part of Štimlje, on the foundations of an old Serb cemetery church a new one was built in 1926. East of the church there are three tombstones, each over 250 years old. In the 19th century there was an active Serb school in the churchyard.

Црква Св. Николе у Штимљу 29 километара југозападно од Приштине, у подножју Црнољева и раскршћа путева за Призрен, Урошевац и Липљан. Црква је подигнута 1926. на темељима старије гробљанске, на источној страни Штимља. Источно од цркве су три надгробна споменика, сваки стар преко 250 година. У XIX в. у порти цркве деловала је Српска школа.



The church was desecrated and vandalized in the presence of the British KFOR troops



Црква оскрнављена и демолирана у присуству снага британског KFOR-а.

THE CHURCH OF THE ST ARCHANGEL MICHAEL, in Štimlje

71

ЦРКВА СВ. АРХАНГЕЛА МИХАИЛА у Штимљу

The Church of the St Archangel Michael, on a hill above Štimlje, was built between 1920-1922 on the foundations of an older church. It was dedicated to Serbia's World War I warriors. The church was built by the "Knjeginja Ljubica" (Princess Ljubica) association to the designs of Serbia's first female architect, Jelisaveta Nađić. The artist Uroš Predić painted the frescoes of St Sava and Stevan Nemanja. Next to the church was an orphanage for girls. The church was thoroughly renovated in 1977.

Црква Св. Архангела Михаила на брегу изнад Штимља подигнута је 1920-1922. године на темељима старије цркве. Црква је посвећена српским ратницима из Првог светског рата. Пројекат је урадила прва жена архитекта у Србији, Јелисавета Начић. Цркву је подигло друштво „Кнегиња Љубица“. Сликар Урош Предић иконописао је Св. Саву и Стевана Немању. Поред цркве је подигнут дом милосрђа за незбринуте девојке. Црква је темељно реновирана 1977. године.



The church was desecrated and set on fire while the frescoes were destroyed. All this occurred in the presence of the British KFOR troops.



Црква је оскрнављена и запаљена док су фреске уништене. Све се ово десило у присуству снага британског KFOR-а.

THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SAVIOR, in Mecićeva Mahala

72

ЦРКВА СВ. СПАСА у Мечићевој Махали, Призренски Подгор

The Church of the Holy Saviour is located in Mecićeva Mahala in the Prizren County, at the foot of Mount Ikona, 11 km south-east of Suva Reka.

Црква Св. Спаса у Мечићевој махали у призренском подгору под планином Икона, једанаест километара југоисточно од Суве Реке.

The church was looted, desecrated and set on fire after the arrival of the German KFOR troops.



Црква је опљачкана, оскрнављена и запаљена након доласка немачких снага KFOR-а.

ST PARASCEVA'S CHURCH, near Mušutište

73

ЦРКВА СВ. ПЕТКЕ код села Мушуташта

The Church of St Parasceva is located west of the village of Mušutište.

Црква Св. Петке налази се западно од села Мушуташта.

The church was looted, desecrated and burnt after the German KFOR troops had arrived.



Опљачкана, оскрнављена и запаљена по доласку немачких снага KFOR-а.

THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY ARCHANGEL, in Mušutište

74

ЦРКВА СВ. АРХАНЂЕЛА МИХАИЛА у Мушутини



The church was set on fire and partially destroyed after the arrival of the German KFOR troops.



Спаљена и делимично срушена након доласка немачких снага KFOR-а.

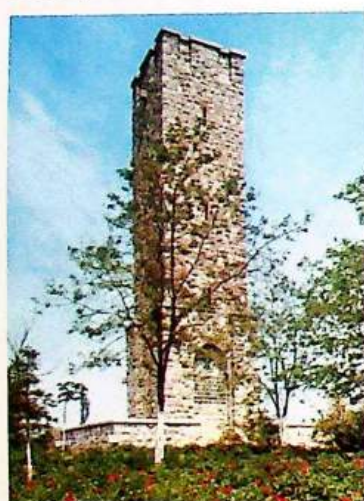
The Kosovo Battle Memorial

75

Спомен-обележје косовским јунацима

The Kosovo Battle Memorial at Gazimestan, devoted to the martyred Serb knights, is the work of Aleksandar Deroko. It was erected on the same location where the Battle of Kosovo took place on St Vitus' day (Vidovdan), on 28th June 1389. It was constructed from many-coloured stones in the shape of a medieval tower. Verses praising the heroism and the death of the Serb knights were chiselled in bronze letters on the stone slabs and can be read in the interior of the monument. The top of the monument carries a bronze relief map with the description of the battle.

Спомен-обележје косовским јунацима на Газиместану је рад архитекте Александра Дерока. Подигнут је 1953. године на месту где се на Видовдан 28. јуна 1389. године одиграла Косовска битка. Саграђен је од вишебојног камена у облику средњовековне куле. У његовој унутрашњости, на каменим плочама, бронзаним словима исписани су стихови у којима се опевава јунаштво и погубија српских витезова. На врху споменика у бронзаном барелефу израђен је план битке и њен опис.



The monument before acts of vandalism (St Vitus day, 28th June 1999) / Споменик пре оштећења (Видовдан 1999)

The monument after acts of vandalism / Споменик након оштећивања

The monument has been damaged by mines in the presence of the British KFOR troops.



Спомен-обележје је оскрнављено и оштећено минирањем у присуству британских снага KFOR-а августа 1999.

APPENDIX

ANOTHER SERB CHURCH BURNED DOWN IN KOSOVO

Kotor, 08.11.1999.

As KFOR reported, Serb orthodox church in Gornji Zakut, 10 km North of Podujevo, was burnt down yesterday night. This seems to have been a well-planned action, conducted by criminal elements, says KFOR communique. The barbed wire around the building was cut, and the door was forcibly opened. This church has been guarded by KFOR round the clock until recently. In order to free capacity for other pressing duties, the church was patrolled on a periodical basis. A KFOR patrol left the church at 02:30 hours, and when the next patrol arrived at 07:00 hrs, they found the church had been burnt to the ground.

Fr. Hariton Lukic was kidnapped by the armed members of the „KLA“ (UÇK) on 15th of June in the streets in Prizren. Nothing is known about his whereabouts since then.

Fr. Stefan Puric was kidnapped near the Budisavci monastery near Klina in July 1999 by the „KLA“ (UÇK) militants. According to unofficial information from this area Fr. Stefan was tortured and killed with a group of Serb civilians in Istok. Their bodies were reportedly thrown into a hole.



ДОДАТАК

ЈОШ ЈЕДНА СРПСКА ЦРКВА НА КОСОВУ СПАЉЕНА

Котор, 08.11.1999.

Како саопштава KFOR, српска православна црква у селу Горњи Закут, 10 км северно од Подужева, синоћ је спаљена. У саопштењу се додаје да је ова акција по свој прилици детаљно испланирана и изведена под надзором криминалаца. Бодљикава жица око зграде цркве је пресечена, а врата су проваљена. Цркву је KFOR донедавно чувао без престанка. Међутим, однедавно је надзор над црквом замењен редовним патролама, да би војници били прераспоредени на важније дужности, наводи се у саопштењу. После редовне контроле у 02:30, следећа патрола која је обишла цркву у 07:00 нашла је цело здање спаљено.

Оца Харитона Лукића отели су наоружани припадници „оВК“ (УÇК) 15. јуна на призренској улици. От тада се ништа не зна о њему.

Оца Стефана Пурића су у јулу киднаповили припадници „оВК“ (УÇК) у јулу 1999. у близини манастира Будисавци, поред Клине. Према незваничним информацијама мучен је и убијен заједно са групом српских цивила у Истоку. Претпоставља се да му је тело бачено у једну јаму.

TESTIMONIES

СВЕДОЧЕ



His Grace Amfilohije, the Metropolitan of Montenegro, the Coastal lands and Sken-deria and the Keeper of the Peć throne

Shame and Blame in the Face of Christian Europe

Your Holiness, Your Grace, dear brothers and sisters,

Our wise episkopos spoke wisely sometime during the month of June. We are fighting, said he, a new Kosovo battle but this time we have no venerable Knez (the closest English equivalent of this title is Prince) and no Holy Cross. The venerable Knez has been replaced by irreligion. Irreligion, as known to people from times immemorial, lacks in faith. The Holy Cross has been substituted for a "target", the suicidal sign of the God Shiva, which I had come across in the deserted Patrijaršijska street leading towards the Patriarchate of Peć last June. It has also been replaced by an Albanian flag that is now, for the first time since the Battle of Kosovo, flown from the house nearest to the Patriarchate.

This was obviously meant to happen, justifiable probably by some historical logic, or some deeper moral code, but also founded in the ways mysterious even to God. Everything that has been going on in Kosovo since 1941 lead to this which is happening today and that has not happened in 600 years. This year's Vidovdan (the anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo, 28 June) has undoubtedly been the most dreadful of all such holidays for entire Serbian nation both in Kosovo and Metohia and outside of it.

On the eve of the Vidovdan liturgy, which we served behind the altars of our ancient archbishopric and patriarchal shrines in the Patriarchate of Peć and with the blessing of His Holiness, we laid to rest the bodies of Mileva Vujosević, aged 50, shot dead with a bullet, her brains, in which I stepped on entering her house, strewn and Marica Marić, a retarded girl, who was raped in her poor abode in Belo Polje. We found her on a broken couch, dead, disfigured. These two we buried just before Vidovdan and, as we served the Vidovdan Liturgy in the Patriarchate of Peć, we could not help feeling that this was really the most horrific Vidovdan over the past 600 years which affected all the Serbs and had a special effect on the Serbian national entity in Kosovo. We felt that vladika (the equivalent of prince bishop) Rade's (P.P.Njegoš) words "Kosovo is a huge court-house with Sodom raging in its midst" really came to be prophetic.

Today Kosovo is, if that is of any consolation to us, really a "huge court-house". It is the court in which our people are being tried, the court where Shiptars are being tried, the court where Europe and the civilized world are also being tried. Today's verdict, being passed on the world, was written in a gospel before Christ's Golgotha and its continuation, I have a feeling, happens to coincide with what is going on in Kosovo and Metohia at present. What is happening here today concerns not only us but is also relevant to the entire modern world, the Christian civilization and is pertinent to the man at the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century. When speaking with European and American dignitaries during their visits to the Patriarchate I have repeatedly said, which may have been found objectionable by some, that what has been occurring is foremost a disgrace and a shame of my people, one segment of my people that is. This I have repeated and I repeat it again. It is also a disgrace on the part of the Albanians, one honourable nation who is also a God's people worthy of its place under the sun, deserving of time and space in which to bear the fruit of its labour. What one frac-

Митрополит Монагорско-дечански и Скендерски, заступник Патријарха, Амфилохије Радовић

Стид и срам на образу хришћанске Европе

Ваша Светости, ваша преосвештенства, драга браћо и сестре,

Наш умни епископ, негде у јуну месецу, рече једну мудру ријеч. Ми водимо, рече он, нови Косовски бој, међутим, овога пута он-димо га без Честитог Кнеза и без Часног Крста. Намјесто Честитог Кнеза — невојера, а у невојере нема вјере, то је народ знао од памтвијека. Намјесто Часног Крста — „тар-гет“, самоубилачки знак бога Шиве, кога сам нашао у јуну месецу у пустој Патријар-шијској улици која води према Пећкој Па-тријаршији. На његовом мјесту сад се налази на првој кући, најближој Патријаршији, по први пут послје Косовске битке, албанска застава.

И очевидно да се по некој логици исто-ријској, по неком дубљем моралном зако-ну, али и по неким неиспитивим путевима Божијим, друштво није могло догодити. Јер све што се догодило на Косову од 1941. го-дине, оно је водило ономе што се данас до-гађа. А догађа се нешто што се на Косову и Метохији није догодило у току 600 година. Овај Видовдан је несумњиво најстрашнији Видовдан на Косову и Метохији и најстраш-нији Видовдан за Српски народ.

Уочи видовданске Литургије коју смо иза олтара храмова древних наших архи-епископа и патријарха служили у Пећкој Патријаршији уз благослов Његове Свето-сти, сахранили смо Милеву Вујосевић — жену од 50 година, убијену метком, присут-ној јој је мозак, у који сам угазио улазећи у њен дом — и Марицу Марић, ретардирану дјевој-ку, која је силована у својој сиротињској ку-ћи у Белом Пољу. Нашли смо је на прова-љеном каучу. Мртву, унакажену. Њих двије смо сахранили уочи Видовдана и служили Литургију на Видовдан у Пећкој Патријарши-ји и осетили да је то заиста најстрашнији Видовдан у последњих 600 година за нас и за наше биће на Косову. И осетили да је владика Раде, заиста био пророк, када је рекао: „Косово, грдно судилиште, на сред тебе Содом запушило.“

Косово је данас, ако нам је то утјеха, заиста „судиште грдно“. Судилиште на коме се суди нашем народу, судилиште на коме се суди шиптарском народу, судилиш-те на коме се суди Европи и цивилизованом свијету. Данас је суд ове свијете записан у јеванђељу пред Христово распеће. Имам утисак да је продужење тога суда, пред Христову голготу, управо оно што се данас догађа на Косову и Метохији. И оно што се ту догађа не тиче се само нас, тиче се модерног свијета, тиче се хришћанске цивили-зације, тиче се човјека као таквога на крају двадесетог вијека и на почетку два-десет и првог вијека. Понављао сам више пута, можда ми је то неко замјерио, прили-ком разговора са многим значајним људима из Европе и Америке, приликом боравка у Пећкој Патријаршији, да то што се догодило и што се догађа, да је то прво стид и сра-мота мога народа, једног дијела мога народа. То сам понављао и поново понављао. Да је то и стид и срамота албанског народа — јед-ног часног народа, који је Божиј народ и који треба да има своје мјесто под сунцем, и да има своје вријеме и свој простор на коме ће да доноси своје плодове. Оно што је урадио и што ради у његово име један део тога на-рода, то је стид и срам на образу тога на-рода. То што се догађа на Косову, што се догодило, нарочито за вријеме бомбардо-вања, али и што се данас догађа, то је стид и срам на образу хришћанске Европе, то сам понављао, то и сада понављао. За хришћанску Европу, за америчку цивилиза-цију, стид и срам да се двадесети век завр-шава бомбардовањем једног грешног —

tion of this people has been doing in the name of all is a disgrace and a shame on the face of the entire nation. The things tak- ing place in Kosovo today as well as those which happened during the bombardment are, as I kept repeating and am repeating it now, disgraceful and the Christian Euro- pe should feel ashamed. The Christian Euro- pe and American civilization brought upon themselves the blame which they ought to be ashamed of. It is a disgrace that the 20th century is coming to its close by bombs being dropped on a sinful but, as His Holiness sometimes points out in His prayers sinful all around yet not without a reason, nevertheless a Europe's ancient, Christian and honourable nation. This is how Europe is commemorating the 2000 years of Christianity and this is how it is entering the third millennium. This is also something most tragic and absurd that every sensible person ought to stop over and think about, regardless of what nation or religion he/she belongs to.

A part of this disgrace and shame has been presented, in word and picture, in this publication called "Crucified Kosovo". The original list numbered over fifty shrines but in the meantime additional twenty shrines and monasteries, razed to the ground within the last fortnight, have been added to it. The latest report announced that the Monastery of Zociste, in the vicinity of Veli- ka Hoča, has been levelled with the ground — an ancient medieval monastery, place famous for its healing properties, of importance not only for Orthodox Serbs but all inhabitants living around the monastery. Over the past years more Muslims and Shqiptars than Serbs frequented the Mo- nastery of the Holy Healers, especially in times of evil and deadly disease, the hei- nousness which in many ways is account- able for the state we now find ourselves in. Today the monastery with its shrine and the buildings surrounding it are completely razed to the ground. The same destiny be- fell, and there is evidence of this, the Mo- nastery of Holy King Milutin, in Mušutište. Now that his name is mentioned I must reveal before God what I heard has been happening in Kosovo. During bombard- ment a chief of the police came to a priest to inform him of an impending destruction of a mosque. The priest responded: "I beg you in God's name, don't destroy the mos- que because if you do you will also destroy our shrine." The policeman turned his head, went away and the mosque was pulled down. So how can anyone be certain that those, who "awaited their five minutes", will spare anyone's shrine? Be assured, and we who have been in Kosovo and Metohia over the past few months can testify it to be true, that had it not been for the presence of the international forces in Ko- sovo at this very moment the Patriarchate of Peć, as well as Dečani and Gračanica, too, would have been reduced to rubble and turned into ashes. There would be no Serb left in the area. This is the situation today. The booklet we have here is a small insert, which tells about our current po- sition.

That which has been left of the shrines, holy places and people is to be found in reservations today and I am certain that even the Indian reservations are in a much better state than those in Serbia, including the enclaves in Kosovo and Metohia. The Patriarchate of Peć is a reservation of a kind, all in bunkers, under the search lights, protected by tanks. In spite of everything there were missiles launched at it the other day, as you have heard, but fortunately did not fall on the shrine or the konak (residential quarters). Instead, they landed somewhere in between the two. Dečani is also in a reservation as is Grača- nica and all other places where our people live. Goraždevci, to mention some, is the only village on the Metohia side which remained in the area. The reservations mentioned are secured only temporarily,



Његова Светост некад у молитвама каже свегрешног, не без разлога — али часног, древног и хришћанског европског народа. Тиме Европа обележава јубилеј две хиљаде годишњицу хришћанства и тиме улази у трећи миленијум. Нешто најтрагичније и нај- апсурдније, нешто над чим треба да се за- мисли сваки разуман човјек, без обзира ком народу и којој идеологији припада.

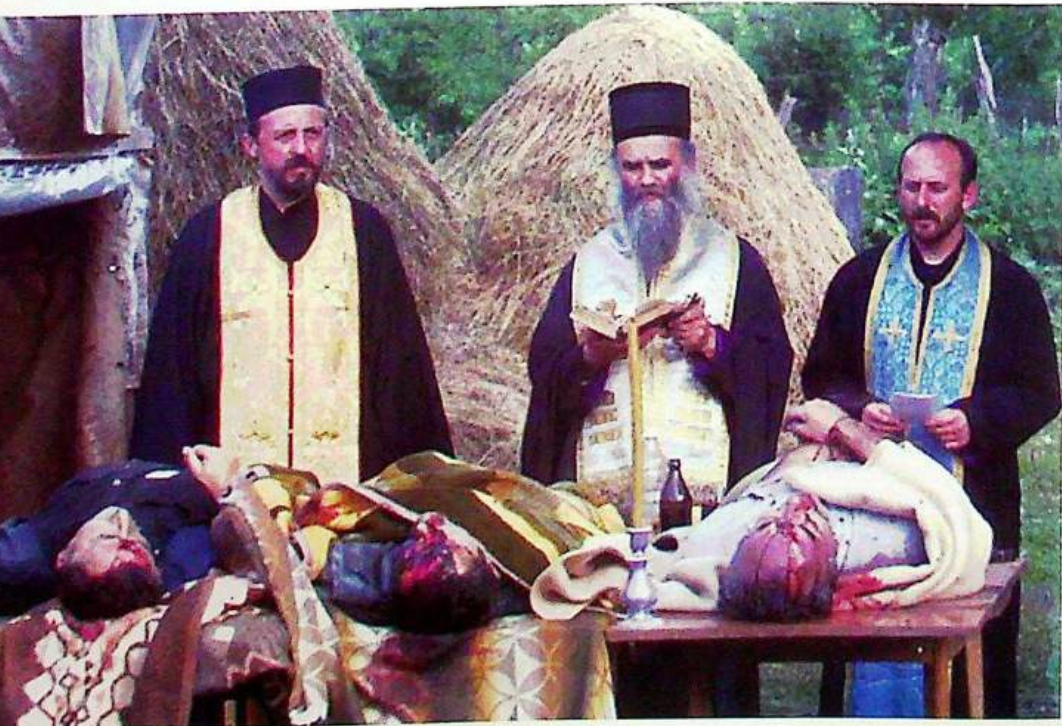
Један дио те несреће и тога стида и срама је записан и насликан и у књизи под називом „Распето Косово“. Ту је наведено преко педесет храмова. У међувремену у току последњих петнаест дана, још дваде- сет храмова и манастира је савијено са земљом. Последње саопштење које смо до- били јесте да је савијен и манастир Зочиш- те, у непосредној близини Велике Хоче — древни средњовековни манастир, мјесто целебно и исцелитељско, не само за право- славне Србе, него за сав живаљ који је жи- вео око тог манастира. Последњих година су више муслимани и Шиптари долазили код Светих Врача неголи Срби, нарочито у вријеме опаке и отровне болести, грозомо- ре која је по много чему породила ово стање у коме се данас налазимо. Данас је тај ма- настир и храм његов, зграде око њега пот- пуно савијено са земљом. То се догодило, постоји сведочанство, и са храмом у Муш- тишту Светог краља Милутина. Већ кад смо код њега, морам да наведем нешто што сам чуо на Косову, а пред Богом морамо да кажемо шта се догађало. Дошао је у вријеме бомбардовања неки шеф полиције да каже свештенику да су спремни да сруше цамију. Он им каже: „Кумим вас Богом, немојте да рушите цамију, срушићете тиме и наш храм“. Полицијаци је окренуо главу, отишао је и срушио цамију. И сада, ко би могао да очекује да ће они — чијих је дошло пет ми- нута — да поштеде било који храм, а будите увјерени, то можемо да посвједочимо ми који смо били ових месеци на Косову и Метохији, да није присуства међународних снага, на Косову, у овом тренутку Пећка Па- тријаршија би била претворена у прах и пе- пео. Дечани исто тако, Грачаница исто тако. Не би више било једног јединог Србина на косово-метохијском простору. Стање је онакво какво јесте. Ова књижица је један мали инсерт који нам указује на ситуацију у којој се налазимо.

Оно што је остало храмова и светиња и што је остало народа, оно се данас налази у резерватима и сигурно сам да су индијан- ски резервати у много бољем положају него што су српски резервати и енклаве на Ко- сову и Метохији. У резервату је Пећка Па- тријаршија, она је сва у бункерима, под ре- флаторима, под тенковима. И поред свега тога, пре неки дан су, као што знате, про- јектили пали, на срећу нијесу на храм и на конак, него између храма и конака мана- стишког. У резервату су Дечани, Грачаница, и где год има нашег народа почевши од Го- раждевца — то је једино село на метохијској страни које је још остало — и онда редом. То су резервати који су привремено обез- бијеђени, над којим међутим, виси Дамок- лов мач, у који је ушао дубински егзистен- цијални страх и оних неколико стотина, од тридесетак хиљада којих је било у Пришти- ни, чекају сваки дан да изађу из тог пакла. Само око Пећи имамо списак од преко двије стотине киднапованих и убијених, али не знамо тачан број. Сигурно да има још десе- тине оних који су убијени за које се не зна, а да не говоримо о киднапованим само на овом простору, а има их преко 400 кидна- пованих који су сигурно и убијени. Као што је ових дана откривено да се у близини Истока налази једна јама у којој је око 40 ле- шева, међу којима се налази и отац Стефан из манастира Будисаваца. За оца Харитона одавно се ништа не зна. Дакле, докле је Косово у таквом резервату, у исто вријеме Србија и членици Србије и српски народ у својој целини. Савезна република Југосла- вија, они су у једном другачијем резервату, безизлазном. Све више се сужава круг око овог народа, прекидају им се све везе и дипломатске и политичке и хуманитарне, да

with a sword of Damocles hanging above them as it were. A deep, existential fear has entered them as did hundreds of people, out of some 30,000 from Priština, who are now waiting to leave this hell. We have a list with the names of some 200 kidnapped and murdered people only in the Peć area but the number is not conclusive. There certainly are tens of murdered people that are still unaccounted for, not the mention the kidnapped from this region alone. There must be over 400 abducted persons which are believed to be killed. Recently, a hole has been discovered in the vicinity of Istok and in it 40 corpses were found, among which was the body of Father Stefan from Budisavac monastery. Father Hariton is still unaccounted for, and has been for quite some time. And, for as long as Kosovo is in such a reservation Serbia, together with its leaders and the entire population, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia itself, will also be in one. Theirs will have a cul-de-sac. The circle around Serbian people is getting increasingly smaller, with all diplomatic and political connections and humanitarian links being severed, not to mention personal ties with the international community. Those who, at this time, should be taking the people out of this situation they are in for the first time in their history are shunned by the entire world which does not wish to speak to them; the fact obvious to anyone who has the eyes and the ears. Whether those who do not want or do not wish to communicate are in the right or not is another issue. But choosing the target consciously or unconsciously as their symbol, the symbol for something much more profound by which these people have opted out for the road to suicide should this situation in our country continue, is a historical and also a tragic fact. This means that the people have lost, on a deeper level, their sense of dignity, the sense for the future and the possibility for their survival and a come-back to the company of mature nations of the world. Each person may carry within themselves a suicidal drive which is everybody's torment and a joint sorrow. But turning their illness, their suicidal tendencies into a living style and a way of thinking and acting on behalf of an entire nation and expecting them to accept it, equals the failure in the understanding of the human nature. One thing, obvious from all that has been happening in Kosovo, is certain and must be said. There seem to be public, or maybe secret, plan and aspiration on the part of the international community to turn Kosovo into some kind of international protectorate. I do not believe I will live long enough, God's willing that will be, to see Kosovo without the presence of the international forces which usually, after having stayed in another's land, another's country, another's home for too long, turn into an occupying force. At present Kosovo is a protectorate. In a long run it will become a NATO pact protectorate but also, by the looks of it, it is being prepared to become an independent state which, one day, will be incorporated into a Greater Albania. Whether this is the plan of the European community I cannot fathom. Anyway, all that is taking place in Kosovo and Metohia at this moment points out in that direction.

Also, whether the people will gather strenght to establish an unbiased and a genuine relationship with the international community, to find new ways out of this misery, the Kosovo straits, depends on God and God's intentions but also on us all. Let this booklet about crusified Kosovo give us an incentive that will show our joint responsibility, before God, before history and before the modern world, that will help restore our dignity and enable our come-back, with due respect of all human rights, to our ancient lands, our ancient hearths.

May God grant it and let it happen.
Thank you.



не кажем и људске везе са светом и међународном заједницом. Сваког дана у овом тренутку требали да изведе из овог невољног и таквог положаја у коме се по први пут у својој историји нашао у целини, са свим више, а то је очигледно за свакога ко има очи да види и уши да чује, нико у овом свету не жели и неће да разговара. Да ли ти који неће да разговарају или не желе, да ли су у праву или нијесу, то је друга прича, али је историјска чињеница и факат један трагични, да уколико се продужи овакво стање у нашој држави, у нашем народу, онда је очигледно да је свјесно или несвјесно изабирање таргета као свог симбола, симбол нечега много дубљег, да је овај народ кренуо путем самоубиства. То значи да је тај народ негде дубље изгубио осећање свог достојанства и осећање за своју будућности и за могућност свог опстанка и свога повратка међу зреле земаљске народе. Свако може да има у себи самоубилачки порив и то је мука свакога човјека и наша туга, али да своју болест, свој самоубилачки порив, претвори у начин постојања и начин мишљења и делања једног народа и да тај народ то прихвати, онда ту запира људско познање. Једно је сигурно, а то мора да се каже, да постоји неки јавни или тајни план и тенденција међународне заједнице да Kosovo постане међународни протекторат, што се види из свега онога што се догодило и што се догађа на Kosovo. Ја не вјерујем да ћу доживјети, дај Боже, једног дана да се нађем на Kosovo без међународних мировних снага које се по свом присуству на туђем тлу, у туђој земљи, остану ли дугорочно на туђем огњишту, претварају у снаге окупаторске. Kosovo је у овом тренутку протекторат. Дугорочно ће остати протекторат НАТО пакта, а у исто вријеме, како се ствари одвијају, Kosovo се припрема да постане независна држава која ће сутра бити уграђена у Велику Албанију. Да ли је то план Европске заједнице, ја не могу да ујем у те тајне. Међутим, све што се ради у овом тренутку на Kosovo и Метохији води у том правцу.

Да ли ће овај народ смоћи снаге да успостави један прави и истински однос са међународном заједницом, да изнађе нове путеве ради разрешења тог чвора, који је Косовски чвор, то зависи и од Бога и Бојјег промисла, а у исто вријеме зависи и од свију нас. Нека би и ова књжица која је објављена о распетом Kosovo био један подстицај на нашу заједничку одговорност, пред Богом и пред историјом и пред савременим свјетом. Одговорност и за нас саме за обнову нашег достојанства и за наш повратак, уз поштовање свих људских права, на наше вјековне просторе, на наша вјековна огњишта.

Дај Боже да тако и буде.
Хвала.

His grace Artemy Radosavljević, bishop of Raška and Prizren Diocese

The cross which Kosovo was crucified on has been carved in Belgrade

Your Holiness, reverend elders, honorable brothers and sisters,

Crucified Kosovo, Kosovo on a cross. Can a more horrifying picture be imaginable?

One does not speak before a cross. One silently laments over one's pain, or weeps in tears, in front of a cross. We are, however, forced to speak about the crucified Kosovo under its very cross. And we do so in pain and in tears. What hurts most is the feeling and the knowledge that the cross, which Kosovo was crucified on, has been carved here, in the capital Belgrade and that the masters, who made the cross and had Kosovo crucified on it, are claiming the event to be their victory and are celebrating it as a great triumph. We all know, or have somehow been informed, about the occurrences in Kosovo but no one realizes the whole truth. Not even us living in Kosovo nor those who were born here understand what has befallen us. The day the peace treaty was signed and the resolution of the Security Council has been accepted, in the aftermath of the unheard of conflicts and atrocities committed in Kosovo, when we expected a real democratic solution to the Kosovo problem, the inevitable has occurred: the persecution and pogrom of the Serbian people living in Kosovo ensued. With the arrival of the international peace keeping forces, as they like to call themselves, to Kosovo a hell broke out for Kosovo Serbs. The most sacred of Serb land was turned into an inferno where everything is being burnt to ashes. I have no desire to dwell on the causes here as I believe they are known to everybody. But let us ask what has happened since the day a certain military-technical agreement was accepted, and the treason of Kosovo was signed in Kumanovo? The very place where 80 years previously Kosovo had been freed from the Turks and consecrated! The withdrawal of the Yugoslav state security forces from Kosovo and Metohia, if this is a state, abolished its frontiers with Albania and Macedonia and it was then that all doors and gates opened, like a dam, letting in a human flood from Albania, Macedonia. Hundreds of thousands of Albanians, previously expelled from Kosovo, thronged and with them came many of those who had never even been to nor had lived in Kosovo. Along with the self-proclaimed and armed "Liberation Army of Kosovo", rested and trained in Albania, arrived numerous other gangs and bands of robbers and criminals. The wave was unstoppable; there was nobody to halt it. The international forces arrived to the region not to prevent the arrival but to assist it. That is why diplomats, who come to Kosovo, feel complacent about the results that have been achieved during the past two and a half months. Something that has never happened in the history of the entire world has happened now. Getting 700,000 exiled people back to their homes is what they see. That is what they want to see, not the new convoys with refugees leaving Kosovo and heading in the opposite direction, in the arms of "Terror", i. e. Serbia.

Brothers and sisters,

As you have heard from His Grace, Metropolitan Amfilohije, within the last two and a half months over 160,000 Serbs and some 30,000 other non-Albanians, namely Romanies, have been forced, under the threat of violence and torture, to leave Kosovo. The whole of Metohia has been purged as well as many towns in central Kosovo, and endangered are entire Serb enclaves with some 100,000 Serbs, praise be to God, still living there. Today they are the main targets for a campaign aimed at making them shift so that the centuries old

Владика Рашко-призренске епархије
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Крст на коме је Kosovo распето стесан је Београду

Ваша светости, преосвећена браћо архијереји, часни свештеници, браћо и сестре, Распето Kosovo, Kosovo на крсту. Може ли се замислити страшнија слика пред нашим очима?

Под крстом се не говори. Под крстом се или ћути у болу, или грца у сузама. А ми смо принуђени да говоримо о распетом Kosovo под његовим крстом. Болно и са сузама. Али је најбољније сазнање и осећање да је крст на коме је Kosovo распето стесан овде, у престолном Београду. Да мајстори који су правили тај крст и Kosovo на њему распели то проглашавају својом победом и славе као велики успех. На Kosovo се десило оно што сви знамо или што смо на неки начин обавештени, али нико не зна пуну истину, чак ни ми, који на Kosovo живимо и они који су на Kosovo рођени, шта се то са нама доле догодило. Онога дана када је потписан мир, када је прихваћена резолуција Савета безбедности, после небивалих сукоба и злочина извршених на Kosovo, када смо очекивали да ће доћи до стварног демократског решења косовског проблема десило се оно што се морало десити: дошло је до полома и до погрома српског народа на Kosovo. Доласком међународних снага мира, како себе називају, на Kosovo, за косовске Србе почео је пакао. Најсветија српска земља претворена је у пакао огњени, у коме све гори и сагорева. Зашто је до тога дошло, нећу овде објашњавати, мислим да је свима познато. А шта се десило од тога дана када је у Куманову потписан и неки војно-технички споразум? Баш у Куманову где је пре 80 и нешто година од Турака ослобођено и освећено Kosovo? На истом месту је данас Kosovo и издато и продато! Повлачењем органа безбедности ове државе, ако је ово уопште држава, нестало је границе према Албанији и Македонији. Отворена су сва врата и све капије, као брана када се сруши, кроз које је кренула бујица из Албаније, из Македоније, нагрнуле су стотине хиљада претходно прогнаних Албанаца са Косова, а са њима и многи они који никада на Kosovo нису живели нити су били. Поред наоружане тзв. "Ослободилачке војске Косова", одморне и обучене у Албанији, кренуле су и многе друге банде, пљачкашке, криминалне. Тај талас је био незадржив, а није га имао ни ко задржати. Међународне снаге нису дошле доле да би спречиле тај повратак, него да би га омогућиле. И зато дипломати који доле долазе су задовољни постигнутим резултатима за два, два и по месеца на Kosovo, јер се десило нешто што се никад у историји света није десило. Да се за месец дана у отаџбину своју врати 700 хиљада прогнанника. Они то виде. Они су ради тога дошли доле, а неће да виде нове колоне избеглица које су кренуле са Косова, у другом правцу, према "Ужасу", то јест ужој Србији.

Браћо и сестре,

За два и по месеца са Косова је прогнано путем насиља и злочина, о којима сте чули од високопреосвећеног митрополита Амфилохија, преко 160 хиљада Срба са Косова, и још тридесетак хиљада другог неалбанског живља, углавном Рома. Очишћена је читава Метохија, очишћени су многи градови у централном Kosovo, угрожене су компактне енклаве српског народа у којима још увек, хвала Богу, живи око сто хиљада Срба. Они су сада у ово време главна мета напада, да се и они покрену и да се оствари вековни сан Шиптара о етнички чистом Ко-



Shqiptars' dream of an ethnically cleansed Kosovo can be realized. It is understandable that their primary aim is to expel all Serbs and the second is to eradicate all traces and witnesses, which could serve as evidence that the Serbs have existed at all. But who and what are the witnesses — churches, monasteries and holy places? So the Shqiptars set out to destroy the witnesses, to obliterate the traces. In two and a half months more than 70 monasteries and churches were burnt in a fire, demolished or levelled with the ground. Among them were the churches built by our illustrious and holy ancestors in the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries. The churches and monasteries, which survived the 500 years of Turkish occupation, did not endure the two months in the presence of 50,000 strong international "peace-keeping" force. Beside the ancient churches — each one representing an open wound, questions hovering above them as to whether they will ever heal — there were churches built in recent times which were consecrated, or were due to be, and those still under construction such as the ones in Đakovica, Đurakovac, Pečka Banja, to mention a few. This small but valuable book serves as a testimony of our times, our suffering, and our ill fate. And a horrendous picture it paints.

A question remains, however, as to whether we should allow our spirit to flag and accept the notion of a lost Kosovo. No, not yet. In spite of everything that has been happening Kosovo has not yet been lost for the Serbs or Serbia. While there are Serbs in Kosovo it will be theirs. Should we be there no more, it will not be ours even if Kosovo were lying within Serbia's frontiers. It still belongs to the Serbs and we hope, God's willing, it will remain so. So whom does its survival depend on? It depends on us! Only on us! Kosovo will be saved if the regime in Belgrade, which led us into the situation we are in, is changed. Should the regime prevail at the expense of its people, perish the thought, then Kosovo will be lost forever.

The crucified Kosovo can resurrect only in a resurrected, free, democratic, born again Serbia. Let us do our outmost to make this happen as soon as possible. Thank you.



Note: The addresses of Their Graces recorded at the presentation of the first edition of *Crucified Kosovo*, Belgrade Town Hall, 16 September 1999.
Напомена: Беседе снимљене на представљању првог издања књиге *Распето Косово*, у Скупштини града Београда, 16. септембра 1999.

сову. Разуме се, то је крива прва, прогнати Србе, други је крива за трагове и сведоке који сведоче да су Срби икада постојали. Који су то сведоци — цркве, манастири и светиње наше. И они су кренули у рушење, у затирање тих трагова и уништење тих сведока. За два и по месеца преко 70 цркава и манастира је spaljeno, демонтирано или до темеља разрушено. Међу њима су и оне цркве које су грађене од наших славних и светих предака, у XII, XIII, XIV веку. Цркве и манастири које су преживеле и претрајале 500 година турског ropства, нису могле да претрају два месеца међународног мира у присуству 50.000 "мировњака" на Косову. Поред тих старих цркава — од којих је свака рана која крвари, и питање је да ли ће икада бити залечена — јесу и оне цркве које су грађене у најновије време, оне које су тек освештене, оне које су спремне за освешћење, оне које су још у изградњи, као црква у Ђаковици, у Ђураковцу, у Пећкој Бањи и да не набрајам... Видећете из ове мале, али драгоцене књиге, као сведока нашег времена, нашег страдања, нашег положаја. Страшна слика.

Но, да ли на основу тога треба да кло-немо духом, да ли треба да признамо да је Косово изгубљено? Не, још увек не. Поред свега што се десило и што се дешава. Косово још није изгубљено ни за Србе ни за Србију. Док је нас Срба доле на Косову, оно ће бити српско. Када нас доле не буде било, оно неће бити српско, макар се налазило у границама државе Србије. А оно је још увек српско и надамо се, уз милост Божију да ће тако и остати. Од чега то зависи? Од нас! И само од нас! Ако у Србији, у Београду, дође до промене режима, који нас је довео до Косова, онда ће Косово бити заувек изгубљено.

Зато распето Косово може васкрснути само у васкрслој, слободној, демократској, препорођеној Србији. Учинимо све да дога што пре дође.
Хвала.



KOSOVO AND METOHIA'S CULTURAL HERITAGE OF EXTREME IMPORTANCE

Vitina — the Monastery of the Holy Archangels, 14th c., resolution number PZ1*-175/63, Buzovik (Binač) — the Serb cemetery, a belfry and the woods; **Letinica** — a statue of the Mother of God of Montenegro with Christ and a statue of St Roko, 17th c., r.n. PZ-245/68.

Vučitrn — the tower, 14th c., r.n. PZ-858/48 and Vojinovići Bridge, 14th c., r.n. PZ-859/49; **Samodreža** — the Church of St Lazarus, 14th c., restored in 1932, r.n. PZ-381/64 and the Gradina church hill; **Gobjulja** — remains of the church with the cemetery, 16th c., r.n. PZ-593/65.

Gnjilane — Kmetovce — remains of the Holy Barbara monastery, 14th c., r.n. PZ-369/63, a hundred years old cemetery and centennial oak trees; **Podgradje** — fortified stronghold (Kajaja), 14th c., r.n. PZ-251/56; **Grnčar** — hillfort, 14th c., r.n. PZ-199/55; **Trpeza** — hillfort, 14th c., r.n. PZ-200/55.

Dečani — the Monastery of Christ the Pantocrator, 14th c., r.n. PZ-426/47 and the hermitages of Dečani: the hermitage of King Stefan Dečanski and the hermitage of Belaje, 14th c., r.n. PZ-774/66, as well as the Locani hut, 14th c., r.n. PZ-273/58.

Djakovica — Srpska Street with the Church of the Dormition of the Virgin, 16th c., r.s. PZ-951/67.

Zubin Potok — the monastery with the Church of Our Lady in Duboki Potok, 14th-16th c., r.n. PZ-2300/48; the Church of St Nicholas in Crepulja, 16th c., r.n. PZ-2305/48; the Church of St Petka in Čečevo, 14th c., (restored in 20th c.), r.n. PZ-984/66; **Brnjaci** — remains of the palace of Helen of Anjou, 14th c., r.n. PZ-967/66; **Ilinica-Jabuka** — remains of old church grounds with the cemetery, 14th c., r.n. PZ-836/66.

Istok — the Monastery of Gorioč, 14th c., r.n. PZ-160/58, the Church of St John in Crkolez, 14th-17th c., r.n. PZ-236/58 and church remains in the villages of Sinaje and Šaljinovica; remains of the Monastery of the Holy Virgin, 13th c., r.n. PZ-370/63; **Studenica** — Hvosnanske above the villages of Studenica and Vrela near Pečka Banja; the Church of St Nicholas in Đurakovac, 14th-16th c., r.n. PZ-475/55 with an old cemetery and a centennial oak tree; **Banja Rudnička** — the Rodop sarcophagus in the Church of St Nicholas, 14th c., r.n. PZ-259/58; **Dobruša-Vučar** — remains of the church with the cemetery, 14th c., r.n. PZ-982/66; **Crni Lug** — the old cemetery, 16th-19th c., r.n. PZ-960/64; **Rudnik** — the Church of St George with the cemetery, 16th c., r.n. PZ-248/58.

Klina — the Monastery of the Holy Transfiguration in Budisavci, 14th-16th c., with a forest, cemetery, old church grounds, centennial oak trees and ancient tomb stones in the villages of Naglavci, Veliko Krušvo and Jagoda; **Dobra voda**, Petrovica church, 13th-14th c., r.n. PZ-245/58, the endowment of Peter of Koriša, with a hillfort and a church well; **Dolac** — monastery — the Church of the Presentation of the Holy Virgin, 14th-16th c., r.n. 241/58; **Drnsnik** — the Church of St Petka, 16th c., r.n. PZ-242/58; **Kijevo** — the Church of St Nicholas, 16th c., r.n. PZ-238/58; **Ljubižda** — remains of the church in the south-east part of the village, 14th-17th c., r.n. PZ-553/66; **Mlečane** — the Church of St Nicholas, 16th c., r.n. PZ-250/58, **Podgradje** with the Church of the Holy Healer (St Demetrius), 16th c., and the Upper Church, 14th-16th c., r.n. PZ-249/58; **Svrhe Volujačke** — church remains, 14th c., r.n. PZ-513/66; **Sičevo** — the Church of St Nicholas, 16th c., r.n. PZ-246/58; **Mališevo** (Uljarice) — the river Miruša valley with lakes, waterfalls, and the hermitages of Uljarice, 13th-14th c., r.n. PZ-231/62, with a church; **Čabići** — the Church of St Nicholas, 16th c., r.n. PZ-246/58.

Kosovska Kamenica — Ajnovce (Rečane) — remains of the monastery of Tavnica, 14th c., r.n. PZ-476/55, with towers and old cemeteries; **Močare** — remains of the Monastery of Ubožac (Rđjavac), 14th c., r.n. PZ-478/55; **Vaganeš**, the Church of Our Lady, 14th c., r.n. PZ-474/55, with ancient oak trees and the cemetery; **Berivojce** — the Church of St John, 14th-16th c., r.n. PZ-338/63.

Lipljan — the old Church of the Presentation of the Holy Virgin, 14th c., r.n. PZ-173/49, with a konak (the old primary school), 19th c., r.n. PZ-818/56 and the Church of SS Florius and Lavra; **Petrovo** (Štimlje) — church remains, 16th c., r.n. PZ-562/66; **Račak** near Štimlje — the Church of the Holy Healers, 14th c., r.n. PZ-561/66; **Slovinje** — the church of St John, 16th c., r.n. PZ-975/66 and the Church of St Nicholas, 16th c., r.n. PZ-54/67 as well as the Monastery of St George, 14th c., r.n. PZ-56/67.

Novo brdo — medieval town — the fortress with remains of an ancient settlement on the fill, 14th c., r.n. PZ-266/48 and the church in the village of Bostanje.

Orahovac — Brnjača — the church of an unknown saint, 14th c. (restored in 20th c., destroyed in 1941), r.n. PZ-557/65; **Velika Hoča** with 13 churches and konaks, vineyards and the winery; churches: of St John, 16th c., r.n. PZ-253/58, of St Lucas, 14th-16th c., r.n. PZ-169/67, of St Nicholas, 16th c., r.n. PZ-287/58, **Zočište** monastery with the Church of the Holy Healers, 14th-16th c., r.n. PZ-494/54, mineral spring, old grounds of the Church of St John; **Oplatuša** — the Church of St George, 15th c., r.n. PZ-558/66.

Peć — the Patriarchate of Peć, 13th c., r.n. PZ-428/47, with an old cemetery, 16th-19th c., r.n. PZ-519/58 and the old "Šam-dud" tree (Murus Sp.), r.n. PZ-709/57, **Rugova** hermitages, 13th-14th c., r.n. PZ-988/66 and church remains in the village of Ljevoša; the Church of St Demetrius in "Metova livada" (Meto's meadow), 14th c., r.n. PZ-989/66; the Church of St George, 14th c., r.n. PZ-990/66; the Church of St Marko, 14th c., r.n. PZ-996/66; the Church of St Nicholas, 14th c., r.n. PZ-991/66; the old cemetery in "Savova livada" (Savo's meadow), 17th c., r.n. PZ-995/66; remains of the fortress of Idolac (Idvorac), 14th c., r.n. PZ-974/65; **Duvarinje** (Zdrenik) — wall remains of a well, r.n. PZ-992/66; **Paskalica** — remains of Paskalija church, 13th c., r.n. PZ-520/66; **Plavljane** — the old cemetery, 16th-18th c., r.n. PZ-976/66; **Belo Polje** — the Church of Our Lady, 16th-18th c., r.n. PZ-954/64; **Bučane** — the old Stojković cemetery, 18th c., r.n. PZ-57/67; **Krušvo** — a tomb head-stone, 14th c.; a church, r.n. PZ-243/58; **Radavac** — the Beli Drim spring, the Radevačka cave and remains of the Radev-grad (the city of Radev), r.n. PZ-987/66; **Goraždevac** — the Church of St Nicholas, 16th c., r.n. PZ-240/58 and the Church of Our Lady with an ancient cemetery and oak-trees.

Podujevo: **Palatina** — remains of the church and the cemetery in an oak-grove, 14th c., r.n. PZ-596/65; **Belasica** — the town of Vrhlab, 13th-14th c., r.n. PZ-475/58.

Prizren: a medieval fortress Dušanov Grad (the city of Dušan), 14th c., r.n. PZ-1585/48; **Podkalaja** — the Church of the Holy Salvation, 14th c., r.n. PZ-1598/48; the Church of the Holy Healers, the Church of the Holy Sunday, the icon of the Holy Mother with Christ, 14th c., r.n. PZ-1102/57, in the Church of St Nicholas (Rajkov); the Church of St Nicholas (Tutić), 14th c., r.n. PZ-2236/62; the Church of St George (Runović), 16th c., r.n. PZ-956/64; the icon of the Holy Mother Pelagionitsa in the Cathedral Church of St George, 14th c., r.n. PZ-235/62; the Church of the Presentation of the Virgin Mary (the Church of the Young Prince Marko), 14th c., r.n. PZ-983/66; the Church of Our Lady of Ljeviška, 14th c., r.n. PZ-352/48 with remains of the Monarchs' chapels, Metropolitans' konaks and the old belfry; the stone bridge, 14th-15th c., r.n. PZ-2345/58; the Sahat-kula (clock-tower), 14th-16th c., r.n. PZ-994/66; **Sredačka župa** with 16 sites of old church grounds and churches; the Church of Our Lady, 16th c., r.n. PZ-1574/50, the Church of St George, 16th c., r.n. PZ-510/56; **Špinadije** — remains of a church with a cemetery, 16th c., r.n. PZ-470/63, the Koriša gorge with the villages of Kabaš, Koriša and Ljubižda, the hermitages of St Peter of Koriša in the village of Kabaš, 13th c., r.n. PZ-1573/50 and the Monastery of St Marko, 14th c., r.n. PZ-591/65; old church grounds in Luka — mahala, 14th c., r.n. PZ-469/63, a cemetery church near the village school, 14th c., r.n. PZ-979/65; **Koriša** — remains of the Church of SS Peter and Paul, 14th c., r.n. PZ-572/62; the Church of St George, 14th c., r.n. 468/63; the Church of St Nicholas, 14th c., r.n. PZ-467/63; the Church of the Our Immaculate Lady (the so called "Sisters of Peter of Koriša"), 14th c., r.n. PZ-978/65; the Church of Our Lady near Vrela in Koriša, 16th c., r.n. PZ-955/64; hillfort remains, 13th c., r.n. PZ-975/65; **Sukalje** — remains of the pyrgos (tower), 13th c., r.n. PZ-977/65; 13 churches and the sites of old church grounds in the villages of Gornja Srbica and Ljubižda: the Church of St Nicholas, 16th c., r.n. PZ-976/65; **Koriša** — fortified stronghold-fortress above the villages of Koriša and Ljubižda, 13th c., r.n. PZ-975/65; **Biljuša** — the Church of "Kaludjerski kamen" (the monk's rock), 16th c., r.n. PZ-837/67; **Bogoševci** — the Church of St Nicholas, 16th c., r.n. PZ-119/56; **Gornje selo** — the Church of St George, 16th c., r.n. PZ-252/58; **Mužljak** — monastery remains, 14th c., r.n. PZ-1092/64; **Našec** church foundations, 14th c., r.n. PZ-966/66; **Novake** — the old konak, 19th c., r.n. PZ-761/56; the Prizrenska Bistrica gorge with remains of the Monastery of the Holy Archangels, 14th c., r.n. PZ-352/48; the town of Višegrad with the

church of St George, 13th-14th c., r.n. PZ-1583/48; **Dušan's Bridge** in the gorge, 14th-15th c., r.n. PZ-1149/58; 40 wells ("Krk — bunar"), the hermitage of St Nicholas, 14th c., r.n. PZ-772/66; nameless hermitages as well as Tsar Dušan's maple tree in Maraš — mahala at the entrance into the city of Prizren, r.n. PZ-01-569/59.

Priština — the Church of St Nicholas and the iconostasis, 19th c., r.n. PZ-261/56 with the Metropolitanates building and the building of the first Serbian school, 19th c., r.n. PZ-385/61; the Byzantine Ulpijana; **Gazimestan** — a monument to Kosovo heroes, r.n. PZ-375/50 and Kosovo peonies reserve (peonias decora), r.n. PZ-26/50;

Gračanica — the Monastery of the Annunciation, 14th c., r.n. PZ-427/47 and the town of Veletin, 14th c., r.n. PZ-694/66 with remains of Vojislavice monastery, 14th c., r.n. PZ-198/67; churches in the villages of Šakovac, 14th c., r.n. PZ-691/66, and Sušica on the slopes of mount Veletina; **Gladnica** — the early Serbian necropolis at Badovac, r.n. PZ-378/65; **Orlane** — remains of the Church of Our Immaculate Lady of Braina, 14th c., r.n. PZ-521/66 and the Church of St Constantine and Helena, 16th c., r.n. PZ-9/8/66; **Badovac** (Novo Selo) — remains of a cemetery church, 16th c., r.n. PZ-718/64; **Balabane** (Orlane) — church remains, 16th c., r.n. PZ-977/66; **Donja Fuštica** — church remains, 14th-16th c., r.n. PZ-55/67.

Srbica — Lauša — the Monastery of Devič, 14th-15th c., r.n. PZ-439/48 and the Gradina hill, monastic woods, orchard, the spring of St Joannicius and the river Devič; **Belica** — the Church of St George, 14th-16th c., r.n. PZ-589/65; **Leočina** with the Church of St John, 14th c., r.n. PZ-589/65; the Church of the Holy Transfiguration, 14th c., r.n. PZ-959/64, a carved cross, 14th-16th c., in the house of Zdravko Šmigic, r.n. PZ-506/66.

Suva reka — Mušutište — the Church of Our Lady, 14th c., r.n. PZ-2112/48, the Monastery of the Holy Trinity, 14th-19th c., r.n. PZ-754/66; cave hermitages in Matoski brook, 13th-14th c., r.n. PZ-775/66 and Rusinica, 13th c., r.n. PZ-773/66; **Rečane** — the Church of St George, 14th c., r.n. PZ-837/53 with ancient oak trees and a cemetery; **Popovljane** — the Church of St Nicholas, 16th c., r.n. PZ-1575/50; **Pečane** — the Church of the Presentation of the Virgin Mary, 15th c., r.n. PZ-958/64.

Kosovska Mitrovica — the Monastery of St Stefan in Banjska, 14th c., r.n. PZ-159/47 with church remains in the small villages of: Jelići, Stevovići and Kozareva rijeka; **Stari trg** — remains of the Old Saxon Church, 13th c., r.n. PZ-8/58; the town of Zvečan, 10th-13th c., r.n. PZ-373/47, with Mali Zvečan (Little Zvečan) on the right bank of the river Ibar and the Monastery of Sokolica (the Church of Our Lady) 14th c., r.n. PZ-2304/48, on the left river bank; **Rašane** — Trepčanski grad (town of Trepča) 13th-14th c., r.n. PZ-267/67; **Ceranska reka** — remains of the Church "Mramor" with a marble statue, 14th c., r.n. PZ-897/64; **Špilje** (Iplije) — Kuline — remains of the monastery with a cemetery, 14th c., r.n. PZ-981/66.

Uroševac — Gornje and Donje Nerodimlje with the Monastery of the Holy Archangels, 14th c., r.n. PZ-502/66, Tsar Dušan's pine tree (Pinus heldreichii) r.n. PZ-01-327/61, the towns of Mali and Veliki Petrič, 14th c., r.n. PZ-959/67, the Church of Tsar Uroš and an icon collection, 16th c., r.n. PZ-595/65; the Church of St Nicholas in Gotovuša, 16th c., r.n. PZ-235/55; **Nerodimlja** — remains of King Milutin's palace, 14th c., r.n. PZ-958/67; **Svrčin** (Sarajiste) — remains of a summer house, 14th c., r.n. PZ-960/67; **Šarenik** (Šajkovac) — the Monastery of St Uroš, 14th-16th c., r.n. PZ-966/66.

Štrpce — the Church of St Nicholas, 16th c., PZ-904/67; **Čajlije** — the fortress above Brezovica, 13th c., r.n. PZ-957/67; **Kaćanik** — the fortress (Kajaja), 16th c., r.n. PZ-979/66; **Sirinička župa** with 11 churches; **Gornje Bitinje** — a stone slate, cemetery and the Church of St George, 16th c., r.n. PZ-244/58; **Donje Bitinje** — the Church of St Theodore Tyro, 16th c., r.n. PZ-251/58; **Gora župa** which was converted into Islam, with 14 Christian churches left; **Opolje** with churches in 12 villages and many more old church grounds, churches, hillforts, hermitages etc.

Note:

1 — PZ — abbreviation for the Kosovo County Heritage Institute (Pokrajinski zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture)

2 — RZ — abbreviation for the Republic of Serbia Heritage Institute (Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture)

SERBS MURDERED IN BOSNIA
AND HERZEGOVINA
(JUNE 11 - AUGUST 22, 1992)

TOTAL: MORE THAN 350
SERBS MURDERED

PRISTINA

1. BRANKOVIC DRAGAN
2. KAPETANOVIC BOJICIN
3. JOVANOVIĆ DRAGAN
4. PETROVIC MIROSLAV
5. JOVOVIC VESELIN
6. SUKIC ILIJA
7. STANISAVLJEVIC VLADIMIR
8. STANISAVLJEVIC PERSA
9. BRANKOVIC DRAGAN
10. LEKOVIC MILENKO
11. MLADENOVIC MIODRAG
12. STAMENKOVIC JOVICA
13. JOVANOVIĆ MILENA
14. ŽIVIC MIODRAG
15. PAVLOVIC MILOŠ
16. RAICEVIC DRAGAN
17. IVIC VELIMIR
18. TASIC TOMISLAV
19. DANCETOVIC BOZIDAR
20. RISTIC MILIVOJE
21. RISTIC JULIJANA
22. ĐURIC ZLATIBOR - ZLATKO
23. ĐURIC SRBINKA - SRMENA
24. MILENKOVIC MOMČILO
25. VUJOVIC LJUBICA
26. VUCIC RADISLAV
27. NICIC DEJAN
28. CIFTARIC MILKA
29. MISULOVIC MIODRAG
30. NOVAKOVIC NIKOLA
31. RADULOVIC ZORAN
32. NIKOLIC DEJAN
33. RISTIC RADA
34. VASIC LJUBISA
35. VASIC ZIVORAD
36. STOJANOVIC MILENA
37. JOVANOVIĆ NEBOJŠA
38. ILIC VELIMIR
39. ŽIVIC ZORAN
40. RAICEVIC DRAGOSLAV
41. RISTIC TOMISLAV
42. TOŠIC MARKO
43. JANUS ĐURO
44. MARKOVIC ZLATIBOR
45. PERKA MLADENOVIC
46. SVETISLAV TRAJKOVIC
47. PERA RAKOCEVIC
48. EVA KRSTIC
49. SVETISLAV DEPA
50. MARICA BADANJAK
51. N. N.
52. ZORKA MAKSIMOVIC
53. ŽIVOVIC NEGRACANICA
54. ŽIVOVIC SIMIC
55. DIMITRIJE SIMIC
56. TRAJAN SIMIC
57. ŽIVKO SIMIC
58. OBIČ
59. SIX SERBS WERE KIDNAPPED ON JUNE 16TH 1992, IN THE VILLAGE OF MAZGIT. THEY WERE LATER MURDERED AND THEIR BODIES WERE FOUND THREE DAYS LATER IN THE VILLAGE MILOŠEVO, AND TAKEN TO THE HOSPITAL IN PRISTINA:
57. PAVLOVIC SLOBODAN
58. PAVLOVIC NENAD
59. MILENKOVIC DIMITRIJE
60. MILENKOVIC ALEKSANDAR
61. DIMIC MOMČILO
62. PROKIC DEJAN
63. TODOROVIC PREDRAC
64. FILIPOVIC DANIJELA
65. SIMIC MILAN
66. TALIC MIRKO
67. TALIC JAVORKA
68. DIMIC VLADAN
69. DIMIC DUŠAN
70. DIMIC MILOVAN
71. DIMIC MILA
72. PERIC MILORAD
73. MAKSIMOVIC MILAN
74. MILENA STOJANOVIC
75. RISTIC TOMISLAV
76. ĐUKIC ANA
77. PERENČEVIC DRAGAN
78. STANIŠIĆ ZORAN
79. ZORAVKOVIC LJUBINKA
80. VUCIC N.
81. RISTIC MILUTIN
82. JANIČIJEVIC D. MOMČILO
83. JANIČIJEVIC M. NOVICA
84. JANIČIJEVIC B. MILE
85. JANIČIJEVIC C. SLOBODAN
86. CVEJIC J. SASA
87. CVEJIC D. LJUBISA
88. ŽIVIC I. RADOVAN
89. ŽIVIC I. JOVICA
90. ĐEKIC M. STANIMIR

91. ĐEKIC D. BOZIDAR
92. ĐOKOVIC M. ANDRIJA
93. TEPIŠIC M. MIODRAG
94. JOVANOVIĆ C. MILOVAN
95. STOJANOVIC D. NIKOLA
96. VUJOVIC NENAD
97. VUJOVIC SRĐAN
98. ĐORĐEVIC MILORAD
99. ĐORĐEVIC MILOŠ
100. DIMKO PARLIC
101. ĐOKIC BOGDAN
102. TALIC MIRKO
103. TALIC JOVANKA
104. JOVANOVIĆ MIROSLAV
105. MIHAJLOVIC JUGOSLAV
106. STANOJEVIC SASA
107. ŽIVKOVIC NEBOJŠA
108. KARADŽIĆ SREČKO
109. MIHAJLOVIC LJUBOMIR
110. JEVIĆ SLOBODAN
111. ANTIĆ ŽIVKO
112. ANTIĆ JOVA
113. JANKOVIC ZORAN
114. SIMONOVIC BLAGOJE
115. SIMONOVIC VERA
116. SAVIC PETAR
117. STOJANOVIC BOZIDAR
118. PERIC ŽIVOJIN
119. ĐOKIC MOMČILO
120. ĐENIC Cedomir
121. DIMIC VLADA
122. ĐENIC VOJISLAV
123. ĐENIC BRANKO
124. PERIC RADE
125. PERIC DOBRIVOJE
126. STOJANOVIC MILE
127. KOSTIC SASA
128. STOJANOVIC SAVA
129. NEDELJKOVIC BLAGICA
130. ĐENIC MILORAD
131. MAKSIMOVIC MILAN
132. LAZIC BOZIDAR
133. LAZIC N.
134. MIHAJLOVIC STANOJKO
135. RADOVAC MILORAD
136. VASILJKOVIC ŽIVKOVIC PETAR
137. ĐORĐEVIC SASA
138. ĐOKIC SPASOJE
139. ĐORĐEVIC ZORAN
140. BOGDANOVIC-KOJIC SLAVKO
141. STANKOVIC VLASTIMIR
142. AKŠIĆ MILICA
143. PRZIC VELIBOR
144. PEŠIĆ DRAGAN
145. STEVIC DOBRIVOJE
146. ANTIĆ VELJKO
147. RADIĆ TIHOMIR
148. SPASIĆ SILVANA
149. MILIĆ SASA
150. POKAC DARIKKA
151. KOVAČEVIC DAMJAN
152. VUKAS MILE
153. STOJANOVIC STANKO
154. STOJAKOVIC MILORADKA
155. STOJANOVIC SAVA
156. ŽIVKO N.
157. SIMIC (SRBA) MILIVOJE
158. ARŠIĆ (NOVICA) NENAD
159. VASIC NOVICA
160. STOJANOVIC MIODRAG
161. STANKOVIC BLAGONJA
162. ANTIĆ NEGOVAN
163. ILIC NOVICA
164. STEVANOVIĆ LJUBISA
165. STANKOVIC DOBRINKA
166. KOSOVSKA MITROVICA
167. VASIC SAVA
168. NIKOLIC SASA
169. MILOVANOVIC MIROKO
170. SPIRIT MIROSLAV
171. MIROVIC SLOBODAN
172. ŽIVKOVIC SRETEN
173. LAZOVIC DRAGOMILA
174. VOROTOVIC RADA
175. SARIC MARKO
176. MIROVIC MIODRAG
177. PUCKOVIC BOSILJKA
178. JOVANOVIĆ KRSTA
179. JOVANOVIĆ N.
180. BABAROGIĆ ČELIMIR
181. BABAROGIĆ OLGA
182. NESIC JEZDIMIR
183. NESIC ĐURKA
184. POPOVIC RATKO
185. MITIĆ STANISLAV
186. MITIĆ JOVANKA
187. JOVANOVIĆ RADOVAN
188. JR. SIC VINKO
189. KRSTIĆ RADE
190. STAMENKOVIC MARICA
191. FILIPOVIC PANTA

192. MILOVIC M.
193. KRSTIĆ N.
194. NEDELJKOVIC DRAGICA
195. MARKOVIC STOJADIN
196. MARKOVIC RADA
197. MILOVANOVIC JOVAN
198. STANIC MILAN
199. RACIC BOSILJKA
200. NIKOLIC MILOLETA
201. STOJANOVIC ZORAN
202. JANKOVIC DEJAN
203. TEPIŠIĆ BOZIDAR
204. RADOVACIĆ I. RADA
205. DIMIC MILE
206. DIMIC ZORAN
207. N. N.
208. STANISAVLJEVIC
209. STANISAVLJEVIC
210. TALIC MIRKO
211. TALIC JOVANKA
212. MARKOVIC STOJADIN
213. MARKOVIC RADA
214. BOGDANOVIC
215. BOGDANOVIC
216. TOMIĆ DESANKA
217. MARKOVIC VITA
218. STOJANOVIC VLADIMIRKA
219. JOVANOVIĆ DRAGAN
220. JOVANOVIĆ ZORAVKO
221. GRKOVIĆ PANTA
222. BIROVIC NIKOLA
223. BIROVIC SIMO
224. BIROVIC JOVAN
225. N. N.
226. VIDIĆ RADOJICA
227. VIDIĆ RADOVOJE
228. VIDIĆ JOVANA
229. PEŠIĆ ŽIVKO
230. VESIC GLIGORIJE
231. ŽUVIĆ MIRKO
232. MILOVANOVIC RADOŠLAV
233. BANJAK ZORAVKO
234. ŽUVIĆ VUČKO
235. ŽUVIĆ BOSTANA
236. LALEVIC VOJISLAV
237. LALEVIC JELENA
238. LALEVIC MIROSLAVA
239. LALEVIC LJUBOMIR
240. LALEVIC MILIJANA
241. MARUSIĆ ŽIVKO
242. MARUSIĆ CVETA
243. MARUSIĆ MILICA
244. LAZAREVIC DEJAN
245. PETAR ĐURIC
246. RADOVOJE ĐURIC
247. VULIC MIHAJLO
248. N. N.
249. VULIC ĐURDA
250. STOJAKOVIC VERA
251. STOJAKOVIC RADOJICA
252. STOJAKOVIC MIŠKO
253. POKAC DARIKKA
254. KOVAČEVIC DAMJAN
255. KOVAČEVIC MILISAV
256. NOVAČOVIC OLGA
257. VUJOŠEVIC MILEVA
258. CIRKOVIĆ RADOŠLAVA
259. CIRKOVIĆ BOSILJKA
260. GASIĆ MARKO
261. GASIĆ RADOŠLAV
262. MIZIĆ DRAGISA
263. VULEVIC BRANKO
264. VUKMIROVIC N.
265. BULATOVIC N.
266. PETROVIC MILOŠ
267. STANOJEVIC BORISAV
268. RADOVIC N.
269. RADOVIC SRETEN
270. RADOVIC MILOŠ
271. JANKOVIC NEBOJŠA
272. MIROVIC MARICA
273. SAVIC DRAGAN
274. LEKOVIC MILENKO
275. LEKOVIC MILIVOJE
276. ŽIVKOVIC SRETEN
277. STANIŠIĆ N.
278. STANIŠIĆ N.
279. JAVLINOVIC BOZANA
280. JAVLINOVIC VOJISLAV
281. BUKMIROVIC MILICA
282. RATKOVIC VASILJKA
283. STANKOVIC BLAGOJE
284. STAJIĆ TOMISLAV
285. STAJIĆ ŽIVKO
286. MARKOVIC RASA
287. CANKOVIC MILOŠ
288. NOVICEVIC MILORAD
289. MIROVIC SLOBODAN
290. KOVIČOVIC RADOŠLAV
291. GASIĆ BRANISLAV
292. GASIĆ JOVANA
293. GASIĆ KOSTADIN
294. GASIĆ RADOŠLAV
295. KRSTIĆ DANICA
296. KRSTIĆ LJUBICA
297. MASLAR NATALIJA
298. RADOVANOVIC MILOŠ
299. RAJČIĆ ZVONKO

300. TOMIĆ RASA
301. TOMIĆ RADOŠLAV
302. STOSIĆ C. A.
303. KOSTIĆ FILIP
304. KOJIC
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307. 20
308. JURAŠEVAC
309. UGLJARE
310. THE 10 OF SERBS
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THE TWILIGHT OF THE WEST

STATEMENTS MADE BY WORLD INTELLECTUALS
ON THE KILLING OF YUGOSLAVIA



HOBOCTH
BELGRADE



BOOK 1

EDITED BY:
MILO GLIGORIJEVIĆ

THE TWILIGHT OF THE WEST

STATEMENTS MADE BY WORLD
INTELLECTUALS ON THE KILLING OF
YUGOSLAVIA

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THE RIGHT OF THE STRONGER AND THE RIGHT OF THE WEAKER

So it has been in history. Many who have not been able to master themselves have wished to master others. And the same goes for today. One head of state, a man with a shameful biography, dreams of himself as the benefactor of mankind, as the exporter of democracy. And upon what does he rely? On the right of the stronger, on force.

The right of the stronger, however, has never triumphed forever in history. It did not triumph with Nero or with Napoleon, Hitler or Stalin. It has not triumphed with anyone.

Discussions on that right, as well as on the right of the weaker, are as old as the world itself.

In Ancient Greece, there were Sophists who considered that the only really free man was the one who knew no limitations. Callicles of Acharnae, a pupil of Gorgias, was on the side of the right of the stronger and heatedly defended the thesis that justice is unworthy of the free man. He saw Injustice as a sign of power. Force, he said, is what belongs to the master, adding that justice and moral laws had been invented by the weak to frighten the powerful. However, the powerful, if they really are so, rid themselves of all scruples and despise the moral rulings of the organized weak; they tread underfoot their own and others' paragraphs and decrees; they reject self-control as a sign of weakness and satisfy their own yearnings and objectives.

That Sophist saw intractability as a source of worthiness and happiness, and he proclaimed all conventions as mere babbling.

If he did not have huge encyclopaedic ignorance (as Stanislaw Jerzy Lec would have said), the President of the United States of America would see Callicles of Acharnae as his teacher.

That President does not like the government in Serbia and therefore overlooks the fact that part of the Albanian majority in Kosovo and Metohija (national extremists) are terrorizing the Serbian minority. He forgets the unconcealed territorial aspirations of the Albanians, awards their ambition, and forgives them their cruelty.

When Serbia began to defend itself in Kosovo, and let us remember that any state, including the U.S.A., would defend itself from separatists and terrorists, the U.S. President blamed the Serbian authorities for excessive use of force. He then used Hitler's rhetoric, proclaiming the Serbs as a disturbance factor, accusing them of being responsible for the outbreak of world wars and then sent excessive force against them!

That had, in any case, also happened in Tadjman's state. Accused of ethnic cleansing, the Serbs were, with the permission of the U.S., expelled from Croatia and transformed into a vast column of refugees and homeless.

And thus, without any great commotion, the twentieth century is ending with the collective punishment of one nation.

That punishment is not based on any right, except the right of the stronger.

The lack of any legal foundation does not trouble the greatest power in the world, for the strong – as Callicles of Acharnae said – rid themselves of all scruples and tread underfoot their own and others' paragraphs and decrees. That is why another eighteen U.S. allies have joined in the punitive action: Germany, Britain, France, Spain, Italy, Holland, and so on, and, finally, Hungary.

History books can now quote a shocking example: the richest and most developed countries, with their combined terrifying strength, have, without the consent of the United Nations Security Council, attacked one single small Balkan state. A dramatic rift has begun; not only military facilities but also civilian industries have been destroyed. Refineries are aflame, bridges have been brought down; media facilities razed to the ground; railway links cut, roads bombed, hotels burned to the ground, the residence of the head of state demolished... The collateral damage, for which the attackers cynically apologize, includes churches, monasteries, museums, theatres, schools and hospitals.

There are more and more factories in ruins, buildings of which the bare skeletons remain, and corpses of innocent people.

Civilians are dying; children are dying.

In Belgrade, shrapnel has taken the life of three-year-old Milica Rakić. May God imprint her angelic smile in the memories of the aggressors forever.

No place is safe in Serbia or Montenegro, in the third Yugoslavia. People are dying as they walk in the streets or drive along the roads, in trains, in the fields, and in the ruins of residential buildings. Serbs are dying; people of other nationalities are dying. Albanians, for whom the U.S. and Western European protection is intended, are also dying. NATO killed seventy-five refugees that were returning to their homes on the road between Djakovica and Prizren.

Albanian refugees can only return to their homes when the director so decides, and only when CNN cameras are rolling, in order to celebrate U.S. world success. No one may ever dare to return to his home of his own free will!

And all this is happening in a country that has suffered twice in the world wars in the twentieth century. It suffered both times for the victory of good over evil.

Can this country be helped by the right of the weaker, about which Callicles of Acharnae spoke so ironically?

It can indeed. As John Milton said:

"Virtue may be assailed but never hurt,

Surprised by unjust force, but not enthralled."

The U.S. President is now hearing the ever-louder protests of intellectuals, artists, politicians, statesmen, clergymen and soldiers from throughout the world. These protests should be collected and put before the world in order to prevent them from being scattered throughout television programmes, newspaper articles and in the Internet. That task has been undertaken by Novo Tomić, an editor of the *Večernje novosti* daily. He has taken, quite naturally, only comments upon attacks on Serbia and Montenegro, and not political pronouncements such as have been uttered in some reports.

Mr. Tomić's selection is, of course, only one of the many possible selections, for there are many kinds of protests against the disaster that has struck Serbia and Montenegro.

In this book, the reader will also find a different example, a justification of the aggression. For the very reason that it came from a famous writer, from Guenter Grass, it has had to be recorded.

Grass has undergone the same experience as Knut Hamsun. That great Norwegian novelist supported Hitler, and disappointed readers returned his books from all over. Serbian readers returned their books to the writer of "The Tin Drum" in April 1999, while, in Serbia and Montenegro, people were living and dying under the bombs of an alliance that – by entering into others' homes and states by force – cannot but remind one of the Third Reich.

Milo Gilgorjević
Belgrade, April 24, 1999

Sohl Al-Wadi

HOPE FOR A BACKLASH

Dear Ambassador Popović,...dear friend,

There is no way in which I can express the horror and resentment that fills my soul as a result of the present events in your poor country.

The powers that are using the media to spread lies and falsify facts are back at work, aiming to populate the globe with yes-men. We saw it at Suez, at the Bay of Pigs, in Libya, in Sudan, we are still witnessing it in Iraq:

Now Yugoslavia....

I, with a majority of Arabs, hope that this barbarous behavior will eventually cause a backlash which will rebound on its perpetrators. And the heroic and Promethean spirit of Yugoslav people, which has manifested itself so many times in the past, will prevail.

Dear Sir, please accept, for what it is worth, my sympathy. I hail the soul of your resistance.

On behalf of my wife, Cynthia, the members of the National Symphony Orchestra, and myself, once again I offer to you and your wife our heartfelt sympathy.

Yours truly,
Sohl Al-Wadi

*A letter to the Yugoslav ambassador in Syria
Zoran Popović, April, 1999*

Bella Akhmadulina

I PRAY FOR THE PERSECUTED AND KILLED

To me, Yugoslavia is the same as my own homeland. The Serbian language appears to me closer and more beautiful than my own mother tongue – Russian. There are, among Yugoslav writers and poets, some people very dear to my heart. Even more important, my blood-sister, Milena, lives in Belgrade. The two of us, we really are sisters – we share the same spirit. We have got used to praying one for another. Her mother prays for me. And now, I pray for Milena, I pray for her *matushka*,

for all those people I love. But I cannot but pray also for those persecuted and killed. I know how important Kosovo has always been in the history of Yugoslavia. It hurts me so much that this place will see bloodshed once again. I know that my dear Milena cannot do anything about it. Maybe Yugoslav writers can – using their words. What is happening in Yugoslavia is doubly bad, painful and tragic for Russia. I say doubly, since the evil powers in Russia are readily using this situation to promote their own interests, without shedding a tear for Yugoslavia and Kosovo. In my heart, a deep sorrow dwells.

*A Letter to the Association of Writers of Serbia
Moscow, April 4, 1999*

Aleksel II

DOMINATION AND FORCE

Several affluent and powerful countries have arrogantly declared themselves the "sacred" measure of good and evil and have trodden down upon the will of a people wishing to live by different standards. The bombs and missiles do not shower on this country because they are to protect anyone. The painful lesson taught by NATO has a different purpose – to obliterate the post-war world order and impose another, founded in domination and force. Still, injustice and hypocrisy shall not prevail.

The Lord said to his disciples: "In the world ye shall have tribulation; but be of good cheer; I have overcome the world". (St. John: 16: 33) These are the words I am sending to our suffering brothers, to the Orthodox Christians in Yugoslavia. The terror to which you are exposed cannot bring moral victory to its instigators, since God does not dwell with force but with truth.

I also feel the suffering of other nations in your country, the faithful of other confessions and religions. I pray to God for everyone living in your beautiful country, so that He should bless you all with freedom, wellbeing, reconciliation and harmony. I am deeply convinced that all disputes and conflicts could be solved through dialogue leading to a just peace. And peace alone can provide security.

*From an interview to Nada Andrejević,
exclusively for the NIN magazine, Belgrade, April 22, 1999*

Theo Angelopoulos

I ADMIRE YOUR DIGNITY

Dear friends,

When I was shooting scenes of bombing in Belgrade for "Ulysses' Gaze", I never believed that my imaginings could become reality. Unfortunately, my presentiment came true.

May my voice be added to those voices of people from all over the world supporting the struggle of the Serbian people against this American attack. I admire the courage and the dignity of your people. I admire your decision to say "No".

The history of Europe will henceforth be written by the addition of as many other "No's" as said to this characteristic fascism that is called "might makes right" and is systematically put forward by the sole remaining superpower.

*A letter to Radoslav Zelenović,
director of the Yugoslav Film Library,
March 29, 1999*

Alexander Apollin

YOURS IS THE MORAL VICTORY

Firstly, I would like to say that I'm receiving the latest news of NATO aggression against your country with pain and anger. I keep thinking of Yugoslavia, of your heroic people and its struggle against the unjust and massive military aggression carried out by NATO against your land. I am convinced that the whole world recognizes you as the moral winners of this war.

My thoughts are with you, as are the thoughts of the majority of Czech people, who do not believe the brainwashing lies of the American and British media.

My wife and myself agree that, if this crime persists with impunity, life will not be worth living any more.

"Politika", Belgrade, April 1, 1999

Brigitte Bardot

SHAME FOR THE MOTIVELESS WAR

This unacceptable war, for which there is no reason, has come as a great shock to me. I feel ashamed of being French and of being forced into sharing responsibility for my Government's conduct toward our European brothers. I admire the courage and determination with which the Serbs are standing up against the stupid and unjust coalition of the Western governments. I deeply feel for the plight of Kosovo people, for the suffering of all civilians who must pay their death toll to the horrible American force and the miserable French involvement in this perilous and dramatic 'purposeful war'. There is no such a thing as a 'purposeful war'. I do support those, and I always will, who fight in order to preserve their country, their identity, religion, nation and tradition. I admire you, Serbs.

"Blic", Belgrade, April 18, 1999

Rudi Barnet

REASONS FOR PROTEST

Dear Mišo,

We are weak, and we can only protest.

My revolt can only reverberate back from the walls.

I feel like a small child; my cry remains unheard; here, across from NATO headquarters, protected by barbed wire and men armed to the teeth. Every one of us, in every country, doubtless feels so helpless in the face of evil.

We are weak, but we MUST protest!

We must protest every day, in every conversation, in every official or personal contact.

We must protest! We must oppose this barbaric act!

We must put up opposition! We must do so not to defend a friend, a government or an ideology... We must put up opposition simply in order to be 'upright' people, for our own personal pride as human beings, as brothers of other human beings in the world.

We must protest today, each in his own way, in order to respect the hapless international laws that were adopted by states in order to avoid the law of the jungle.

We must protest to ensure that the hapless 'United Nations Charter' is respected.

We must protest to ensure that force, when the powerful tread upon the weak, should in no case be accepted as a resolution of a dispute.

We must oppose aggression! We must demand the withdrawal of NATO forces and call for the aggressors and their henchmen to be brought to justice!

That is what I am trying to do every day within the limitations of my modest possibilities, and I am well aware that what I am doing is a mere drop in the ocean.

This is my only way to express 'courage' to you and to those who are today living under the threat of bombs.

For the same reasons, I hope that I shall always be 'upright' elsewhere and at a later date in defense of the human pride of Kurds, Abkhaz, Iraqis, Palestinians, Saharans... and also for that of the Aborigines of Australia, the children of Pakistan, the women of Kabul, of homosexuals, American blacks... all those who do not have the right to think for themselves or to decide on their own destinies.

There is no contradiction in this; we were able, at the same time, and not so long ago, to defend the Vietnamese from U.S. aggression, and then oppose the Vietnamese government when it seized power over Cambodia.

Today, I can only feel ashamed that all is well with me in a peaceful country, while a barbaric force is attacking my friends and my brothers.

And I can only ask them, ask you, how I can help.

Rudi

*A letter to Miroslav Vučković,
director of the Film Institute in Belgrade*

Jean Marc Barr

SERBS AND ALBANIANS AS "CHIPS"

Sometimes I cannot resist the impression that the monsters we have created making movies in America are turning real. The information I can get hold of cannot help me to really learn what is going on in Yugoslavia now. The propaganda is so powerful that it

frightens me most. Troops are everywhere, suffering is everywhere but the purpose of it all that is nowhere in sight. My impression is that a high-stake poker game is under way, in which Serbs and Albanians are mere chips. The "big game" leaves a tragic wake of scores of victims.

"Blic", Belgrade, April 18, 1999

Patrick Barriot and Eve Crepin

WE ARE READING "A TALE OF BLOOD"

"History places times such as these in which we live on the rubbish heap" – this sentence written by Victor Hugo is of more current importance than ever before as it well describes the cloaca of the end of this millennium.

At the time when NATO bombs are falling on Belgrade, we would like to hear the bells of Notre Dame in Paris ringing out brotherhood between France and Serbia, just as those bells knelled the fateful death of Prince Lazar in Kosovo. But, today, the bells of Notre Dame are despairingly silent.

At the time when NATO ships are threateningly approaching the Adriatic coast, we would like it if the French fleet did not sully the memory of the valiant soldiers of General Franchet D'Esperey. Today, however, French officers, under the command of an American general, are sully what, according to the very words of Franchet D'Esperey, should always be the "immortal honor of France."

We would like it if the precious heritage of history were never to cease and were to be passed from generation to generation in order that the young people of France would weep over the bombing of Belgrade, just as our parents wept over the occupation of Paris by the German army.

But remember that during this night of May, 1999, a Frenchman and a Frenchwoman are reading the poem "A tale of Blood" by Desanka Maksimovic by candlelight in unlit Belgrade, weeping over the children of Kragujevac and over the children of the whole of Serbia."

"Politika", Belgrade, 20 April 1999

Vaclav Belohradsky

A WAR OF FORMER LEFTISTS

The moralistic rhetoric in which the bombing of Yugoslavia is presented to the world public demonstrates that this war is, for former leftists, compensation for an unaccomplished revolution.

NATO's war against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is a typical example of unreal politics. It is characterized by moral blackmail, ideology, demonization of the enemy, systematic disinformation, concealment of the consequences of hostile activity, and, first and foremost, the complete disregard for Yugoslavia's state interests. The bombing of Yugoslavia is seen as leftist, as the perpetration of a punishment to which the world tribunal has sentenced a country whose representatives refused to sign a pact, the entire text of which they did not know. Is that moral?

In Yugoslavia, they are not defending the territorial integrity of an internationally recognized state, but the right of a national minority to separatism. NATO, which is supporting the separatist guerrilla movement, is here waging war on the side of new Henleins (Konrad Henlein having been the leader of German separatist nationalists in the Sudetenland before the Second World War). That is a precedent that will have a planetary impact.

"Ludovi novini", Prague, April, 1999

Stefano Benl

DISNEYLAND, UNITED NATIONS HEADQUARTERS

It is forbidden to spread inaccurate and tendentious news about U.S. losses. Out of the ninety-six planes that set off from Aviano, ninety-nine returned to base. We needed a little time to understand that three "MiGs" took off with us. No invisible plane has been brought down, as can be seen by the photo of the hangar that is, as can be expected, empty.

It is also forbidden to spread tendentious rumors about the deaths of civilians in Serbia. Official bodies remind us that they have

already apologized for civilian deaths, the cause of which was almost always technical error beyond our control. But if this Nazi-pacifist-papist-Stalinist dirge continues, let us remember that capital punishment is still in force in the U.S.A., and we are free to do whatever we want. We shall continue to strike forcefully at military facilities pretending to be civilian facilities, like, for example, the Belgrade amusement park, where we counted fifty targets.

Once it is liberated, Kosovo too will become a NATO base, in order to guarantee the safety of its inhabitants. The Kosovars will be comfortably divided into zones, so-called reservations, with which we have already experimented successfully in order to defend Western values from the threat of Redskin expansionism... All in all, the U.S.A. will set up large reception centers and canteens. They will be marked by the large red letter 'M'; refugees will be able to buy hamburgers at a sixty percent discount. The distribution of Coca-Cola in warships is being considered, in order to save the Kosovar children...

We shall give back the United Nations its real role. Its headquarters will be located in Disneyland. We shall not close any diplomatic channel. Our embassy in Anchorage, Alaska, will be open to all citizens of Serbia that wish to send applications...

May God keep us, if he does not want any trouble.

Signed by the President of the United States of America and Europe, Bill Clinton.

"Il Manifesto", Rome, April 1999

Bernardo Bertolucci

MONSTROUS MADNESS

Protected by the cacophony of war, trying to resist the waves of monstrous madness that is already overflowing on all sides, I personally would like to warn strategists who issue daily orders for bombing, the importance of the Yugoslav Film Library. It is one of two or three most important film archives in the world, where key parts of this centuries' memories are kept. If memories are destroyed, as is done by those who destroy birth certificates of hundreds and thousands of people, that would mean the

destruction of historical identity and than the future would be the same as the present.

*A letter to Radoslav Zelenović,
director of the Yugoslav Film Library,
April 4, 1999*

Patrick Besson

MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE OF SERBIA

My dear Serbian friends,

I have seen and heard your comparison of Bill Clinton to Adolf Hitler. This is unfair to Hitler.

I admit that Clinton and Hitler have a lot in common: ambition to dominate the world with the help of arms, a wish to exploit the poor and unite the rich and to destroy nations that confront them: Hitler Jews and Serbs, Clinton Iraqis and Serbs.

But still... When Hitler slept with his secretary Eva Braun, he married her, although too late. Still, there was a wedding, and it is important for women.

When Hitler attacked a country, he sent bombs to kill its people, just like Clinton is doing now, but Hitler also sent in ground troops, whereas Clinton - who deceitfully worked his way out of going to Vietnam - prefers to keep his "lads" as far away from the action field as possible. A Warrior who refuses to die is called an executioner.

Brothers and sisters,

I will soon join you in your tormented capital city which I love more than my own life. On my request The "Paris Match" is sending me to Belgrade as a reporter. From there I will send messages to the people of France, trying to describe and explain the evil and the sins which are being committed against you with the use of French bombs. I will also try to be objective and not insult my own country too much. The truth is that I want to be there with you, to suffer with you, to have fun with you, to win or die together with you.

And I also wish to see you again, Maja, my high-school friend, who believed that France would wake up to its senses, but France has been buried at Kalemegdan park and there is nothing it can do for you.

Under the rubble of Belgrade, Nis, Novi Sad and Pristina there is a new kind of life emerging and its name should be 'Serbia'.

Paris, April 1999

Patrick J. Buchanan

THE MESS THEY'VE MADE

(Excerpt)

... And if we send in the troops, what do we "win"? The right to say that NATO defeated Serbia? The right to occupy Kosovo?

If, after we take Kosovo, the Serbs conduct a guerrilla war against our troops, and the KLA begins a war of liberation to kick NATO out, annex western Macedonia and unite with Tirana, our "victory" will have produced the very disaster we wish to avoid.

What the United States needs today in the Balkans is a least-bad peace, patrolled by Europeans, where Serbs rule Serbs, Croats Croats and Albanians Albanians. And if, in the negotiations to end this tragedy, Belgrade cries, "No American troops in Kosovo!" let us insist upon it, and bring our soldiers home from Europe, as Ike told JFK to do nearly 40 years ago.

The writer is a candidate for the Republican presidential nomination.

The Washington Post, April 13, 1999

Francisco Fernandez Buey

THE WEST DOES NOT UNDERSTAND
THE SLAV SOUL

(Excerpt)

From the days of Napoleon's wars until the end of World War Two, there used to be a plethora of intellectuals who pointed out the ignorance of the West European intelligentsia concerning the Slavic culture. Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky wrote pages and pages about the Western arrogance and superiority complex. Those pages should have been obligatory reading for us. This impression is now being confirmed by the stammering and foolishness uttered by the CIA psychologists and a large number of Western diplomats when they speak about the Serbs.

Altogether, the Slav intellectuals have always been much more

aware of the difference between themselves and the rest of the world than those of the West. Emir Kusturica and Milche Manchevski know more about us, about our culture, than the majority of Western intellectuals know about the respective cultures of the nations which used to part of the Yugoslav federation. For that reason, using the concepts of our culture, they have always been more successful in explaining the past and present events: the filming of "The Underground" in Belgrade, followed by the "Before the Rain" in Macedonia, provide much better explanations of the current conflict than the Western analysts could possibly offer.

This inability to understand, this ignorance, which has evolved into self-satisfied arrogance pervading the discourse of NATO commanders, has led to a considerable loss of bearings among a large number of prominent personages, pacifists and progressively oriented people in Western Europe, some of whom embrace the false argument that we should stand up against the barbarianism of others, Serbs and Slavs in this particular case.

"El Pais", Madrid, April 13, 1999

Charles Buffalo

A VIEW FROM AN AMERICAN INDIAN

(Excerpt)

Hypocritic is possibly the word best suited for the American role in the aggressions against the Nation of Yugoslavia. All the justifications rendered by the Clinton Administration for this aggression have been and continue to be perpetrated by the United States Government against its own Native Peoples.

Since the earliest beginning of the United States Government it has sought to eradicate or assimilate the ethnic people of the continent it occupies. Germ warfare, massacre of women, children and the elderly, forced removal from Homelands, and sequestering in desolate environments have been U.S. policy.

The removal of ethnic Albanians is played up by the Americans, forgetting that it was the United States Government who ordered the forced removal from the southeastern part of the American continent of the Five Civilized Nations in what was later to be called The Trail of Tears. American Indian People forced from their homes with

little more than they could carry in their arms. Forced westward marches with the dead and dying left on the side of the trails. Execution of any who sought to remain or escape. It should be further noted that these Nations were guaranteed by Treaty with the United States Government that their removal would be to lands that would forever be "sovereign" Indian lands. This held true only until the greed of the American's found need for this land.

It was the practices of genocide and ethnic cleansing of the American Government against the occupants of its lands that so inspired Adolf Hitler in his designs for what became known as the Holocaust of World War II, and in light of the amount of Native People infected, starved and massacred by the United States Government, the actions of the Third Reich should be viewed as little more than a minor copy cat venture.

The Nations of the world stand by in fear, as if frightened by a large serpent and the threat of its fangs, as the American aggressions continue, forgetting that in time even they will be challenged to withdraw their sovereign rights or be attacked...

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Julie Burchill

A WAR OF WORDS

Forty reasons why the Serbs are not the new Nazis and the Kosovars are not the new Jews:

- 1) Because the Nazis did not put Jews on the train to Israel, as the Serbs are now putting ethnic Albanian Kosovars on the train to Albania.
- 2) Because we're the ones fighting alongside the Luftwaffe and the Serbs are the ones whom the Luftwaffe is bombing.
- 3) Because the Serbs tend to be really good-looking, especially the women.
- 4) Because pop stars don't, and never will, dress up as Serbs.
- 5) Because Serbs don't feature in pornography.
- 6) Because Dirk Bogarde never played a Serb.
- 7) Because my father taught me never to kiss a Nazi, whereas I've certainly snogged a few Serbs in my time.
- 8) Because Robin Cook says they are.

- 9) Because Clinton is a liar.
- 10) Because Milošević doesn't have a moustache.
- 11) Because the Kosovan Liberation Army is a terrorist organisation that has been killing innocent Serbs for years, whereas the Jews were model citizens.
- 12) Because, if the Serbs were really Nazis, the Times, Daily Mail and their like would be right behind them, judging from their track record during the Thirties.
- 13) Because it wasn't the Serbs who fought with the Nazis in Yugoslavia during the second world war - it was the Croats and the Muslims. (Nazi Muslims! What an absolutely mind-blowingly terrifying concept!)
- 14) Because, if they were Nazis, the U.S. wouldn't be fighting them but funding them, like all those old pigs it props up in Latin America.
- 15) Tony Benn doesn't back no Nazis! Come outside and say that!
- 16) Because anyone who knows anything about European history before 1945 backs the Serbs.
- 17) Because Volkswagen recently broadcast a commercial on German television that compared the thrill of driving its latest model to being a Nazi invading Czechoslovakia. Serbia has never, does not and never will make car commercials about the thrill of going into Kosovo. (Just a guess!)
- 18) Because, if you make a film saying that it was a real hoot being in a Nazi concentration camp, you get lots of Oscars, whereas if you decided to make a film saying that it was a real hoot being in an Albanian refugee camp, Tony Blair would have you shot under some arcane wartime law which Cherie has just discovered on the statute books.
- 19) Because those ultra-Lefties who want the Serbs bombed are always the ones who are on the side that's against the Jews.
- 20) Because the Serbs have a bittersweet sense of humour, whereas the Nazis, being Germans, were utterly humourless. After all, can you really imagine the Krauts during the time of the Allied bombardment going around with a bullseye and the word "TARGET" painted on their faces?
- 21) I had an uncle who played for "Red Star Belgrade" Billy Bragg. Billy Bragg would never have boasted about having a footballing Nazi for an uncle! Come outside and say that! (Again!)
- 22) Because Tariq Ali, Louis de Bernières, Alan Clark and I haven't been interned yet. (Give it time, though.)
- 23) Because the Serbs were the only people in Yugoslavia who

never persecuted the Jews.

24) 'Bill and Tony sitting up a tree/K.I.S.S.I.N.G.I' Because Blair can't be trusted when he gazes into Billy Bob's big blue eyes and the hormones kick in.

25) Because, if Milošević was a Nazi, Baroness Thatcher would be having tea with him in Surrey.

26) Because no one ever went on holiday to Nazi Germany (except for Unity Mitford.)

27) Because the IRA won't send an honour guard to Milošević's funeral.

28) Because the Jews didn't indulge in personal vendettas as they went into the countries that welcomed them as refugees, let alone get to the point of shooting each other at point blank range, as two Kosovar men did in Calais last week while they were waiting to be put on the boat to Britain.

29) Because the Jews didn't growl at women on the streets of their host countries, as Albanian men seem wont to.

30) Because the Serbs have a really cool salute and the Nazis had a silly one.

31) Because, unlike Nazis - 'And Goebbels has no balls at all' - 'Milošević' does not rhyme with anything rude.

32) Because the British tabloids are the first people since the Nazis to use the word 'Slav' as a term of abuse.

33) Because the KLA is funded by drug-trafficking, while the nearest the German Jews ever got to drugs was chicken soup.

34) Because the German Jews didn't want to annex part of Germany and call it Israel-On-The-Rhine.

35) Because last year the British Immigration Office decreed that the Kosovars were not a distinct racial group. (And it's been a damned long time since anyone said that about the Jews.)

36) Because clean-limbed, dirty-minded little WASP girls don't grow up dreaming of marrying a big, handsome, sexy, intellectual Kosovar.

37) Because Germany has agreed to take 40,000 Kosovar Albanian refugees - that's 'take', not 'kill'.

38) Because the Greeks sympathise with the Serbs - and the Greeks always back the right side.

39) Because Israel sympathises with the Kosovars, and Israel always backs the wrong side. (Lovely shot of that Israeli jet flying cheek-to-cheek with the Luftwaffe, lads!)

40) Because Nazis don't win wars - and Serbs don't lose them.

'The Guardian', April 10, 1999

Richard Burns

GLOBAL IMPERIALISM

(Excerpts)

I am not a politician and I am not a journalist. But I think today we face the most serious international crisis in Europe since the outbreak of the Second World War.

Over the last fifteen years, I have watched events in Yugoslavia very closely. In 1987, I was lucky enough to spend three years living and working in what was then a beautiful and friendly country. Since my return to Cambridge in 1991, I have watched Yugoslavia progressively fall apart. In that time, I have been more or less stunned into keeping quiet rather than try to confront in public the views and interpretations put forward by the majority of Western politicians and journalists, of nearly all persuasions. Knowing Yugoslavia, I am perhaps not an entirely typical Western TV viewer. I have been outraged and sickened like everyone else by pictures of refugees, battles and atrocities, but I have always tried to get underneath the broadcast images - because I know that images of suffering can be angled and spliced to serve political ends. And I have felt constantly bitter and angry about the daily biases and distortions in our media. What stunned me, I think, was a typical feeling, that so many people have in this country: 'Whatever I say won't make any difference anyway.' But now that Yugoslavia is likely to be bombed, I finally feel obliged to speak out. I should have spoken out earlier.

My view is this. In attempting to deal with the Kosovo crisis, NATO's policy has become increasingly unreliable, irrational and dangerous. This policy now poses a danger not just to the Balkans but to the whole world.

Surely, the duty of any outsider mediating in an inter-ethnic conflict should not be to take sides with one party but to gain the confidence of both by behaving as fair referee and arbiter. But NATO has never been an honest broker in the Balkans. Far from it. The Paris talks last week were so heavily weighted against the Serbs that their delegation could not possibly have agreed with a scrap of dignity or honour. The NATO group's explicit aim was to get the Kosovo Albanians to agree to its proposals and so isolate the Serbs and either shame them into an almost impossible climb-down or deliberately provoke them to refusal. Accordingly, the ethnic Albanians at least for the time being sorted - or pretended to sort out - their internal squabbles, and for good tactical reasons lapped up

NATO's 'peace-plan' - as the best way of eventually wresting the territory of Kosovo from Serbia.

With their explicit territorial ambitions for a Greater Albania, it would suit the KLA very well to get Serbia bombed. Every inch of ground they mine and every gunshot their snipers fire is intended to do its bit towards locking NATO's missiles onto Serbian positions. Yet the KLA is not a national government but the rebel army of a militant and violent separatist movement. And if NATO's intention is to drop bombs on Yugoslav military installations, one might ask, why not equally on the KLA, which is also an organised force which is killing innocent people? In fact it is highly unlikely that NATO will bomb the KLA because, over the last ten years, both individually and collectively, Western countries have done everything in their power first to destabilise and then to aid and abet the disintegration of Yugoslavia...

...Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, NATO has turned itself progressively into a club of short-sighted and ignorant technocratic bullies smugly masquerading as defenders of human rights. At least during the Cold War there was a balance of power. Now that Russia is in economic and political confusion, there is nothing in the world to oppose the might of NATO, and power has gone to its leaders' heads. Surely it is now time to question Britain's role in this spurious organisation. We have increasingly become compliant lackeys to the USA, and what is worse, we take our pro-American attitude so much for granted that we have forgotten why we adopt it. As a result, we have become little more than agents for American global imperialism...

...I have watched the Western media very carefully throughout the Yugoslav conflict. From the moment that Yugoslavia looked as though it might disintegrate, both our politicians and our newspaper and TV commentators have had a strong tendency to portray the Serbs as villains and *everybody else* in a comparatively rosier light. Whenever charges which have been consistently levelled against the Serbs could be ascribed to Croats, Bosnian Muslims, and now ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, these have somehow been minimised or passed over. Pretty well *everyone else's* inhumanities, crimes and atrocities have been whitewashed or exonerated or glossed. But the Serbs have been demonised. And so it has gone on and is likely to go on, in a manner that is as grossly unjust as it is manifestly irrational and illogical. This is no less than a very subtle although very clever form of *racism*.

Among leading British politicians alone, it is perhaps worth mentioning that most of those who have been outspoken about

Yugoslavia have tended to demonise the Serbs. The list of these plausible sounders-off and defenders of public morality includes Margaret Thatcher, David Owen, Paddy Ashdown, Tony Blair, Robin Cook and George Robertson. The only leading British politicians I have heard talking modestly, intelligently and sensibly about Yugoslavia have been Lord Carrington, Dennis Healey, Tony Benn and George Galloway, all of whom have had enough integrity not to exploit their knowledge to grab TV popularity or spout platitudes to win votes...

...NATO seems to be driven by a bunch of power-crazed maniacs - generals gasping to try out their latest phallic toys, industrialists with vested interests in the arms trade, governments grabbing territorial power and influence, and individual politicians wantonly itching to be seen by their TV audiences as 'doing something' - no matter how stupid.

Along with this, the policy of 'Knock the Serbs' has become all the rage and all the West can think of, and it is surely time to challenge and change this meaningless, unjust and highly selective persecution. But if one sits down and coolly asks, *why* it is happening, it is rather hard to think of a single logical or clear answer. What is its motivation, and what is the psychology behind it? Is it comparable to anti-Semitism? This complex question cannot be answered here, although it is certainly worth considering...

...Then, is the knocking of the Serbs to do with control of territory? Here, I think, is the simplest key. NATO wants to control the whole of the Balkans, to turn the whole region into a series of puppet states, and to run the Mediterranean from the Black Sea to Gibraltar. The simple Serbs are simply in the way. So, say the leaders of NATO - simply - knock 'em! ...

...Furthermore, while lies are being fed to us by our own leaders, how convenient it is for them to project all possible forms of evil elsewhere - in this case, onto Serbs - just so that these selfsame leaders can avail themselves of glamorous images of knights in shining armour. (Clinton has already had the temerity to compare himself to Churchill and Milošević to Hitler. With this sort of stupidity so strongly in evidence, what trust can we possibly have in NATO's leaders?) And in order to achieve the most appetising consistency in this disgusting purée of psychological and economic motives, how convenient it is to stir all of it up in a single mixer - and label the whole compôte 'Serbian aggression', especially for the benefit of the majority of American citizens (and British 'subjects' too?) who don't even know where Serbia, let alone Kosovo, is. No doubt in future other similar moulds will be located and exploited by the

USA, Britain and the other developed countries of NATO - just as the need arises, and especially when it comes to the finding a desirable arena not too close to home to try out more and more sophisticated ("smart") weapons.

The truth, unfortunately, is sicker and sicker than the image. For its own spurious purposes, NATO is deliberately stirring a complex but nonetheless localised conflict into a huge and even more poisonous international concoction whose capacity for creating cyclic knock-on effects its leaders cannot possibly foresee. This is not just irresponsible. It is evil.

*'Is NATO right to NATO bomb Yugoslavia?'. A personal view.
March, 1999, Cambridge*

Noam Chomsky

THE ROGUE SUPERPOWER

(Excerpts)

There have been many inquiries concerning NATO (meaning primarily US) bombing in connection with Kosovo. A great deal has been written about the topic, including Znet commentaries. I'd like to make a few general observations, keeping to facts that are not seriously contested.

There are two fundamental issues: (1) What are the accepted and applicable "rules of world order"? (2) How do these or other considerations apply in the case of Kosovo?

(1) What are the accepted and applicable "rules of world order"?

There is a regime of international law and international order, binding on all states, based on the UN Charter and subsequent resolutions and World Court decisions. In brief, the threat or use of force is banned unless explicitly authorized by the Security Council after it has determined that peaceful means have failed, or in self-defense against "armed attack" (a narrow concept) until the Security Council acts.

There is, of course, more to say. Thus there is at least a tension, if not an outright contradiction, between the rules of world order laid down in the UN Charter and the rights articulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UD), a second pillar of the world order established under U.S. initiative after World War II. The Charter bans force violating state sovereignty; the UD guarantees the rights of

individuals against oppressive states. The issue of "humanitarian intervention" arises from this tension. It is the right of "humanitarian intervention" that is claimed by the U.S./NATO in Kosovo, and that is generally supported by editorial opinion and news reports (in the latter case, reflexively, even by the very choice of terminology).

The question is addressed in a news report in the NY Times (March 27), headlined "Legal Scholars Support Case for Using Force" in Kosovo (March 27). One example is offered: Allen Gerson, former counsel to the U.S. mission to the UN. Two other legal scholars are cited. One, Ted Galen Carpenter, "scoffed at the Administration argument" and dismissed the alleged right of intervention. The third is Jack Goldsmith, a specialist on international law at Chicago Law school. He says that critics of the NATO bombing "have a pretty good legal argument", but "many people think an exception for humanitarian intervention does exist as a matter of custom and practice". That summarizes the evidence offered to justify the favored conclusion stated in the headline.

Goldsmith's observation is reasonable, at least if we agree that facts are relevant to the determination of "custom and practice." We may also bear in mind a truism: the right of humanitarian intervention, if it exists, is premised on the "good faith" of those intervening, and that assumption is based not on their rhetoric but on their record, in particular their record of adherence to the principles of international law, World Court decisions, and so on. That is indeed a truism, at least with regard to others. Consider, for example, Iranian offers to intervene in Bosnia to prevent massacres at a time when the West would not do so. These were dismissed with ridicule (in fact, ignored); if there was a reason beyond subordination to power, it was because Iranian "good faith" could not be assumed. A rational person then asks obvious questions: is the Iranian record of intervention and terror worse than that of the U.S.? And other questions, for example: How should we assess the "good faith" of the only country to have vetoed a Security Council resolution calling on all states to obey international law? What about its historical record? Unless such questions are prominent on the agenda of discourse, an honest person will dismiss it as mere allegiance to doctrine. A useful exercise is to determine how much of the literature - media or other -- survives such elementary conditions as these.

(2) How do these or other considerations apply in the case of Kosovo?

There has been a humanitarian catastrophe in Kosovo in the past year, overwhelmingly attributable to Yugoslav military forces...

...In such cases, outsiders have three choices:

- (I) try to escalate the catastrophe
- (II) do nothing
- (III) try to mitigate the catastrophe

The choices are illustrated by other contemporary cases. Let's keep to a few of approximately the same scale, and ask where Kosovo fits into the pattern.

(A) Colombia. In Colombia, according to State Department estimates, the annual level of political killing by the government and its paramilitary associates is about at the level of Kosovo, and refugee flight primarily from their atrocities is well over a million. Colombia has been the leading Western hemisphere recipient of U.S. arms and training as violence increased through the '90s, and that assistance is now increasing, under a "drug war" pretext dismissed by almost all serious observers. The Clinton administration was particularly enthusiastic in its praise for President Gaviria, whose tenure in office was responsible for "appalling levels of violence", according to human rights organizations, even surpassing his predecessors. Details are readily available.

In this case, the US reaction is (I): escalate the atrocities.

(B) Turkey. By very conservative estimate, Turkish repression of Kurds in the '90s falls in the category of Kosovo. It peaked in the early '90s; one index is the flight of over a million Kurds from the countryside to the unofficial Kurdish capital Diyarbakir from 1990 to 1994, as the Turkish army was devastating the countryside. 1994 marked two records: it was "the year of the worst repression in the Kurdish provinces" of Turkey, Jonathan Randal reported from the scene, and the year when Turkey became "the biggest single importer of American military hardware and thus the world's largest arms purchaser". When human rights groups exposed Turkey's use of U.S. jets to bomb villages, the Clinton Administration found ways to evade laws requiring suspension of arms deliveries, much as it was doing in Indonesia and elsewhere.

Colombia and Turkey explain their (US-supported) atrocities on grounds that they are defending their countries from the threat of terrorist guerrillas. As does the government of Yugoslavia.

Again, the example illustrates (I): try to escalate the atrocities.

(C) Laos. Every year thousands of people, mostly children and poor farmers, are killed in the Plain of Jars in Northern Laos, the scene of the heaviest bombing of civilian targets in history it appears, and arguably the most cruel: Washington's furious assault on a poor peasant society had little to do with its wars in the region. The worst period was from 1968, when Washington was compelled to undertake negotiations (under popular and business pressure),

ending the regular bombardment of North Vietnam. Kissinger-Nixon then decided to shift the planes to bombardment of Laos and Cambodia...

...I will skip other examples of (I) and (II), which abound, and also much more serious contemporary atrocities, such as the huge slaughter of Iraqi civilians by means of a particularly vicious form of biological warfare - "a very hard choice", Madeleine Albright commented on national TV in 1996 when asked for her reaction to the killing of half a million Iraqi children in 5 years, but "we think the price is worth it." Current estimates remain about 5000 children killed a month, and the price is still "worth it." These and other examples might also be kept in mind when we read awed rhetoric about how the "moral compass" of the Clinton Administration is at last functioning properly, as the Kosovo example illustrates.

Just what does the example illustrate? The threat of NATO bombing, predictably, led to a sharp escalation of atrocities by the Serbian Army and paramilitaries, and to the departure of international observers, which of course had the same effect. Commanding General Wesley Clark declared that it was "entirely predictable" that Serbian terror and violence would intensify after the NATO bombing, exactly as happened. The terror for the first time reached the capital city of Priština, and there are credible reports of large-scale destruction of villages, assassinations, generation of an enormous refugee flow, perhaps an effort to expel a good part of the Albanian population - all an "entirely predictable" consequence of the threat and then the use of force, as General Clark rightly observes.

Kosovo is therefore another illustration of (I): try to escalate the violence, with exactly that expectation...

...In that period, perhaps the most compelling example of (III) is the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia in December 1978, terminating Pol Pot's atrocities, which were then peaking. Vietnam pleaded the right of self-defense against armed attack, one of the few post-Charter examples when the plea is plausible: the Khmer Rouge regime (Democratic Kampuchea, DK) was carrying out murderous attacks against Vietnam in border areas. The U.S. reaction is instructive. The press condemned the "Prussians" of Asia for their outrageous violation of international law. They were harshly punished for the crime of having terminated Pol Pot's slaughters, first by a (US-backed) Chinese invasion, then by US imposition of extremely harsh sanctions. The U.S. recognized the expelled DK as the official government of Cambodia, because of its "continuity" with the Pol Pot regime, the State Department explained. Not too subtly, the U.S. supported the Khmer Rouge in its continuing attacks in Cambodia.

The example tells us more about the "custom and practice" that underlies "the emerging legal norms of humanitarian intervention".

Despite the desperate efforts of ideologues to prove that circles are square, there is no serious doubt that the NATO bombings further undermine what remains of the fragile structure of international law. The U.S. made that entirely clear in the discussions leading to the NATO decision. Apart from the U.K. (by now, about as much of an independent actor as the Ukraine was in the pre-Gorbachev years), NATO countries were skeptical of U.S. policy, and were particularly annoyed by Secretary of State Albright's "saber-rattling" (Kevin Cullen, *Boston Globe*, Feb. 22). Today, the more closely one approaches the conflicted region, the greater the opposition to Washington's insistence on force, even within NATO (Greece and Italy). France had called for a UN Security Council resolution to authorize deployment of NATO peacekeepers. The U.S. flatly refused, insisting on "its stand that NATO should be able to act independently of the United Nations," State Department officials explained. The US refused to permit the "neuralgic word 'authorize' to appear in the final NATO statement, unwilling to concede any authority to the UN Charter and international law; only the word 'endorse' was permitted (Jane Perlez, *NYT*, Feb. 11). Similarly the bombing of Iraq was a brazen expression of contempt for the UN, even the specific timing, and was so understood. And of course the same is true of the destruction of half the pharmaceutical production of a small African country a few months earlier, an event that also does not indicate that the "moral compass" is straying from righteousness - not to speak of a record that would be prominently reviewed right now if facts were considered relevant to determining "custom and practice"...

...While the Reaganites broke new ground, under Clinton the defiance of world order has become so extreme as to be of concern even to hawkish policy analysts. In the current issue of the leading establishment journal, *Foreign Affairs*, Samuel Huntington warns that Washington is treading a dangerous course. In the eyes of much of the world - probably most of the world, he suggests - the U.S. is "becoming the rogue superpower", considered "the single greatest external threat to their societies". Realist "international relations theory", he argues, predicts that coalitions may arise to counterbalance the rogue superpower. On pragmatic grounds, then, the stance should be reconsidered. Americans who prefer a different image of their society might call for a reconsideration on other than pragmatic grounds.

Where does that leave the question of what to do in Kosovo? It

leaves it unanswered. The US has chosen a course of action which, as it explicitly recognizes, escalates atrocities and violence - "predictably": a course of action that also strikes yet another blow against the regime of international order, which does offer the weak at least some limited protection from predatory states. As for the longer term, consequences are unpredictable. One plausible observation is that "every bomb that falls on Serbia and every ethnic killing in Kosovo suggests that it will scarcely be possible for Serbs and Albanians to live beside each other in some sort of peace" (*Financial Times*, March 27). Some of the longer-term possible outcomes are extremely ugly, as has not gone without notice.

A standard argument is that we had to do something: we could not simply stand by as atrocities continue. That is never true. One choice, always, is to follow the Hippocratic principle: "First, do no harm". If you can think of no way to adhere to that elementary principle, then do nothing. There are always ways that can be considered. Diplomacy and negotiations are never at an end...

...Recognized principles of international law and world order, solemn treaty obligations, decisions by the World Court, considered pronouncements by the most respected commentators - these do not automatically solve particular problems. Each issue has to be considered on its merits. For those who do not adopt the standards of Saddam Hussein, there is a heavy burden of proof to meet in undertaking the threat or use of force in violation of the principles of international order. Perhaps the burden can be met, but that has to be shown, not merely proclaimed with passionate rhetoric. The consequences of such violations have to be assessed carefully - in particular, what we understand to be "predictable". And for those who are minimally serious, the reasons for the actions also have to be assessed - again, not simply by adulation of our leaders and their "moral compass."

www.beograd.com.

Jean Clair

FROM GUERNICA TO BELGRADE

PARIS, the first Wednesday in the month. The noon sirens sounded. No one reacted. The conversational noise level did not diminish at all. The French are unconscious, as if under anesthesia.

When I heard the wailing, as usual I wanted to hide under the table. The reflex of a kid, born in 1940, who was awakened suddenly, taken in his father's arms, and rushed into the subway. When the alert ended, the dull fear remained that we would not find our house still standing. The heads of state who declared war on Belgrade share a trait in common: they were born between 1945 and 1955 and have not known war. Jose Marla Aznar, Blair, Schroeder: they all have the look of the yuppie generation. Clinton directs a country that has never been bombed. We are swimming in unreality. The awakening will be rude.

Guernica, in April 1937, had been a shock. For the first time, a population was targeted by airplanes flying so high that they could hardly be seen. Until then, wars had been waged by soldiers against soldiers. Killing without a doubt, but killing that obeyed the elementary rule of protecting the weak in the name of justice. But this military nobleness has been replaced by the disgrace of a world where only soldiers are protected, where only civilians are hostages and victims. The Pentagon doctrine of concentric circles is well-known: innermost is the circle of civilians, who will be struck first and destroyed. Next are the administrative and political circles... last and outermost, is the circle of soldiers, who must be spared.

At the end of March, an American pilot who--flying from one of those now very numerous bases in northern Italy, had turned a training flight into acrobatics, cut through a ski-lift cable, and caused the deaths of twenty people passed through the justice system of his country. He was acquitted. He discovered that the lives of twenty European civilians were worth little compared with the life of one American soldier.

Several days later, NATO declared war on Serbia. The massacre of a civilian population, under the nose of the UN and the parliaments of the NATO countries, had become legal.

Why this sudden nausea at hearing the sweet and sprightly voice of Jamie Shea, the Cadum Baby of "new tech" communications? The words he uses, from "strike" to "collateral damage," and his mesmerizing tone recall the euphemistic language used by the Third Reich to conceal abominable realities under the apparent neutrality of technical terminology.

In his letter to "Le Monde" (on 13 May), Régis Debray said what I have often read in the Italian, German, American, and Canadian press, but rarely in the press of my own country. If France today is the last warmongering country in Europe, it is because French opinion, generally speaking, has been manipulated by a strangely partisan press. Has it ever been possible, for example, to read in the

French press anything about the true nature of the KLA, about its rival clans and mafias? It is impossible to comprehend the catastrophe that has struck Europe without awareness that the America of 1999 is no longer the America of 1945. The continuing devout French admiration toward America will undoubtedly be one of the great mysteries of the end of this century. The technicians piloting the Stealth airplanes and the marksmen guiding the Tomahawks are no longer the brave GIs who landed in Arromanches. No, the frequently arrogant and pompous America of today is no longer the nervous and generous America that we knew on the campuses in the late 1960s. It is a nation where illiteracy has increased more over the last twenty years than anywhere else. A land of unequalled fortunes, where (as in Los Angeles recently) bloody riots erupt from whose violence the wealthy shut themselves off in fortresses guarded by private police. One out of every 150 Americans is in prison or under detention, a proportion without an equivalent in any other democracy.... It is a nation where the death penalty is applied to women, minors, and the mentally defective. Prison for some and war for others: American democracy also has its ways of regulating the problems of its ethnic minorities. This is the nation that Europe is relying on to defend "human rights."

But there is more. It is understood that no American must risk his life to save human rights that should be restored. In his cockpit, at 5,000 meters, he bombs blindly. The Nazi forces were also blind. They refused to "descend" to see, to "condescend" to the level of their victims. They did not have to look into the eyes of those they killed, either in Ukraine or in the camps. To see your adversary, face to face, would make it necessary to recognize that he is made of the same flesh and blood as yourself.

To save American lives has become an obsession of this new master race. The greatest fantasy of this new nation, convinced that it personifies wealth, power, and beauty on this earth, is immortality. An American should not die and, consequently, cannot die. Thus... the cult of the ever-young body that must not age, the phobia about addictions (such as to cigarettes or alcohol) that can cause illness and death.

The infantile fantasy of immortality and omnipotence is also a "smoke screen" for a country ill at ease in its own body under the tawdry finery of intolerant hygiene.

Human rights? Was it ever about defending human rights? If it were ever necessary to start a war wherever human rights are threatened, the whole planet would be enflamed, from Korea to Turkey, from Africa to China. What army was ever mobilized to defend hu-

man rights? The soldiers in Year Two did not die in Valmy to defend human rights that had just been proclaimed, but to defend their threatened national borders. France was the incarnation of human rights: therefore, what was involved was the defense of France. As a country with secure territory, France can impose its own principles upon itself. Whoever has lost his feeling for defending boundaries and for the values he is defending has lost his reason. That day when Europe renounced its national boundaries in the name of super-sovereignty and substituted "humanitarian" politics, it plunged toward ruin and irrationality.

A war in the heart of Europe, conducted by a foreign power and declared in the name of a supranational Europe: the end of the century has brought us a bloody absurdity that only the irony of Swift or the humor of Voltaire could denounce as is necessary. But who will confirm that on the passage from one millennium to another, some nations suddenly went out-of-date-as will some computers after 1999? Let's ask that question to Pasqual Maragall, the mayor of Barcelona, who is not only proud of the cultural identity of his city and the fact that today "they speak Catalan in Perpignan, Montpellier, Narbonne, Valencia, the Balears, Sardinia..." but who also imposed Catalan as the language of Catalonia. Let's ask that question of the Basques, among whom are hidden arsenals that could serve tomorrow. Let's ask the Flemish, the Corsicans, the Irish. The choice is wide. By what privilege does the KLA, which America is arming under the table and which a NATO-ized Europe is courting on its screens, have more charm in our eyes than the secret armies and terrorist bands that are working for the disintegration of nations everywhere in Europe? When the small fight among themselves, the large devour them. The beginning of the 20th century saw the destruction of empires; the beginning of the 21st century will see the fall of nations... To proclaim a supranational Europe, to dream about it and its power when in reality one is no longer capable of maintaining a rampart of nations that organize and guarantee internal equality and unity and external freedom against ever-present menaces, is to escape into the future. Caught between Turkey and Albania, the Greeks know exactly the price for sacrificing the principle of the European nation to great "humanitarian" principles that conceal troubled political visions. If the war in the Balkans seems so terrible to us, it is because it is a laboratory of what tomorrow will be in the Balkanization of Europe as a whole.

"Le Monde", May 21, 1999

Ramsey Clark

YOU HAVE HUGE SUPPORT

... It is a sad fact concerning the nature of these wars that there is, virtually speaking, no power or force on the planet that can protect against such barbarism.

What is important for me is that we can turn to friends from throughout the world. Newspapers can do that. You know the power of the press. Your colleagues, your friends can demonstrate their anger, their fury at what is happening in Yugoslavia. But facts are needed. Collect as many facts as possible. When the truth starts to be heard, people will listen to it and gather in greater numbers. Then, there is the United Nations as a possibility. They are risking a great deal, for they have realized that they have lost their power and their strength. America does not like multi-national forces. People from the "Third World" should, according to America, be killing one another and not being engaged on any side. Then, there is the International Court of Justice that you can appeal to, but that is not an easy matter. You can seek that genocide against the Serbian nation be halted. But they will immediately deny that it is happening.

You can appeal to them, but you saw what happened in Rambouillet...

Your greatest duty is to protect your people. I knew that America would not reach a peaceful solution, that it would not be able to solve the problem in a peaceful way. One should always remember Mrs. Albright and what she has said, what Golda Meir and Margaret Thatcher did. Madeleine Albright has said that Palestinians do not exist. CBA, one of the leading U.S. media, followed by some twenty million people, sent a woman journalist to write a twenty-minute story about Iraq. She visited a hospital and saw children who were dying, and then she talked with doctors and people in the street. At that time, at the end of 1995, the UN World Food Programme said that 757,000 children between the ages of five and fifteen were dying as a direct result of sanctions. She returned to the UN and talked with Madeleine Albright. The talk lasted some ninety seconds out of the twenty minutes. More children were dying as a direct result of sanctions than had died in Hiroshima, she said, and then asked whether it was worth such a cost. Madeleine Albright did not say that it was not the truth, which means that it could be understood and accepted. She said that it was, indeed, a

SIDE

You have huge support, the greatest inside support. That is something you deserve, otherwise you would not have received it. But it is also something that has to be used very effectively, for in that way alone can public opinion be changed, and in that way alone can progress be made.

Then, the question is, who will be the next victim? In a certain sense, your struggle is one for the freedom, integrity and independence of all people.

The launching of the "tomahawk" rockets was, in fact, the act that started the war, because you refused to sign a document whereby you would have abandoned your country, your homeland and your people's heritage to another nation. That is the act that started the war. There is the side that committed the act to start the war, and that is the one that is sending bombs and missiles.

You were faced with two possibilities: to agree to our "friendly" troops walking through your streets and bringing order to your towns and to do as they say or, on the other hand, to be bombed and returned to the Stone Age. That famous sentence was pronounced during the Vietnam war when bombs were being dropped. In the case of Iraq, they were somewhat more modest, they said – we shall bomb them back into the 16th century. Bombs are still dropping. We can see how to stop them, and we have to do it. You have to realize that many people and many countries are highly concerned about what is happening here. There are many people being beaten by the police just because they have gone out on to the streets to demonstrate for the rights of the Serbs.

*An excerpt from an interview given to "Politika" daily
March 31, 1999*

Paulo Coelho

MESSAGE TO THE WORLD

Stop the bombing!

*Inscription on the T-shirt
that the author of "Alchemist" wore at the Rio Book Fair*

Regis Debray

THE WRONG ROAD

Having come back from Macedonia, Serbia and Kosovo, I feel compelled to describe my impressions: I'm afraid, Mr. President, that we have taken a wrong road. You are a man of action. You do not have much esteem for those intellectuals filling the columns with highbrow, but narrow-minded arbitrariness. Very well, I feel the same. So, I shall keep to the facts only. Each will keep to his own facts, you might tell me. I shall keep to those which I could see on the spot, during my weeklong stay in Serbia (Belgrade, Novi Sad, Niš, Vranje) from May 2 to May 9, four days of which I spent in Kosovo, travelling from Priština to Peć, from Prizren to Podujevo. What I saw there does not coincide with the words you use, from afar and sincerely.

What do you keep repeating to us? "We are not waging this war against the Serbian people, but against the dictator Slobodan Milošević, who has, refusing any compromise, planned a genocide of Albanians in cold blood. We are limiting our actions to the destruction of his repressive machinery, in which we have largely succeeded. But we must go on with the airstrikes, in spite of the tragic mistakes and unintended collateral damage, because the Serbian forces keep up their operation of ethnic cleansing in Kosovo."

I am afraid, Mr. President, that every single word is a mere deception.

1. "Not against the Serbian people..." Don't you know that the Children's Theatre "Dušan Radović" is practically next door to the Serbian television building and that the missile that hit the TV building hit the theatre too? Three hundred elementary school buildings all over Serbia were hit by bombs. The school children, left to their own devices, do not go to school any more. In villages, children collect yellow explosive devices shaped as toys (model CBU 87). They are similar to the cluster bombs that the Soviets dropped in Afghanistan. Some 100,000 workers are now jobless because the factories they worked in have been destroyed – their income is 230 dinars per month, which is equivalent of 91 French francs. Almost half of the population is jobless now. If your intention has been to turn them against the regime that way, you have been wrong. I have not noticed a crack in their holy unity, in spite of fatigue and poverty. ...

2. "Milošević the dictator..." My opposition interlocutors, the

only ones to whom I talked, drew my attention to the cruel reality: Milošević was elected three times. Dictators are only elected once, not twice. Yugoslav is not a one-party regime. Milošević's party is in the minority in the Parliament. There are no political prisoners and changeable coalitions. The regime is openly criticised in the streets and cafés... - but nobody pays attention to that. No 'totalitarian' karma in people's minds. It seems that the West is a hundred times more obsessed with Mr. Milošević than his fellow countrymen.

3. "The genocide of Kosovo Albanians..." A horrible chapter. I only met two foreign correspondents on the spot. One of them, Aleksandar Mitlić, true, of Serbian origin, reports for the AFP from Priština. The other, Paul Watson, a Canadian, the Los Angeles Times correspondent for Central Europe, reports in English. He used to report from Afghanistan, Somalia, Cambodia, the Gulf War and Rwanda. He is not a novice in the job. Largely biased against the Serbs, he has been covering the civil war in Kosovo for two years now, and knows well every village and every path. A hero, and a modest one. When foreign press were banned from Priština on the very first day of bombing, he took to hiding and remained. He keeps moving around and observing.

His testimony is temperate, and taken with the other, convincing. Under the shower of bombs, several thousand Albanians took their leave. He asserted to me that he had come across no crime against humanity. Those two observers have not possibly seen all. Neither have I. I can only testify of the Albanian villagers who returned to Podujevo, of the Serbian soldiers who keep guard in front of the Albanian bakeries - ten of which have reopened in Priština - and of the Albanians and Serbs injured in the airstrikes, lying together in the Priština Hospital (two thousand beds)...

"Le Monde", May 13, 1999

Dejan Dukovski

LOSS OF MIND AND GOODNESS

As Johnny Stullc would say, "I feel so miserable". What other feeling could one have when witnessing the fear and loss of mind and goodness - any sane person must be afraid of it. Still, I would like to be an optimist. I don't want to wail and complain. We shall be stron-

ger and we shall have something to say though our art. Artists are not those who design the horror scripts, they have to preserve their conscience. Sometimes, artists are slightly more paranoid - probably due to their conscience - they are more frightened than others, they are able to intuitively foresee things. But others do not want to see that.

"Blic", Belgrade, April 15, 1999

Jean Dutourd

OUR FRIENDS, OUR BROTHERS IN ARMS

The Serbs are a proud people, full of courage. It is highly improbable that they will yield to NATO. In a few days NATO will find itself in serious trouble. It will be hated because of unsuccessful aggression.

The fact that Europe has discredited itself in this matter is of no importance to me. But I feel pangs of pain when I see French soldiers serving as a supplement to the U.S. army. And against whom? Against friends, against allies, against brothers in arms. Mitterrand would never have done what our present government is doing, and, if De Gaulle were alive, such a situation would never have occurred.

The Americans, who have directed all this and made our weak leaders line up and form ranks, know nothing about Europe. They have not even heard that the Balkans are well known as being a "gunpowder keg." Their films, their westerns, could have warned them; in the saloons, fights usually start between two men, but, as a rule, end up in general chaos. NATO strikes could have a similar result in the unstable Balkans, which was attacked in the past with the greatest of caution.

The outcome of the war against Serbia is uncertain. This war represents an attempt at "mondialization" in the American way in order to destroy a nation, a country that wishes to remain independent, but they have picked the wrong country to prove that. On account of the spirit of its people, Serbia is perhaps the only bone in Europe on which NATO risks breaking its teeth.

March 27, 1999, Paris

Published in "Književne novine", Belgrade, April 11, 1999

Joseph Farah

AMERICANS MUST BE CRAZY

(Excerpt)

No matter how you slice it, the critical judgment of Americans is severely impaired.

I have been watching the polls like everyone else since the start of the U.S. NATO aggression against Serbia and scratching my head wondering how it is possible that so many Americans support an illegal, immoral, incomprehensible, nonsensical war. Like many others, I assumed the polls must be rigged by the war-crazed establishment press that conducts them.

So I decided last week we would conduct our own unbiased public opinion survey, with the help of the respected pollster John Zogby. The results were not encouraging for anyone hopeful Americans can hold on to the ideals that made their country free and independent.

It seems Americans now believe they have a right - perhaps even a duty - to impose their will on a sovereign nation, even when the civil conflict has no direct bearing on the vital interests of our nation. Americans believe the president has the power to direct such military action unilaterally, without the approval of Congress and the assent of the people. Americans, by a slim majority, even believe President Clinton, despite all his many moral and ethical shortcomings, and his failure to serve the military when called, is capable of directing such action.

Watching the effects of 30 years of the deliberate dumbing-down of a people is not a pretty sight. Americans are now certifiably insane. They are crazy. They are suffering a mass psychosis. They have lost their own ability to discern right from wrong...

Worldnetdaily.com, April 1999

Robert Fisk

NATO'S TOTAL FAILURE

A massacre on the road to Prizren, more than 100 civilians - most of them ethnic Albanians - torn apart in the village of Koriša,

stories of women and children ripped apart by Nato cluster bombs. And how did Nato kick off its three o'clock follies yesterday afternoon? Without a single word about these frightful reports, not a single bloody word of astonishment or compassion.

Instead, Jamle Shea and his Luftwaffe general droned on about Nato's successful operations over Kosovo. "They went very well," Major-General Walter Jertz informed us. "It was another very effective day of operations."

In Saigon, during the Vietnam War, they had the five o'clock follies. In the 1991 Gulf War, the Americans boasted of their military successes at the four o'clock follies. In Brussels, Nato's follies start at three o'clock. But yesterday, the Shea and Jertz show was theatre of the obscene.

Indeed, as we all waited to hear Nato's reaction to what might be its most terrible bloodbath to date (or Serbia's most successful propaganda), a Nato technician projected a massive test slide on to the screen next to the 19 flags of the alliance. "They say we're young and we don't know - won't find out until we grow," the words said on the screen. Were these lines from the Sonny and Cher song supposed to be gallows humour or just monumental ill-taste? The moment Shea and Jertz walked to the podium, we knew.

"We still see no indications of a Serb ground force redeploy (sic)," General Jertz announced. Forty tons of supplies had reached the Red Cross at Priština. "I can assure you we will do everything possible to ensure the safe passage of these convoys."

All of us in the darkened Joseph Luns auditorium at Nato headquarters were holding our breath. Several journalists (the television coverage never shows this, of course) shook their heads in disbelief. There had, it seemed, been no safe passage in Kosovo. We were thinking of the first reports coming in - of Nato cluster bombs bursting amid 500 Albanian refugees, many of them children, of a massacre that would make even the Prizren-Djakovica slaughter in April small scale. We wanted to know about those who were young but would never grow.

But no, General Jertz of the Luftwaffe - or the "German Air Force" as we are for some reason encouraged to call it here - wanted to tell us that there had been 679 Nato missions over Yugoslavia in 24 hours, that there had been attacks on oil refineries, electricity stations, and the Batajnica airfield.

Projected on to the slide screen - Incredibly - were the words "A GOOD DAY". Then Mr Shea - the Horatio Bottomley of Nato - launched into his usual denunciations of Serb atrocities, exhuming some old pictures of alleged mass graves and some (slightly) newer

ones of burnt villages.

He quoted from old human rights and newspaper articles and managed to mispronounce the names of seven Kosovo villages. "God knows, frankly, what we are going to find when Kosovo is open," he said, solemnly shaking his head.

God knows, I'm sure, what Mr Shea was thinking; he was far more frightened of what Western Journalists - bused to the scene by the Serb authorities - would find in the village of Koriša. Fifty tractors had been destroyed in the attack, the Serbs were reporting, close to an area that had been the scene of sustained Nato attack.

It was, you see, significant that Mr Shea had not mentioned - had not alluded for a second - to these extraordinary reports. Had he thought for a moment that the Serbs had slaughtered these people, he would have told us all he knew. But he was silent. A colleague muttered in my ear that when Mr Shea was asked about the reported massacre, he would express no compassion for the dead but "promise another of his full and thorough investigations".

And when at last he was asked, Mr Shea expressed no compassion for the dead but promised "a full and thorough investigation". He hoped, he added sarcastically, that the journalists bused to the village by the Serbs would "insist on their right to go around freely and do their own research" - Mr Shea is now apparently a professor of journalism as well as Nato flak - and that they would investigate "ethnic cleansing" in the nearby town of Prizren. "You know Nato - we give the truth on these issues, every single time, the full facts."

But it doesn't. Nato does not give "the full facts" (or "the full fax" as Mr Shea keeps saying).

It lies. When I asked for Nato's reaction to the KLA appointment of one of the most notorious ethnic cleansers as its new military commander - Agim Ceku, one of the planners of Croatia's ethnic cleansing of 300,000 Serbs in Krajina - Mr Shea said he had no comment because "Nato has no direct contact with the KLA".

This is totally untrue. Nato liaises with the KLA, holds security and intelligence meetings with its commanders, maintains radio contact with KLA men in Kosovo. Nato officials (including J Shea Esq) regularly announce KLA operations with approval.

When I asked General Jertz if Nato was using depleted uranium munitions in Serbia, he said it had not done so for two weeks but that depleted uranium is harmless. This, too, is a lie. There is growing evidence that the dust from spent depleted uranium shells has caused an epidemic of cancers in southern Iraq and may well be a cause of Gulf War syndrome.

British weapons testing sites are meticulously washed down after depleted uranium test-firings, their contents sealed in concrete. Nothing to worry about, said the general. "You find uranium in all sorts of things - in rocks, soil ..." No harm could be caused by the use of such shells, Mr Shea added. So much for the deformed babies now being born in Basra. And so much, I suppose, for the contaminated homes of Kosovo to which Nato claims it will return all of the Albanian refugees.

I kept wondering what this whole farce reminded me of. Here were the two Nato men recording, minute after minute, hour after hour, day after day, the destruction of the Kosovo population - the fault of the Serbs, to be sure, but the symbol none the less of Nato's total, abject failure in the Balkans. Every day, they tell us about mass graves and death and torture. And I recalled after a while what it all reminded me of - the discreet voices, the dipped lights, the flags hanging like dead flowers behind the podium, even the sinister iron Death Star, which stands grimly outside Nato headquarters. It reminded me of an undertaker's office.

The mock soul-searching, the old pictures, the expressions of regret. The cockney and the general were the morticians, as unable to contemplate an end to Nato's bombardment of Serbia as they were to arrest old age or find a cure for death.

Kosovo is dead. Its people are dead or dispossessed. For investigation, read autopsy. And after a while it dawned on me, as it has dawned on others attending these preposterous gatherings, that we are being prepared for the death of Nato.

The Independent, May 1999*

Dario Fo

HORRIFYING POLITICS

The Italian government's politics is horrifying. That need to subjugate, to implement others' orders is horrifying, as is its dependence instead of independence.

A statement given on the occasion of the collection of signatures against the war in Yugoslavia and against the Italian government in Rome

Carlos Fuentes

A DANGEROUS PRECEDENT

NATO's unilateral action represents a very dangerous precedent.

As NATO did not have the approval of the UN Security Council, in the future other regional organizations could also act without UN agreement, for 'humanitarian reasons', and there are plenty of them throughout the world.

Is the drama of the Kurds in Turkey any less? Of course it isn't. But Turkey is a member of NATO and, as such, absolved of original sin. There is an abundance of 'humanitarian reasons' in sub-Saharan Africa, but in their case, their sin is that they are far away.

AFP News Agency, April 1999

Max Gallo

A POLICY OF IMPERIALISM

Why crush Serbia with bombs? In order to prevent Milošević from carrying on with his criminal policy, we are being told. But, shouldn't the example of Saddam remind us that it is not possible to remove a nation from its autocratic leader by means of cruel torture - more than a million people have died in Iraq! To prevent the Serbs from killing 'Kosovars', we are being told in addition. But all the observers were withdrawn from Kosovo, which should enable the Serbs to take revenge on those whom they consider responsible for the NATO airstrikes. In order to protect the law, they explain to us. But why then start by violating the law, evading possible actions within the framework of the UN and attacking a state that has not attacked any other state - which is different from Iraq did. In order to protect the oppressed people, they claim. Well, OK. Why don't we start by killing innocent Serbs and destroying their cities, then! But, one wonders, why does all this wonderful humanitarianism forget to condemn Turkey for the slaughter of Kurds? So we apply one kind of standards to us and another for the others? Let us remember that Turkey is a member of the 'just' NATO, and also a U.S. ally! That removes the hypocritical mask of moral

arguments. In fact, the choice of war follows the aims of imperial policy and American domination. The U.S.A. reserves the right to decide on legality by its own will. The humanitarian problem exists inasmuch as it fits the American strategy. The destruction of Serbia, an Orthodox nation - therefore, an ally of Russia - should be boosted, and Islam should be supported, since it is a weapon against the rise of Russia. The plight of 'Kosovars' and their real rights are just a pretext. It is not a peaceful solution that is being sought, but the destruction of Serbia. So much the worse for the nations! And so much the better if Europe, due to its commitment to war, gets subdued to NATO, i.e. the U.S.A. And what about France? France had all the chances to carry out a peaceful solution to this problem. But, as De Gaulle said in 1976: 'France, in order to have any influence over peace for herself and, as far as possible, for others, *should be independent*.' It is well known that France has given her independence up. Deluding speeches will not help.

'Le Figaro' Magazine, April 2, 1999

Marie-France Garraud

ABSURDITY AND DANGER

(Excerpt)

For the very first time, the sovereign state of Serbia has suffered a military attack without having violated the laws or borders of another state. For the very first time, NATO, the military arm of the United States of America, has intervened without having obtained an approval by the United Nations. For the very first time, a war has been declared in the name of 'intervention right' on the territory of Europe.

This operation is not only illegal. It is absurd, as much as it is dangerous.

First and foremost, it is absurd in the light of its predictable consequences: the sovereignty of Serbia over Kosovo was solemnly confirmed only several weeks ago, at the Rambouillet Conference, when the Serbian leadership agreed to reinstall the autonomy of Kosovo - once granted by Tito and then taken away by Milošević in 1989 because - it should be remembered - the Kosovars had already rebelled...

...Should it be stressed that the decision of NATO intervention

had been made without a formal agreement of Russia and China, both permanent members of the Security Council, which is a precedent whose predictable and inevitable consequences for the future of international relations had not been taken into consideration?

Europe, whose triumphant federalism was to be a guarantee against American power, has been subdued to the US and appears to be satisfied, which has not been the case for the last fifty years.

Jean-Pierre Chevenement was right when he said that it all began in 1991, when America boosted and supported the secession of Slovenia and Croatia, former integral parts of Yugoslavia.

Letter to the Association of Writers of Serbia

Daniel Glancane

WHAT DO THE 'EMPERORS OF THE WORLD' REALLY WANT

Dear writer friends and honourable people of Serbia,

I do not believe that all those atrocities are happening by accident: 'the emperors of the world' do not allow independent thought, they want to erase any opponents from any culture which does not want to step in line with them.

However, this time they have made a miscalculation. The NATO attack only proves their profound ignorance of the Serbian roots, their compactness, and their moral strength. Travelling around Serbia, I have come across simplicity and hospitality, a profundity of Serbian men of letters and the gift of friendship.

We are all held captive – you by the 'intelligent bombs' and we by the alliance which is hard to get rid of, but remember that the Italian people know how to read the future. It is not by chance that our ambassador remains in Belgrade under the bombs. That is not mere chance, that is a sign.

Among the ruins and detonations I read poetry: those standing in the human shields protecting the bridges of Belgrade speak to us the lines of Desanka Maksimović and Ivo Andrić, for bridges connect people: 'after fountains, building bridges is the greatest deed of all' and I add: 'to destroy a bridge is the greatest crime of all'.

Courage, my friends, we stand by you. This will all end, and then, as soon as it is possible, I shall come, together with the writ-

ers of LA VALIZE, to prove my friendship (it was yesterday that we made this decision). We shall walk together down the streets of Belgrade, we shall pass through the gateways of Niš, we shall stroll the banks of Danube in Novi Sad. We shall try, again, to hope for a better world.

*Letter to the Cultural and Educational Association of Belgrade
Barl, April 10, 1999*

Richard Gott

STOP THE WAR

(Excerpts)

The shameful destruction of Yugoslavia by aerial bombardment, a Nato operation in which the British Government is participating, will be seen as one of the great climactic moments of the 20th century. When it is over, the world will never be quite the same again...

...Far worse is to come. The bombing of Yugoslavia has already destroyed the UN, mortally wounded by its pusillanimous role in smashing up Iraq. A hundred years of radical and well-intentioned effort, to establish an international system capable of setting limits to the imperial ambitions of great powers, has been brought to an abrupt end. It will take years to devise a replacement.

The collusion of the governments of Western Europe with the US bombing, and their participation in this evil air campaign, has destroyed what's left of European social democracy, closing down a century and a half of progressive thought and action originally designed to establish rational governments in individual states, to promote social and economic justice at home - and peace abroad...

...At bottom there remains the terrible truth that the volcanic catastrophe of the sudden Kosovo population displacements were triggered by the Nato bombing, and by the decision of Western governments to impose impossible conditions on the Serbian sovereign state. We knew it would happen, the Serbs said it would happen, and it did happen...

*'Stop the war. Nato should lose',
The Guardian, April 10, 1999*

Mikhail Gorbatschov

WRONG AND DISGRACEFUL MOVE

Military aggression on FRY is a mistake and a disgrace

"Blic", Belgrade, April 22, 1999

Edward Goy

TIME AND LAW

People neglect history. Laws have their expiry dates. Is that really so? People get arrested for murders twenty-five years after they'd committed them. Old men of eighty are tried in court for alleged and long since committed crimes. When Tony Blair reads the Bible in church, is he getting ready to become a martyr?

In the year 1815, Serbs were hanging in Belgrade, and they were hanged by Turks. Gypsies did the dirty job of impaling Serbs. In England, in the 17th century, people were hanged and mutilated. Time, in this case, triumphs over law.

But, shall we draw a line? Hundreds of thousands of Serbs were killed in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1941, and we seem to have a moratorium there! However, that is the main reason why Serbs had become a minority in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Does the moratorium still hold?

Albanian shepherds lived in Kosovo as far back as the 14th century. Their position was clearly defined by the Code of Dusan the Great (1354). Since 1944, they had been encouraged to settle in Kosovo by Tito's regime, which was in accordance with Tito's plan to occupy Albania (Stalin was in agreement to that then).

Since the late sixties, an ever increasing number of Serbs have either been driven out from Kosovo or have been victims of terror. Is such "ethnic cleansing" within the jurisdiction of legal moratorium? If a thief robs you, it has to be forgotten. But if you shoot the thief, you get accused as a criminal! How very convenient for thieves!

The Serbs are said to be evil, because out of the blue, they have been accused of advocating the idea of "Greater Serbia". But the Albanians need help and support because they have been prevented to make their dream of "Greater Albania" come true at Serbian ex-

pense. They have had a high degree of autonomy in the field of education and culture for a long time, the kind of autonomy the Serbs in Krajina could never have got! Tudjman's aggression in Krajina was all right! After all, it was a real piece of Croatian land that was in question! Kosovo and Metohija are the most Serbian of all Serbian lands. Speaking about aggression, we must not forget that demographic explosion is just as aggressive as tanks are.

The so-called KLA (I wonder who they got their arms and equipment from?) is less entitled to what it is fighting for than the IRA is. Are Clinton and Blair ready and willing to bomb the Irish Protestants? Aided by the American propaganda machinery inherited from Goebels and by the intercontinental missiles inherited from Werner von Braun, the Bosnian and Albanian Moslems - with "the Koran from Sarajevo to Hong Kong" in their minds, have very soon taken advantage of the situation.

All of that is going on while the nation that was once a loyal ally of the West (whereas Croats first fought for Austria and then for Hitler), is being demonized. What sort of bullying is that? What kind of adolescent megalomania that we are being witnesses of are Clinton and Blair suffering from? The fact that Germany started it all by recognizing first Slovenia and then Croatia (that recognition spilled over to Bosnia and Herzegovina) is quite understandable: German ambitions have only been suppressed, not killed.

So where shall we draw a line? I stole someone's land, but it was a very long time ago, so it doesn't matter any more. So if he wants to punish me and demand his land back - let him be punished, and I will be protected and justified. Am I not a lucky thief?

The letter, written in Serbian and addressed to the Serbian PEN Centre, was published in the "NIN", Belgrade, April 15, 1999

Alain Grotteray

WAR IS NEVER MORAL

(Excerpts)

The United States of America, followed by France, Great Britain, Germany and all other NATO members have declared war on a small country - Serbia. They claim they want to defend democracy by means of a moral war. However, war can never be moral. War is

killing! They keep saying they want to destroy the Serbian military and industrial machine, but they are in fact sentencing a whole people to misery. And to death, the kind of death they call 'collateral damage'. How many roaring planes! How many missiles! What awesome technology! What force! Primitive, apelike creatures are delighted by the spectacle. But, this spectacle is lethal...

...Bill Clinton was less dangerous while he was staggering through his erotic mire than now, seduced by his belligerent generals and his humanitarian motives. The United States President was repulsive when he compared himself to Churchill fighting Hitler. That monster was at the helm of a large disciplined country of enormous industrial power, the Germany that was swallowing Europe. There could be no comparison with Serbia! The devil was scoring victory after victory. And what are we now intervening for? What is the legal basis of the attack? Where is the UN mandate? There is no such thing. Which country have the Serbs attacked? None. Such a move is very dangerous. It opens a path for all sorts of military interventions under the pretext of humanitarianism and minority rights...

...Why don't Americans intervene in Algeria or in Sierra Leone? Why don't they prevent Turks from exterminating Kurds? Why don't they fly to the rescue of southern Sudanese? Is the death of black people less important to them?... What is the logic behind turning NATO into an armed fist of the KLA fanatics?"

The bombing is senseless. Instead of calming down the situation in that part of the world, they are igniting all sorts of nationalism. Instead of preventing the civil war, they are pouring more oil on its flames. Instead of relieving the suffering of the people, they are making it worse. Such stupidity is more than a mistake: it is a crime against humanity.

*"Le Figaro" Magazine,
translation published in "Politika", Belgrade, April 5, 1999*

Colonel David Hackworth

A RARE BREED OF GENERALS

(Excerpt)

...Now, as Kosovo boils on the front burner, NATO Gen. Wesley Clark, who's in charge of our troops in ex-Yugoslavia, is clearly the

wrong guy for the job. As with William Westmoreland during Vietnam, he's a smooth, slick and very political Army general with a track record for political expediency.

Back in the 1970s, Westy was looking at the Oval office, and Clark now has his eye on the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff job. Both generals, masters in the political arena, don't stack up when it comes to boots-in-the-mud combat and standing up for the troops and telling it like it is when the politicians do dumb things that put our soldiers and airmen in dangerous places.

Clark, a Clinton pal from their Arkansas and Oxford days, has zoomed up the promotion ladder light years ahead of his peers because of that connection. He's also the military architect of the quagmire in Bosnia, where our serving soldiers are now referring to themselves as "Prisoners of Peace."

Rather than sitting around and allowing history to repeat itself, we should insist on the appointment of a Marine general like Zinni, Wilhelm or Kralak to run the show in ex-Yugoslavia. You could bet your boots -- like it or not -- they'd tell the pure unvarnished truth instead of singing a political tune like Clark's that may soon turn into a Vietnam-like national funeral dirge.

Worldnetdaily.com, March 26, 1999

David Hampson

DESTROYING THE TRUTH

Dear Faculty and Students,

I have already downloaded the information necessary and will write to the permanent representative to NATO for Great Britain, I will not write to the U.S. representative, because I am already aware that it would serve no purpose, I truly believe the man to be not only a liar and a cynic, but indecent.

If you knew how many letters I write, how much research I do, how much I suffer the pain of the immense injustice to your people, I believe you would be surprised.

But we are not dealing with reasonable or decent men. The pen was mightier than the sword when honorable men wielded the swords! This war is illegal, it kills innocents without compunction, it results from efforts begun by the U.S. and German interests, economic and anti-socialist, to undermine your country. When they

saw the opportunity to use propaganda and outright lies they converted a small ethnic war in your country into a major, certainly unprecedented in Europe without declaration of war, humanitarian disaster. Now they tell more lies and you, the first victims of this insane brutality, become responsible for THEIR crimes before the world.

Arbour? Sent to the refugee camps to compile any and every declaration against you, without concern for accuracy or verification, simply summing the bodies found without uniform in Kosovo as murder victims of the five leaders of your country. No one knows who killed those men, if they had orders, if the dead carried arms or even uniforms before they were killed. Is every judge on the tribunal ignorant of what a war is, or did they simply do the job THEY were ordered to do? Does a court paid for by the U.S., staffed by judges paid by the U.S., considering "evidence" compiled with the very intention of getting an indictment against already specified persons represent justice or law? Who argued for the accused? Any criminal lawyer with 6 months experience could probably have disqualified the evidence in thirty minutes!

Why? To make Russia's efforts to negotiate a peace virtually impossible. To maintain this war until the Serbs are completely eliminated as an economic and political entity in the Balkans. As you probably know, an outgoing German minister declared his pride in the role he had played in undoing Yugoslav union. The present foreign minister betraying the ideals of his own party declares at Madeline Albright's (what perversion can have led to her efforts to make Nato a tool of oppression against independent states and their civilian populations?) side that the refugees and the suffering of Yugoslavia is a crime of Milošević. With personal access to files that tell the truth, he does not speak of his own government's efforts to undermine your country when you lived in peace. Now Nato is finishing the job they started, and each time there is hope of a peace that will save the refugees and end the useless killing, Nato propaganda, or renewed airstrikes, or the indictment of an "international court" assures they will have the time and the public support necessary to do it.

There were declarations last night aired on CNN and every television throughout Western Europe and the United States such as: (I can only paraphrase, it is memorable only for its stupidity and cynicism: "Now the Yugoslavian people know that Nato is doing the right thing." Yet why do I react when you probably heard it yourselves and were as disgusted as I am? Nato's charter prohibited this aggression. International law prohibited this aggression. Every day Nato violates the Geneva Convention and the number of different violations never

seems to stop growing. A knowledge of the origins of this conflict in which Serbia has been the attacked not the attacker since the beginning argues against this aggression. Simple decency would prohibit this aggression.

But your enemies do not respect the ideals of the men who drew up that charter. They think International Law is ignorable. The Geneva Convention only exists so that they can fabricate charges of War Crimes against others while ignoring their own attacks on civilians, threat of force to obtain international treaties, attacks on the person of Milošević, using starvation and fear among civilians as a weapon, the list is too long to repeat here. If your police empty a house in Kosovo searching for weapons and members of the KLA, that is "disproportionate force" but if they use the greatest military technology in the world, the two most effective military forces (U.S. and Britain), billions of dollars, propaganda that blankets the globe, the death of thousands and flight of a half-million refugees simply to force the defeat of your government and its replacement with one that will protect the West's purely economic interests, that is wage a war for legitimate humanitarian reasons.

I will write, but if these were decent men who would listen to either a human appeal or a logical argument or were interested just minimally in the truth there would be no bombing to stop. They are also appointees without even the concern of a cynical politician for his votes.

I am surprised that so many people here in Spain see through the obvious propaganda about the refugees, and this is a people which prides itself on its solidarity. But also many people who work for NGOs here have returned with the story of how the new people from UN organizations are actively seeking "evidence" against the Serbs; and the refugees, knowing they will be rewarded with better treatment, give them what they want. Some reporters on the scene say that considering this as evidence is laughable, the problem is it is presented by Arbour and accepted by the "kangaroo court" called a War Crimes Tribunal as fact. (In no court of law in the U.S. would a convicted repeat rapist receive this kind of lack of due process.) The NGO volunteers also indicate the fear many refugees in Macedonia have of being sent to Albania, it is the Albanian mafia and the KLA that they fear. Many refugees when asked about "Serb atrocities" say "What Serbs? Our village was bombed, there is no water, no food!" Men who say they were beaten say themselves the Serbs suspected them of being with the KLA, and when CNN shows us images of them crossing the border, the suggestion made is that we are "witnessing" genocide! The same misrepresentation of the

images and the reality of the suffering of the refugees is seen on our TVE1 and TVE2, but the private stations have journalists on the ground who ramble freely through Belgrade and report the opinions of your fellow citizens. They universally condemn NATO and speak of their pride in their country, that politics takes a back seat to the criminal nature of this bombing. In Spain, Italy, Greece, the majority of public opinion is with you and against Nato, the problem is that their leaders, for fear of Nato or for personal benefit, show little interest in acting in accord with the will of their people. Even opposition parties support Nato.

The last straw for me was an interview in which they asked Arbour a question and she said she could not discount that "genocide" would be added to the list of crimes. Genocide? No reasonably intelligent and informed person would even consider applying that term to Kosovo. What the U.S. government did to native Americans was genocide...perhaps what they are trying to do to the Serbs is genocide, but she is either too ignorant to know the meaning of the term, or she is too blinded by her hate that comes from some personal internal anti-human feeling or some naive belief that she is somehow doing right in by-passing all she knows of due process and respect for the basic tenets of law and justice to do the job the U.S. State Department wants done.

They also declare falsely that the indictment by an "independent, international tribunal" proves that the entire civilized world is against Yugoslavia and its leaders. Yet I have read opinions throughout the world (from people in Southern Europe, India, Scandinavia, Australia and New Zealand, from governments in Asia that represent more half the population of this planet, from James Carter (the same people that are waging the covert war against Yugoslavia did the same against him when he was president of the United States), from Jewish groups in N.Y. who know well what war crimes and genocide are, from every educated person I know, including some that work for the U.S. government, from a Roman Catholic priest working with relief organizations, from German citizens, from British citizens, from Spanish, from Greek citizens, from British members of Parliament that were in Yugoslavia during the first days of the bombing. They all see this indictment for what it is, they all see the Rambouillet accords for the threat they were, they all see this bombing for what it is. And they are not against the people of Yugoslavia and they want its leaders to enjoy the same protections of international law and human justice that they have always respected.

But among their lies they include THEIR declarations of what public opinion is. If there were any truth in what they disseminate

as information, how is it no Congress or Parliament in Europe has voted to wage their great "humanitarian" war? Clinton and Albright avoid the law of the U.S. that permits no war for more than 60 days without approval of Congress, without a declaration of War (I certainly believe that is the law, though laws change, too easily, and I have not verified it) by having Nato, a defensive treaty organization, wage it for them. Nato is above the law, be it international or that of the United States of America. Among their lies is that they represent democracy.

I worry a great deal because now they speak of Serb artillery "threatening" the refugees. It is such a stupid statement that I can just imagine the Albanian Army repeating what happened in Sarajevo and exploding a "Serbian" mortar shell among the refugees in order to have the excuse they need to "be forced to enter Kosovo in defense of the refugees." Just because it is a ridiculous idea for any rational human being, it has worked once and could work again. Soon after they will tell us that "public opinion screams out that this massacre of innocents be avenged." They will then proceed to massacre, even more than heretofore, the innocents.

I hope I am wrong and public opinion, arguments to those who supposedly represent it, can bring justice out of this ruin. But I no longer believe that. Only Russian planes and missiles will stop them, and that could mean the end of all of us if Nato did not then back down. It would actually be more "just", a fight between opposed armies, one fighting for the defense of the world against an immoral aggressor, but the price of human suffering and death would be as many times greater as is being paid now by Albanians and Serbs alike as that caused them by Nato is to the and death and suffering in the ethnic war your government and the KLA were waging in Kosovo before the bombing started.

But they continue to destroy the truth, destroy international law, destroy respect for their own heritage of democratic principles and human justice in the very name of those things. And they seem convinced of their need to destroy you. It defies reason, but it is a reality.

No tool that appeals to reason or respect for human life or dignity can help you against such people.

May you and yours and every child in Yugoslavia somehow survive their brutality, hypocrisy, and indecency.

Always your friend, and ashamed of my impotency,
David Hampson

"About Letters", May 28, 1999, www.bg.ac.yu.

Peter Handke

THE PLANET IS CALLED
YUGOSLAVIA

Thank you, NATO, thank you great little writers, from Garcia Marquez to Guenter Grass, from Kenzaburo Oe to vice-commander Marcos, for what you have not written. Thank you, Pope in the Vatican, for your blessed white silence.

A great step for mankind! But, for those people on our planet who still have not turned into Martians or other Green Slaughterers, Serbia, Montenegro, Republika Srpska and Yugoslavia have become their homeland since March 24, 1999.

"Martians are attacking" and while their attack lasts, Helsinki, Madrid, Algiers, Dar es Salaam ("the house of peace"), Jerusalem, Jericho, Baghdad, even London, Paris, Berlin and Washington will be parts of Yugoslavia!

*From the morning noise of the military airport at Villacoublay,
near Paris "Knjževne novine", Belgrade, April 5, 1999*

Michael Harris

A SKEWED NEW WORLD ORDER

(Excerpts)

As one who is sick of NATO's half-truths, lies and bloody murder in the Balkans, some thoughts on the New World Order. Not Bill Clinton's airborne Hell's Angels, Vadar-esque heirs to the turf evacuated by the Evil Empire. I offer the iconoclast's version, based on what Woodrow Wilson said back in 1915: "No nation is fit to sit in judgment on any other nation." In my New World Order, Bill Clinton makes porno flicks in Hollywood, not foreign policy. How can this decadent hypocrite, this maser of women, ooze paternal sympathy over high-school shootings in America, while blowing away children in Yugoslavia?...

...In my New World Order, Canada makes peace, not corpses. That means that under no circumstances should we involve ourselves in a land invasion of Yugoslavia, the bloody enterprise that

the Choir Boy/Butcher Boy who currently runs Britain is so anxious to pursue...

...The War Crimes Tribunal doesn't mind engaging in wild speculation and pure political polemic when it comes to the alleged crimes of the Serbs. All those rapes, all those mass graves, backed up by hearsay and fake photographs. Besides, the Nuremberg Trials didn't shy away from holding the civilian and military leadership of Germany responsible for their atrocities. Arbour is well aware that this war is flatly illegal, under both the UN charter and NATO's constitution...

...In the real world of lives violently taken, the truth is a funeral with someone crying real tears. What we have here is crimes against humanity, plain and simple. What else do you call an outlaw military adventure that blows up hospital patients, journalists, refugees, diplomats and just plain folks and then says it's sorry as it drops a new load of bombs?...

...In my New World Order, NATO would play no part in policing the peace. It has so egregiously shattered in Yugoslavia. There is only one reason that NATO has insisted on overseeing the graveyard it has created; so that it can produce the post-game show. That way, NATO will be in charge of filtering the information in the next stage of this monumental propaganda exercise. That's the phase where face and ass will be saved simultaneously, where NATO spokesman Jamie Shea will make all his announcements on Larry King, which is just Jerry Springer without the fist fights these days. CNN will be cranking out the documentaries, and the misinformation, until every Serb has horns and a long tail, and every NATO killer gets a medal...

Toronto Sun, May 23, 1999

Hiroshi Hokama

WE PRAY FOR PEACE

Dear Rector Purić,

...It is with the greatest of concern that we send you this letter. The University of Belgrade and Chuo University have maintained friendly associations over the years. Located where you are, we are in fear of your present situation and the danger which your university may be facing.

We truly hope the current grave circumstances will come to an end and pray for peace to return to Yugoslavia.

Sincerely yours,
Professor Hiroshi Hokama

*A letter to Dr Jagoš Purić,
Rector of Belgrade University, April 9, 1999*

Simon Jenkins

THE BOMBING FRATERNITY

(Excerpt)

In the film *Dr Strangelove, or How I Learned To Stop Worrying And Love The Bomb*, the American Air Force general (played by George C. Scott) regaled his War Cabinet colleagues by leaping on a chair, imitating a B52 and claiming he could reduce the Ruskies to a crisp if only the President had the guts to let him. Moviegoers assumed that he was a figure of fantasy. Those acquainted with General Curtis LeMay knew otherwise.

General LeMay's present incarnation is the Vietnam veteran, General Michael Short, orchestrator of Nato's Yugoslavia bombing campaign from Aviano in Italy. He is auditioning for history by giving media interviews. He was party to the early prediction that bombing would work in days, since "bombing is the language Sloba understands". The prediction played strong in the White House and Downing Street. Days have become weeks and weeks months, but the general has not lost his panache. He has his politicians where he wants them, trapped between a bomb and a bodybag. General Short promised *The Washington Post* on Monday that "we can bomb the Serbs out of Kosovo in two more months". His tactic is in flagrant defiance of the pledge given by Tony Blair and his Cabinet. It is blatantly to hit the civilian population, and hard.

In case British MPs miss *The Washington Post*, they should know what is being done in their name. General Short means to block the Danube "for 20 years", wipe out factories and other places of work and cut off civilian gas and electricity. His intention is that the Serbs will wake up one morning and say, "Hey, Sloba, what's this all about?" and make him capitulate. That is the tactic the bombing fraternity promised would end the Vietnam War, and drive Saddam out of Kuwait without a ground engagement. The general failed to

explain why, after 25,000 "precision" bombing runs, he still confines his pilots to high altitude and refuses them overflights to verify targets. He claims he has total air superiority, yet admits that Serb air defences "are not properly suppressed", since "not too many air defence operators are willing to die for Milošević". Apparently his pilots are unwilling to die for Nato. He accepts that his goal defies the history of air power, but adds that no air campaign had yet been fought his way. Britain's bombing policy is now at the mercy of this man...

*Twixt bomb and bodybag,
The Times, May 26, 1999*

Jean François Kahn

KILLERS OF INNOCENT CIVILIANS

For the first time since 1945, European nations have carried out air strikes against a sovereign nation; for the first time since 1945, NATO is waging an offensive war against a sovereign state whose internal policy does not please it; for the first time since 1945 the West has launched a military operation without the consent of the United Nations; for the first time since 1945 German – and, it seems, Turkish planes are participating in an aggressive act against a small Slav state in Central Europe; for the first time since 1945 Yugoslavia has found itself at the focus of collective violence in which France and Great Britain are showing themselves as the "aggressors" and Russia as a stabilizing factor. For the first time since 1945 France has become involved without its vital interests having been jeopardized. It has become involved in a destructive attack following the will and the decision of the United States, without having first consulted the national bodies; for the first time, finally, since 1945, under the pretext of going to the assistance of one nation (Kosovo Albanians), they are bombing it.

The story is, in fact, insane. In it, public opinion, long subject to unprecedented brainwashing and psychologically prepared for unscrupulousness, is suddenly discovering moral mire and political absurdity! Let us recall that forty-two years ago, a French Social-Democrat government (headed by Guy Mollet) decided to invade Egypt, on account of the Suez Canal Company (Nasser had already been proclaimed Hitler). The same government sent a military con-

tingent to Algeria to defend the colonial order there.

Besides, let us recall that it is not only Russia, together with all the former Soviet republics (Armenia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Ukraine...), but also Greece, China, India, Indonesia, Iran, Macedonia... that have condemned NATO's offensive. So what, in such a situation, has the famous "international community" been reduced to? It has been reduced to the former colonial forces, while the United Nations, disintegrated, humiliated and despised, has not made its voice heard.

So, for the first time since 1945, a purely military organization (NATO), controlled by a hegemonistic force, has openly taken the place of the United Nations. For the first time, within Europe, the interests of a military coalition have taken control of collective security; the fissures that have arisen with the cessation of the cold war have been filled in despite the disappearance of the communist system; the use of brute force has become the last word in diplomatic confrontation; difference in geopolitical concept has been judged, and a sentence of war proclaimed!

The facts are well known: Kosovo is a Serbian province, and, as such, recognized by the international community. This is also an historic fact, as, during the Ottoman onslaught, it was the heart of resistance to and the renaissance of Slav nationalism. Ninety percent of its inhabitants today comprise Albanians, the majority of whom Muslims, who have until recently sought broad autonomy. Today, however, they aspire to either independence or incorporation in Albania. (That is why the tales of "ethnic cleansing" in Kosovo are absolutely ridiculous!)

Serbian authorities have finally agreed to the idea of "broad autonomy." But it refuses that such autonomy be guaranteed by the mass presence of NATO troops, that is the large-scale entry of foreign troops into its territory. This is all the more so as such presence would mean that Kosovo, already scattered with various groups of armed KLA Albanians, would be beyond the control of Belgrade, while, as a consequence, that "autonomy" would be transformed into "independence", as, in fact, the Americans have promised the Kosovo Albanian combatants.

It could be concluded that the Serbs are not in the right; it could be said that the sole principle to be followed is the right of a nation to self-determination, and, therefore, it is up to the Kosovo Albanians to decide what to do. In order to understand Serbian psychology, it should be understood that they are reacting as the French would if the people of Alsace, mostly of German origin, were to demand independence and were aided and abetted by Germans,

while, at the same time, the "international community" sought that NATO deploy 30,000 of its soldiers to guarantee autonomy.

Taking everything into account, if the Kosovo Albanians have the right to secession from Serbia, then, theoretically speaking, the Serbs of Krajina had the same right. They were, however, mercilessly destroyed and expelled by the Croatian army from the regions where they represented the great majority of the population. But, in that case, the international community did not react at all. Why?

And it is there that there lies the most dishonorable hypocrisy. For, are we prepared to apply the principles, in the name of which we have declared war on Serbia and the Serbian nation, everywhere?

Will the Israelis be threatened with bombs if the government refuses to recognize the right of the Palestinians to create their own state? Will Turkey be attacked in order to force it to ensure "broad autonomy" for its Kurdish inhabitants and made to withdraw from the part of Cyprus it occupied in defiance of UN resolutions?

Will the Christian secessionists in Sudan be defeated by the military? Will there be intervention in Spain in order to force Madrid to recognize the independence demanded, it seems, by the majority of Basques, who, to achieve that objective, have had recourse to terrorism? And what if the Scottish nationalists win at the next regional election organized by Tony Blair? And what if, after electoral victory, the front for the national liberation of Corsica launches armed struggle and the repression provokes the population? Shall we then demand that NATO troops enter Ajaccio? And how shall we react if the Albanians of Macedonia seek the same as the Albanians of Kosovo?

'Marianne', Paris, April 1999

Henry Kissinger

DIPLOMACY AND FORCE

(Excerpts)

...Rambouillet was not a negotiation - as is often claimed - but an ultimatum. This marked an astounding departure for an administration that had entered office proclaiming its devotion to the U.N. Charter and multilateral procedures. The transformation of the Alliance from a defensive military grouping into an institution prepared

to impose its values by force occurred in the same months that three former Soviet satellites joined NATO. It undercut repeated American and allied assurances that Russia had nothing to fear from NATO expansion, since the Alliance's own treaty proclaimed it to be a purely defensive institution...

...Moral principles are expressed in absolutes. But foreign policy must forever be concerned with reconciling ends and means. The fact that ethnic cleansing is repugnant does not obviate the need to devise the most appropriate response. At every stage of the Kosovo tragedy, other mixes of diplomacy and force were available, though it is not clear they were ever seriously considered. A strategy that vindicates its moral convictions only from altitudes above 15,000 feet and in the process devastates Serbia and makes Kosovo unlivable has already produced more refugees and casualties than any conceivable alternative mix of force and diplomacy would have. It deserves to be questioned on both political and moral grounds...

...The United States can take pride in elevating human rights to an integral part of foreign policy. But when one observes the progression from the call for moral pressure of the 1970s, to economic sanctions in the 1980s, to military intervention in the 1990s, the time has come to call for a definition of purposes and a dialogue on the relationship between objectives and methods...

...The paradox is that a country that thinks of itself as acting in the name of universal values is seen by too many others as acting arbitrarily, or inexplicably, or arrogantly. A re-examination of the prevailing premises of our foreign policy is overdue. This is a tall order for the last 18 months of an administration heretofore more given to tactics than strategy, more to Band-Aids than to healing. The agenda will not be completed in the time left. But if the president encourages a debate on a new agenda before the end of his term, he will have left an important legacy.

'New World Disorder', 'Newsweek', May 31, 1999

Irine Konidari

YET ANOTHER GREEK TRAGEDY

When I first came to your country, the war was waged in Bosnia. I saw the refugees from Krajina and I said to myself "this is the end". When I directed the "Trojans" for one of your theatres, I kept say-

ing: "this is the end of war". I believed the war was just a bad dream, but... I had promised to come back to Belgrade to direct a comedy, but now we are all taking part in yet another Greek tragedy.

Your people is bleeding now. You too. We all know that you are a brave people and that you will win. I promise that I will come to Belgrade soon, to drink and dance with you in our own Orthodox way. I send my kisses and my love. We shall soon be together.

'Politika', Belgrade, April 9, 1999

Gyorgy Konrad

WHAT RIGHT DO THEY HAVE?

(Excerpts)

All inhabitants of the Balkans are our neighbours, and the plight of our neighbours is inevitably our own, too. Two peoples share one territory: it is a fatal mistake to identify a nationalist rhetoric with human rights. When, say, twelve guys in white hats beat up a guy wearing a black one, that is nationalism as well. But, who has given them the right to do so? Their conscience? Do they have any authority founded in the international law? Or have they been given that right by some hypothetical accounting office which chalks up overheads and profits of this operation? Does this air campaign, which may overnight turn into a ground war, have any kind of democratic legitimacy?

Since national parliaments can but accept *post factum* the fundamental decisions on life and death which are being made in the NATO headquarters, a justifiable question arises: to which extent are such decisions – such as this one resulting in the air strikes on Yugoslavia – founded on democratic premises. The Hungarian Government and the Parliament wouldn't have possibly passed such a decision on their own will. It is certain that Romania, Bulgaria and Macedonia would not have done it either. It is certain that the leaderships of Albania, Bosnia, Croatia and Slovenia wouldn't have decided to bomb Belgrade, Novi Sad, Pančevo, Kargujevac, Niš – all of them Central European cities. No Hungarian would have even hallucinated of protecting Albanians by blasting the bridges of Novi Sad. We are, true enough, less combative than the Westerners; we have not yet reached the level of such media abstraction, so typical for the Western societies whose citizens are able to quickly build up

a concept of a country they actually do not know anything about, only on the basis of textual and visual information...

... The NATO intervention, a good intention to prevent killing in its essence, has caused even more killing. When the NATO bombs massacred the Albanian civilians – refugees, the spokesmen on duty expressed their regrets. When Serbian civilians were killed, either no regrets were offered or they were very shy. Which dead civilian is a good dead civilian, and which is bad? How many deaths are needed to stop the bombings? And it is quite certain now that there is no such thing as a NATO solution to the crisis...

... The air strikes option was wise, neither as a threatening bluff, nor as a real action. Sometimes, one utters a threat without seriously thinking of carrying it out. Even if we stop discussing whether bombing was right or not, but that it was the credibility of the Alliance to be preserved, i.e. that the threat was to be carried out, if the bombing is justified as a retrograde confirmation of a bluff, if, then, we are bombing only because we clearly said we were going to bomb if the Serbian Government did not give in – then we went astray, and our deeds will never be governed by rational principles but by those of authority and punishment. The one who utters a threat also commits oneself and becomes a prisoner of one's own words...

... When a big guy beats up a little guy, I do not cheer the big one, although his precision hits may add to the elegance of his action. No one people and no inhabitants of any village deserve to be persecuted. No one people and no one city deserve to be bombed. Blowing up the bridges across the Danube is no commensurate answer to the persecution of ethnic Albanians. The last time I witnessed blasting of bridges was in 1944; the Germans planted mines and pulled them down. The aim has always been the same: to prevent the enemy from using the bridge. The citizens of Novi Sad got their drinking water by those bridges. Why deprive the citizens of Novi Sad of their drinking water?...

... The leaders' hands are tied when it comes to small things, but their authority is practically unlimited in major issues. They ask for approval only afterwards, and they are compelled, therefore, to influence the media in order to obtain justification for their belligerent decisions. The media are very close to governments. As soon as censorship lifts its head, and the evil committed by the adversary is elaborately depicted, while the traces of bombing and its victims are only marginally shown, everything becomes dubious. One gets dizzy and cannot resist the impression that all that is somehow far from the truth.

It is a worn-out phrase that violence generates violence and that destruction of a single house may give rise to burning down a whole village. If the 'who-is-stronger' game starts, the irrational forces are boosted and morality, ashamed, flees this world, hands over eyes.

Who is going to protect us from our own faults, from the temptation of trying out our own power? Who is going to protect us from ignorance, lack of understanding and little knowledge – all of these emerging at the stage of history over and over again? Our leaders can make long-term decisions relatively quickly, some several hundred million citizens not having an opportunity to have their say. The war spreads by its very nature, and the hybrid was so sure of its victory in the beginning, as if it had only been a mere technicality. But it has caused a great catastrophe and the raging gods' punishment shall teach a lesson to the big boaster and shall humiliate the arrogant and the reckless.

"Blic", Belgrade, May 7-10, 1999

Yakov Israillevich Korenman

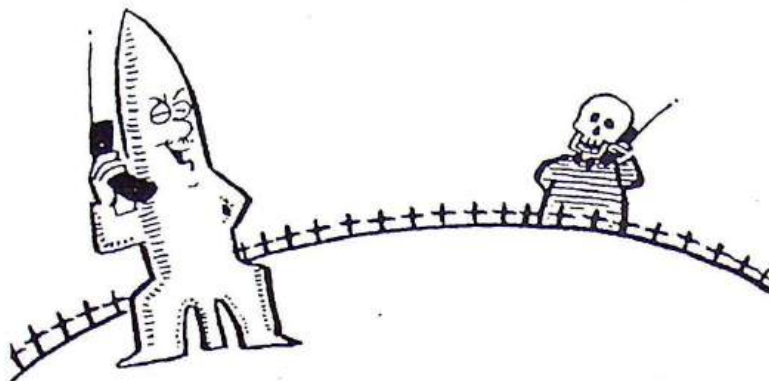
VICTIM OF WAR

Dear Rector,

I am addressing you at this, for Yugoslavia, difficult moment. For the third time in this century your country has become the victim of war. Yugoslav soldiers, as well as the whole heroic nation of Yugoslavia, took up arms to defend their mother country, just as they had done during the world wars. You should know that the whole Russian nation is with you, that we believe in your final triumph and in the happier future for your country. I am proud to have a lot of friends in Yugoslavia. I am also honored to have you, Sir, and many professors of Belgrade and Novi Sad Universities, as well as the Institute of Meat Technology and the Pharmaceutical Company In Leskovac for friends. My family and I wish you peace, tranquility, good health and success.

Prof. Yakov Israillevich Korenman

*A letter to Prof. Dr. Jagoš Purić,
Rector of Belgrade University April 6, 1999*



Norman Isaac (Philippines)

Karel Kosik

WHEN MADNESS RULES

(Excerpts)

The war waged by the US and its allies against Yugoslavia enables us to perceive the entire reality of today. Its particularity contains the key to understanding the contemporary notion of normality. By its revealing meanings, this war reaches beyond the aims and horizons of its creators. The Balkan war reflects the state of the whole planet.

The Americans cannot win this war against Serbia, even if they go on with the air raids and undertake exterminating military operations. Why have they started it, in the first place? Has their intelligence failed, as had happened in Iran some years ago, or have their politicians and strategic experts miscalculated the outcome? It is not necessary to wage a victorious war as long as it is lucrative and profitable: the arms manufacturers are winning new commissions and profits, new fields are opening up for research institutes, empty warehouses are filling up with new military equipment, the threat of unemployment is diminishing for the time being.

Although the war is being waged on the limited territory of the Balkans, its meaning spills over the regional borders. To use the vernacular of diplomacy, it sends a clear signal to everybody not to dare stand up against the indisputable American intention to become the only superpower on this planet. In the reality of the blazing war, the planetary superpower confirms the credibility of its perceptions of future: It has to be American.

In this war against the Serbs, it is not only that new weapons are being tested on human targets, but the ability of commanding headquarters too, and, especially, the psyche of people. What is necessary to be done in order to condition the emotions and thoughts of Terrestrials in order to make many of them readily accept the call of the English yellow press, such as the tabloid 'The Sun': 'Shoot them (the Serbs of course) like dogs'; what measures should be taken to give the propaganda machinery a push at the given moment in order to achieve the aim? ...

... The designers of American future are checking the reliability of the allies, especially the new NATO members in this war, and they have concluded with satisfaction that not one of them juts out, that all are marching abreast, be their governments left or right oriented. The imperialist arrogance teams up with servile helpfulness. Impudence triumphs.

'Blic', Belgrade, May 21, 1999

Claude Laporté

A RIVER OF BLOOD

Before I say anything, I have to state that I am neither Serbian nor Albanian and that I have no ties whatsoever with either Serbia or Albania. I do not even attempt to find out whether Kosovo belongs to Serbs or to Albanians. The only thing I can state for sure is that the province definitely does not belong to Americans, the French or NATO. This simple fact seems to have been overlooked by those nostalgic of colonial wars. The burial of French Honour, which began in 1962, when France shamelessly abandoned its Moslems to the murderous knife in Algiers, is being now concluded by the terrorist bombing of the Serbian people.

What courage did the country of Bayer the Knight show by joining the coalition of the most powerful nations in the world to

attack a people that has been drained of its last drop of blood by the eight-year-long sanctions! The coalition nations have ninety times more people and are two thousand times more powerful than their adversary. Still, it is also true that honour and loyalty are not being taught at the National Administration School.

Only a river of Serbian and Albanian blood shall remain after the war, just to let Americans acquire another colony. It is possible that the Serbian and Albanian people may survive the bombing, but it is not certain if France, French culture and the French speaking world will survive this sin against history. I only hope that the bombed people remembers that this government has nothing in common with its people, and that they will forgive us for being such cowards.

"Politika", Belgrade, April 19, 1999

Roman Lubkivsky

DESTRUCTION OF FAITH IN THE FUTURE

Distinguished Mr. President,

It is with pain and grief that I am experiencing the recent events affecting the fate of your country, your people, Serbian culture and the cultures of the national minorities, including the Ukrainian-Ruthenian minority.

I had the honor of being a participant at the international meetings of writers in Belgrade in 1996 and 1998, as well as at the jubilee celebrations marking the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Desanka Maksimović. The main subjects of our dialogues were humanism and culture, moral values and the position of the writer at the beginning of the new millennium.

In the face of the tragic events befalling your country, no writer, man of culture or friend of Serbian literature can remain indifferent. I therefore add my voice to those of persons that seek a cessation of bombing in the middle of Europe, a halt to the destruction of monuments to world civilization, the avoidance of not only the demolition but also the jeopardy of shrines of Serbian history, its monasteries, temples and memorial sites. That is because the missiles that are striking targets chosen in advance are destroying faith in the future, in human ability to come to some kind of understanding.

I express my solidarity with you in these difficult hours; I believe that justice and truth will prevail in the country of Vuk Karadžić, Branko Radičević, Miloš Crnjanski, the timeless Desanka Maksimović...

A letter to Slobodan Rakitić, the President of the Association of Writers of Serbia, Lvov, April 6, 1999



Mike Ritter (U.S.A.)

www.antiwar.com

J. P. Maher

KOSOVO IS SERBIAN

(Excerpts)

"Kosovo" is a Serbian place name, more fully "Kosovo Polje", meaning the 'field (or plain) of blackbirds'. "Kosovo Polje" lies just outside the city of Priština.

Ornithology lesson: Among North Americans, Australians, and South Africans, only ornithologists can identify the species in question. Kosovo's "black bird" is no crow, nor raven, no starling nor grackle, but "turdus merula", a European cousin of the North American rusty-bellied thrush ("turdus migratorius"), which Yanks call the "robin".

In Britain and Ireland 'robin' is the name of another species, *erithacus rubecula*.

The 'four and twenty 'blackbirds' baked in a pie', of the English rhyme, were of the species 'merula', in Serbian called 'kos'. From this term 'kosovo' is the derived possessive adjective.

Like America's harbinger of spring, the black bird called 'kos' in Serbian language sings sweetly in the springtime and early summer.

For North Americans the feel of the Serbo-Croatian place name 'Kosovo' can only be had from a free translation, 'Field of Robins'.

Albanians have borrowed the word from the Serbs...

...just so the names of the Serbian province of Kosovo are clear Serbian formations, but have no meaning in the Albanian language.

Proof of the Serbian origin of the name and the loanword status of the immigrant Albanian term is that the word 'kosovo' has a clear etymology to anyone who knows a Slavic language, while Albanian 'Kosova' is an opaque, meaningless place name in the Albanian language.

Kosovo is Serbian.

'The name Kosovo'
www.bg.ac.yu

Nagulb Mahfous

UP IN ARMS

(Excerpt)

The war in Kosovo has gone on for too long, a little like a novel that soon becomes boring because the end is too far away - except, of course, that in this war the suffering and death is all too real. Whatever the ending, at any rate, there has been too much bloodshed at this point to justify NATO's bombast.

To achieve its goals, the war should have been quick and concentrated. Then it would have convinced us of NATO's effectiveness; it would also have succeeded in sparing as many lives as possible. So far, it has achieved neither of these aims.

Someone once said that it is often possible to predict how a war will begin, but never when it will end. In this case, with the outcome still so uncertain, it seems that the U.S. will never fall silent...

...It is abundantly clear that NATO, despite the media fanfare, has scored only losses: the sophisticated weapons that were intended to protect the refugees have killed and wounded them, proving yet again that there is no such thing as a 'smart' weapon. The allies have lost face, and even America is badly shaken.

If anyone has scored a victory in this sordid, tragic war, it is surely the arms dealers, and especially the American military-industrial complex. For them, a war is always good news, since it means good business and high profits.

'Al Ahram', weekly,
April 29, 1999

Norman Maller

NATIONAL EMBARRASMENT

...The average Serb, after all, had no more to do with this war than the average Kosovar. Chaos, therefore, was being laid upon chaos. And there was no military plan for a conclusion to the war. Just hopes, plus unconscionable arrogance in NATO's exposition of its good motive.

For that matter, do we want to contemplate Clinton's personal motives too closely? Given how badly he was mucked-up by impeachment nausea, it is hard not to believe that apart from his avowed motive that we must fight genocide everywhere, he might also have been looking to shift the media's agenda. (Indeed, he has succeeded at that.) On the other hand, those same impeachment details had solled the presidency to a point where Clinton could not ask Americans to shed blood. So, he had to give the store away. We will bomb, he said, but we will not use ground troops.

This is now at the core of a prodigious national embarrassment. War is never there to be easily defended, but even so, there is a visceral difference between a combat devoted uniquely to bombing, and participation in a ground war. Ground war is always cruel beyond human comprehension, but there are occasional examples of heroism or sacrifice, and since both of the adversaries lose young men, there is, with all else, a hint of shared sorrow on both sides. Over the years and decades, that can even permit a reconciliation.

Bombing, however, is oppression. If the bombing is done with the notion that our own blood is not to be shed, it is obscene. In large part, people who are bombed will never forgive the aggressor. We can hardly wish to meditate upon the detestation of America that we are seeding in all the poor populations of the world...

"Washington Post", May 24, 1999.

Norman Maller's most recent book is 'The Time of Our Time.'

Igor Mandić

MISSILES ARE A MESSAGE

Darkness comes at the speed of a missile. That missile is the product of light (i.e. electric energy, as "pure information", and the object is to – destroy it. When it demolishes the objective and brings darkness – i.e. when it produces the information on nothingness – it then fulfills its "message". That was how theoreticians used to write, that "electrical technology cannot be used aggressively" (?), except "for the momentary destruction of life of all kind, which reminds one of switching off the light" (!). Missiles are today bringing darkness, depriving people of the luxury of light, and setting aflame simply fires, as points to which their "message" has come. That distance, from light to nothingness, can be followed in those few moments of "missile path", as we are told over the television by NATO spokesmen ever afternoon at their sadly bragging briefings in Brussels. They are talking about pictures that miniature cameras, located in the noses of those devices, show what they are aiming at right until the moment of their own annihilation, to that minuscule fragment of a second that brings destruction, death and darkness. They would like to make clear the extent to which that technology is "intelligent", when precision can be attained, if desired. Beaming with pleasure and satisfaction, the commentators at the briefings preach before those video recordings on the ultimate cynicism of technology: long distance chastisement that brings death without blood.

In fact, the bombing of Yugoslavia, which is only a possible prelude to a Third World War, upon the 60th anniversary of the previous one – *the directors from the Pentagon intended to bring Hollywood to the Balkans*, producing there some kind of "aseptic war", having learnt the lesson from the experience of the first television war – that

in Vietnam, which they lost in any way and for which they paid a terribly high price. This time they wanted to make greater use of the "media aspects" of "pseudo-invasion" (if a real invasion does not prove to be necessary). As a matter of fact, the war in Vietnam did not become compromised among the U.S. public until film and television cameras started "live" transmissions of what was happening, which inevitably led to someone's parents being able to follow *the live broadcast of the death of their own children* from their armchairs in front of the television!

In order to avoid that happening again, this war has been electronically conceived, armed with all possible "special effects", such as have been thought up by the Hollywood machinery. Without entering enemy terrain, that is without dirtying their hands directly – particularly in order not to endanger the lives of American soldiers, who are, according to some kind of calculation, individually worth more than thousands of others together (!?) – this instructive operation of punishing the disobedient player should have been "played out" as a *video game*.

"NIN" weekly, Belgrade, April 15, 1999

Giacomo Maramao

THE END OF THE AMERICAN CENTURY

The recognition of Croatia, Slovenia and Macedonia in 1991 started the Balkan turmoil. The conflict was largely boosted, in favour of Croatia and Slovenia, by the united Germany and the actions of Woytila. Many people have probably forgotten by now that the greatest peacemaker of today, Pope John Paul the Second, had taken a key role in destabilizing the Balkans.

The Kosovo crisis began two years after the Dayton Agreement, namely in March 1998, when the KLA and the Serbian police clashed first. Then the Americans intervened, overtly taking the Albanian side. That was why the Albanians signed the Paris document, and the Serbs declined to do so.

Not only the technical and military aspects of the intervention, but also its geopolitical and cultural motives have turned it into its own opposite. In fact, the intervention is just the opposite of all its proclaimed aims.

I am afraid that there is no plan whatsoever behind it. I personally do not believe that the Americans can see their own strategic position in the Balkans. If only they did! The worst of all is that they do not know what they are doing. They are swinging too dangerously between an ethical view of politics waving a humanitarian banner and the cynically obsessive view contained in Tony Blair's surgical vision. Where was the U.S. when the massacres in Africa happened? Where was the U.S. when Pinochet executed the innocent at the Santiago de Chile stadium? Those examples are sufficient to disqualify their humanitarian theorem.

Europe should have stood up relying on the treasures of her multilayered culture, on the countries speaking different tongues. The U.S.A. propagates a vulgar logic which can be phrased as 'The West, proponent of universal human rights against the 'barbarians'. Europe should have provided a different analysis. That is why the American attack on Yugoslavia does not symbolize American hegemony. It symbolizes the end of the American century.

"Politika", Belgrade, April 19, 1999

Gabriel Garcia Marquez

TWO CROSSED DESTINIES

It is difficult to know if the two men, who, on May 24, undertook the barbarian task of bombing Kosovo, knew they were victims of their crossed destinies. One of them is Javier Solana Madariaga of Madrid, Secretary General of NATO, a fifty-seven-year old humanist, professor of Physics and the survivor of three deadly Ministries: of Culture, Education and Foreign Affairs.

In the circle of his many friends he always behaves his real self: an intellectual who seems not to wear a beard, but to have shaven badly due to insomnia; a man who knows in depth the magic of conversation and who has read well and seriously all the books that had to be read, as well as many that didn't have to be read. It is strange that he has never written down or confided in anybody his love verse. He is well known, and quite deservedly so, for a man most prolific in smiles and hugs, to the extreme, as a friend of his said once, of even embracing an electric post. However, on those rare occasions when he is off guard, his eyes reveal a poet, sad and inclined to solitude.

In political circles he knows how to keep his distance following his own criteria, but always with a seductive courtesy he had inherited from his great uncle, don Salvador de Madariaga. But he is also known for being choleric when there is reason for it and for saying what he thinks without looking up to anybody. His most serious contradiction to date has been to loudly protest against Spain's joining the NATO and to have since become its brilliant secretary general in the time of war. In short, a rare man, who appears to be incapable of harming a fly but who, on the other hand, has unwaveringly risen to the most difficult military challenge of the century. The only consolation he leaves to his friends is the knowledge that the acts over which he now presides are not a blow from his heart, but a bad hand dealt by Lady Luck.

The other man, responsible for the technical execution of the adventure, is the North American General Wesley K. Clark – the man who has the biggest army in the world under his command, first with the Southern Command in the U.S. – which until 1997 was headquartered in Panama – and then with the Supreme Allied Command in Europe, in Brussels. He was born 55 years ago in Little Rock, Arkansas, also the birthplace of his friend President Clinton. Clark was first in his class at West Point Military Academy, class of 66, and went on to gain a Masters in Philosophy, Politics and Economics at Oxford. He is an elegant man, who likes to stand on ceremony and his brothers-in-arms consider him a soldier of the old school, who shares bread and salt with the troops and who cannot live without knowing what other people think of him. What few people realise is that behind the four stars and a mountain of insignia, is an irresistible urge to be recognised as a political intellectual and an ideologue of social welfare.

My friendship with Javier Solana, good and fruitful for more than twenty years, was born out of work and sincerity. The way in which I made the acquaintance of General Clark, on the other hand, was one of the most unusual and surprising of my life. It occurred three years ago in Panama, when several Panamanian friends led by Chancellor Jorge Ritter invited me to see the amazing toy that is the mechanism controlling the locks of the Panama Canal, and what was left of the Howard Base in the zone still occupied by the U.S. We had barely passed through security control when a group of officials from the Southern Command barred our way. Only when we stepped off the bus – particularly with our hands up – did they explain that General Clark was waiting for us in his office. We never did find out by what military intelligence he had discovered we

would be passing his domain. But there he was, at the far end of the table of the U.S. Army, a table brimming with every luxury you could wish to eat or drink. Surrounded by such largesse, dressed in the tropical uniform of the colonial commanders he seemed to have stepped of a film set. One could easily believe that it was not him at all but Robert Redford, perfectly cast as General Clark.

His proposition, expounded with rhetoric of the gleaming spires and the easy tones of the direct descendants of Scarlet O'Hara, was to discuss with us his thoughts on the world. Hardly stopping for our response, he launched into a description of his experiences of the numerous military and political campaigns in which he had played a role, from Vietnam to Bosnia. They had, he believed, shaped his social conscience. But at no point did he realise, at least from my point of view, that he had been mistaken in his choice of interlocutor.

I do not have a talent for abstract ideas. I hardly dared explain to him that the preoccupations of novelists are sometimes as useful as academic sciences when attempting to break the spell of reality. The General, for his part, showed us that he understood such ideas well, even though his conception was somewhat coloured by his military training. Back in the bus, Ritter produced the only possible synthesis of that indecipherable hour-an-a-half: 'It was the essence of two diverse monologues.'

He understood, as well as we ourselves, our cultural stumbling blocks and our political distances. We continue to exchange memories and greetings and each other's books through mutual friends. What we never imagined is that one of these would turn out to be Javier Solana. I must confess, however, that when I learnt that they were working shoulder by shoulder in the NATO, it seemed to be another of these mysterious coincidences that disturb novelists' dreams.

Today it is clear that Kosovo is not just any spot in the world, but one of its neuralgic centres and the aggression to which it has fallen victim presents a very real danger of escalating with unprecedented and terrifying consequences. Bad news for a man of letters who never thought he would be a soldier and for a soldier who dreams of being a man of letters, both now carrying the burden, the tremendous risk, of the third world war.

"El Pals", Madrid, April 4, 1999

Nikita Mikhalkov

ABSENCE OF HISTORICAL CULTURE

What is happening to Yugoslavia now results, I should say, from the absence of historical culture. Certainly, the American civilization does exist, but I doubt that American culture has ever developed.

It is possible for someone who has got the money for it, to buy a Rembrandt. Americans do have that kind of money, but it is unlikely that an American may be aware how valuable the canvas is, that he has traveled the necessary distance to be able to appreciate it. What I want to say is that I doubt that the Americans have evolved into a nation from which a Rembrandt might emerge.

If they had, none of this would be happening...

Undoubtedly, America is a great country. Undoubtedly, it exerts great influence over the world and its institutions. Undoubtedly, the American film dominates the movie world. It is all right and nobody opposes that. But because of that, a great power cannot be really great if it does not rely on spiritual values, if it does not drink from the spiritual well.

Americans lack faith, they lack wisdom. An individual, a nation or a state can only be great if they combine power with wisdom. Because only the wise know how to use power.

I believe that Clinton's presidency, unless the war is stopped immediately, shall be remembered with shame. This mistake of his, accompanied with adultery and Monica, who has become an autograph-giving star, will produce consequences for America worse than those of the Vietnam war. Millions of people could read what happened between Monica and Clinton on the Internet; the unfortunate fate of tens and hundreds of thousands of people will echo even more.

How will they account for, how will they justify the bombing of Belgrade? Bombing Belgrade is equally absurd if, say, Moscow had been bombed because of the war in Chechnya. Would they have bombed Moscow if somebody in Chechnya had asked the NATO to do it? Serbia tried to solve its internal problem with Kosovo, just as Russia had tried to solve its internal problem with Chechnya, irrespective of whether I personally justify it or not.

*From an interview to Branko Stošić,
exclusively for "NIN", Belgrade, April 8, 1999*

Lt General Satish Namblar

THE FATAL FLAWS

(Excerpts)

...Portraying the Serbs as evil and everybody else as good was not only counterproductive but also dishonest. According to my experience all sides were guilty but only the Serbs would admit that they were no angels while the others would insist that they were. With 28,000 forces under me and with constant contacts with UNHCR and the International Red Cross officials, we did not witness any genocide beyond killings and massacres on all sides that are typical of such conflict conditions.

I believe none of my successors and their forces saw anything on the scale claimed by the media. I felt that Yugoslavia was a media-generated tragedy. The Western media sees international crises in black and white, sensationalizing incidents for public consumption...

...It is appropriate to touch on the humanitarian dimension for it is the innocent who are being subjected to displacement, pain and misery. Unfortunately, this is the tragic and inevitable outcome of all such situations of civil war, insurgencies, rebel movements, and terrorist activity. History is replete with examples of such suffering; whether it be the American Civil War, Northern Ireland, the Basque movement in Spain, Chechnya, Angola, Cambodia, and so many other cases; the indiscriminate bombing of civilian centres during World War Two; Hiroshima and Nagasaki; Vietnam. The list is endless. I feel that this tragedy could have been prevented if NATO's ego and credibility had not been given the highest priority instead of the genuine grievances of Serbs in addition to Albanians...

...Notwithstanding all that one hears and sees on CNN and BBC, and other Western agencies, and in the daily briefings of the NATO authorities, the blame for the humanitarian crisis that has arisen cannot be placed at the door of the Yugoslav authorities alone. The responsibility rests mainly at NATO's doors. In fact, if I am to go by my own experience as the First Force Commander and Head of Mission of the United Nations forces in the former Yugoslavia, from March 1992 to March 1993, handling operations in Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Macedonia, I would say that reports put out in the electronic media are largely responsible for provoking this tragedy...

www.beograd.com.

Ferdinando Vicentini Orgnani

AMERICAN IGNORANCE

I am very sad. I have many friends in Belgrade, and I have special ties with your country. Unfortunately, this terrible situation is a reality. I keep wondering: wouldn't it have been better to give that enormous money spent on bombing to all needy people in Yugoslavia.

The greatest problem is the fact that ordinary Americans do not know anything. They did not know where Italy was. They believed it was some American colony. They do not know where Kosovo is, they can only assume, looking at the maps, that it is close to Italy. They only know that some people there are in danger and they should be helped. Such meagre information is accompanied by forceful anti-Serbian propaganda in the media. Still, if that propaganda is supposed to provide justification for the NATO airstrikes and if NATO is adamant that whatever they are doing - they are doing against the Yugoslav regime, why are they bombing innocent ordinary people?

"Blic", Belgrade, April 15, 1999

Javier Ortiz

APACHE THEN AND NOW

I believed I would be the only one to criticize the bombing of Yugoslavia, but to my surprise, it is not the case. According to the opinion polls, the majority of Spaniards views it with genuine mistrust.

That is not, however, the opinion of ordinary people only: it is enough to listen to the tone in which the political leaders supporting the war speak - with the exception of monotony of Jose Maria Aznar's speeches - to realize how bad they feel while applauding to the escalation of war whose outcomes are so woolly.

I was told that Javier Solana was unhappy with such obvious lack of enthusiasm in his Spanish Labour Socialist Party and that the only aim of the statement given yesterday by Gonzales, overflowing with NATO flare, was to oppose such half-heartedness.

What surprises me most is the fact that such spirit, obviously, prevails only in Spain. Why?

"This is a stilted nation", says my friend Gervazio Guzman. He believes that we, Spanish, are cowards in spirit, which is a result of many centuries of staggering through history and which will eventually prevent us from taking our place among the great nations of the twenty first century.

"The people that used to be regardful and dignified, the people ready to criticize and to praise, there is no more", Guzman says and adds: "Look at the Americans. They are our opposites. They do not care if they appear brutal. Don't you understand? Now, when Belgrade is being condemned, they should be busy trying to prevent the rest of us from remembering the fact that their nation had risen from the systematic ethnic cleansing of all Indian nations that had been carried out by their forefathers.

They managed to destroy, almost entirely, the only native population that those strange people from the "Mayflower" met when they disembarked. They carried out a massacre and on top of all, they prayed to God for help. Even today they mention it in their anthem: "In God we trust."

However, not only are they not disturbed by this sad comparison, but they hit Yugoslavia with missiles which they call "tomahawk" and use helicopters called "Apache". Apache, catch! One would say they're doing it for fun. But, there's nothing to be done: they've got this fantastic ability to provide themselves with a clear conscience. Whatever they did, do or will do, they will find it perfectly moral. That's why they rule the world. That's why Spain never will."

I could not but answer only: "Ah, what a relief!"

*"El Mundo",
translation published in "Politika", Belgrade, April 15, 1999*

Charles Pasqua and Max Gallo

THE LOGIC OF A HOPELESS WAR

(What the French should know)

Europe has entered a war. It is impossible not to think every moment, every day of that horrible plight, of the misery of several European nations which will last longer than we would like to be-

lieve, let alone say. Finally, it is impossible not to realize that Europe, and France in the first place, has lost any initiative in this issue.

Which are the legal premises of the war? It would be hard to find a single article in the UN Charter to decidedly confirm that several countries are entitled to solve an internal problem of another UN member by means of force. That was the reason for which the unapproved air strikes began. Even the Security Council was not consulted, although that was hardly surprising.

That is, undoubtedly, the reason why the National Assembly had not been consulted either; the humanitarian reasons, no matter how noble, do not justify any military intervention in a sovereign state.

In August 1967, General DeGaulle, faced with a situation quite similar to this one we are facing today – the war in Vietnam – stated an opinion which should be shared by all his followers and republicans of all kinds: "France, in order to have any influence over peace for herself and, as far as possible, for others, *should be Independent*."

When compared to the B52 diplomacy, which in Vietnam had not yielded any better results than anywhere else in the world, the French way should be quite clear: France must bring home to her European partners that there is no solution for the Balkans or any other European issue without a European Europe and that its defensive independence represents an unavoidable prerequisite.

In August 1967, De Gaulle added: "No matter how attractive the power of America may seem to Europeans, we have to create a six-member Community which, for its own part, should become a political reality and, therefore, a crucial element to maintain peaceful balance in the world."

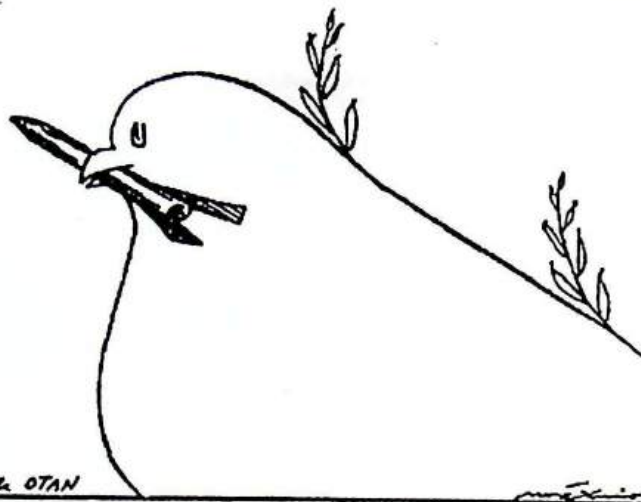
As far as we are concerned, we demand that a European initiative be urgently formed in order to take over the idea that was put forward by Romano Prodi some days ago – that a conference be held to gather the 15 members of the EU, the Balkan countries and Russia. That would be the only way to stop the bombing and prevent the war passing into the next phase which is certain to be even gorier. If the fifteen lack the courage to change their attitude today, we shall be dragged, day by day, even deeper into the logic of a hopeless war. We may expect then, with certainty, not only the political Europe to disappear, but peace to be banned from our continent.

The republicans have long since expressed their fears that Europe, the way it was built, adorned and presented to them, would

not be able to keep its promises summed up in the ever praised trinity – peace, prosperity, independence.

It has turned out that those promises were unattainable. It is high time that Europe got built up on realities, starting with the realities of states.

*"Le Monde", translation published in "Politika",
Belgrade, April 9, 1999*



Paloma n. 2. OTAN

Maxlmo (Spain): DOVE OF PEACE

"El Pals", May 1999

Harold Pinter

WE ARE BANDITS GUILTY OF MURDER

(Excerpts)

THE Nato war is a bandit action, committed with no serious consideration of the consequences, confused, ill thought, miscalculated, an act of deplorable machismo. Yet, according to opinion polls most British people support this war, believing we may have a moral duty to intervene and the moral authority to do so.

What is moral authority? Where does it come from? How do you achieve it? Who bestows it upon you? How do you persuade others that you possess it? You don't. You don't have to bother. What you have is power. Bombs and power. And that's your moral authority.

Until the West started negotiating with the Kosovo Liberation Army, thus bestowing moral authority on its uprising, the number of people who died in Kosovo through political violence was fewer than in the preceding decade in Northern Ireland. Think about that...

...Let us probe some of our lies, such as the one given in writing on April 12 to the International Federation of Journalists that Yugoslav television would not be bombed. Ten days later it was, with the loss of some two dozen lives. As Nato 'always tells the truth', these civilians had no reason to expect to die. This was justified by the Nato spokesman, Jamie Shea, because Belgrade television displayed 'tolerance for brutality'.

'Tolerance for brutality' - remember that phrase - remember it if this conflict continues to deepen, remember it if it lasts months or years. Tolerant Tony Blair shrugged off the deaths, there were no words of regret. Whatever one might say about Radio Television Serbia's ugly output, the Geneva Convention states quite clearly that only civilians directly involved in hostilities may be killed. The make-up girl who was killed wielded a powder compact, not a Kalashnikov...

Harold Pinter and Stuart Urban, the film-maker, have made the first programme for British television arguing resolutely against the war. BBC 2, May 1999

Tom Ryan

I SUPPORT YOUR RESISTANCE

Dear Dr Purić,

As a long-time friend of Serbia and a person with many, many friends, acquaintances and business partners in the country I am appalled by the dreadful attack on Serbia by the Nato countries. I would like to express my deepest sympathy with your terrible plight and offer you my strongest support at this unhappy hour. I am ashamed to call myself English at this time in view of the

craven actions of our lap-dog leader Tony Blair and his crypto-socialist cronies. Britain has always been an ally of Serbia and has always stood for fair-play in all things. In this case she has been dragged into an illegal war against a much smaller, poorer nation who has done absolutely nothing against Britain, or any of the other Nato states. I feel so strongly about this that I am changing my British passport for an Irish passport, to which I am entitled owing to the nationality of my father. In future I will travel as an Irishman and, I hope, distance myself from these barbarous acts inflicted on Serbia by the British government in the name of 'humanitarian relief'. I have written to the international press and to fellow businessmen everywhere to express my opposition to the attack. I support your resistance to aggression whole-heartedly and hope that the responsible leaders will quickly see the futility of armed conflict and return to civilised negotiation.

I wish all staff, students, workers and associates and families of Belgrade University personal safety in these dangerous times, strength and courage to face the worst that the liar in the White House can throw at you, and good luck for the future.

May God be with you all.

Yours sincerely,

Dr. Tom Ryan

*Letter to Dr Jagoš Purić,
Rector University of Belgrade, April 6, 1999*

Joel Ruth

CLINTON AND THE NEW WORLD CONSPIRACY

(Excerpts)

While the American public is being made "poll sensitive," slowly herded and lulled to quiescence through pitiful, emotive footage of refugees, all conditioning needed to accept the coming ground war, some very critical issues and their ramifications are being completely overlooked by the mainstream politicians and media.

Perhaps the most startling issue revolves around Clinton's challenge of the rights of sovereign nations to decide what goes on

within their borders and who within them is entitled to the rights of citizenship.

It seems that a new international precedent and institution is being established -- as yet still undefined either legislatively or organizationally -- which will now supersede in power all other established international entities in authority. But what and where is it?

What we are seeing, in fact, is a repeat of the decades-old contention within our own nation -- the struggle between states' rights and the ever-encroaching Federal establishment. In this case, however, the struggle is being played out between a sovereign nation and what, for lack of better words, has the mark of a secret world government.

To illustrate this hypothesis of a secret world government, all one needs to do is ask a few simple questions. First, under what authority are we now dictating the solutions to the internal problems of sovereign nations? There is NO supreme world government, as yet known, recognized with such jurisdiction and mandate over its member components -- or is there? If so, where is it located and who elected it? ...

... Assuming the American public gets suckered into paying the Butcher's bill in blood and treasure to occupy Kosovo -- but the invasion into greater Serbia goes no further. Will the United States then keep an army deployed for the next 500 years there to "protect" the tiny Kosovar province from the Serbs whom we currently openly admit really own it? Considering that the Serbs have long, long memories -- still not having gotten over what the Turks did to them in 1356 or whenever it was -- a protracted American stay is likely.

Another alternative is to go all the way and attack, destroy, and occupy all of Serbia -- after first, of course, reducing the population to the level of the Haitians with a starvation embargo -- a favorite Clinton tactic. Then establish a one-world kangaroo court to award Milošević and associates their Nuremberg neckties while the U.N. reprograms the next 3 generations of Serbian children with PC indoctrination about the evils of ethnocentric behavior and homophobia, or whatever we currently stand for. Of course the operation would be considered a final "success" when all Serbian women abort their fetuses, the men become gay, or when they start to love and marry Albanians and convert to Islam! C'mon, folks -- this thing, if pursued, will never go away!...

... So what is going on here folks, what errant nonsense are we

now being fed by the Clinton administration which has no regard for domestic or international legal procedure? Enough is enough! Everyone -- not only the people of the United States -- needs to raise concerned voices and ask in unison -- who, and by what right, is this unchartered power manifesting itself under Bill Clinton, imposing its will in this drama, and for what ultimate purpose?...

WorldNetDaily.com, April 1999

Jose Saramago

EUROPE IS THE LOSER

There already is a loser in the Balkan tragedy -- that is Europe.

It is not possible that an alliance, created for purposes of defence, should have recourse to an undeclared war and bombs for the sake of bombing, all in front of the eyes of helpless European politicians and indifferent European citizens, whose ability even to feel disgusted has been taken away.

"Politika", Belgrade, April 14, 1999

Daniel Schiffer

SERBS ARE GENTLEMEN

One day Europe will beg Serbia for forgiveness. Serbs are gentlemen. They will forgive!

"Politika", Belgrade, June 9, 1999

Elmar Schmelling

THE PLIGHT OF A NATION

The present German government has violated Article 26 of the German Constitution, which forbids an offensive war. According to the German Constitution, the Bundeswehr can only wage a defensive war. Germany is now taking part in the aggression against

Serbia, which means that its government has flagrantly contravened the Constitution. Serbia has not attacked Germany and has not threatened it in any way. I do not care for the subtleties of law, but for another crucial matter, and that is that no war must be waged from German territory. That is the most important thing...

My stand is clear. NATO has attacked a sovereign state. There is an issue that should be held in mind. Everybody is talking about peace, even NATO says that it is against war, but that their bombs are being dropped 'in a mission of peace', in order to prevent a 'humanitarian catastrophe'. My question to those advocates of military intervention is as follows: are the people in that region in any better position since NATO started bombing Serbia? Obviously not. The humanitarian catastrophe only began after the bombing started. Further on, NATO claims that the war is not being waged against the Serbian people, but against Milošević and his police apparatus which endangers the Kosovo Albanians. But the bombs are falling on Serbia and the Serbian people! Or somebody believes that the Serbs have gone on a collective vacation to Greece!

Helping people in need is undoubtedly a noble motive. But what if such help causes a humanitarian catastrophe some ten times greater? The NATO aggression against Serbia, and we are being witnesses to that, has not relieved the plight of the people, it has only made it worse. That is a fact.

"NIN", Belgrade, April 8, 1999

Vitaly Shentalinski

THE WORLD HAS GONE MAD

Dear friends! I am awfully worried about you.... May Fate avert misfortune from your doorstep...

The bombing and aggression against Yugoslavia is a great shock and disillusionment with the 'humanitarianism' and 'democratic mission' of the United States. It is enough to ask, like Little Red Ridinghood: "Grandma, Grandma, why do you have such strong teeth?" -- and the Big Bad Wolf shows itself from behind the mask of the good Grandma.

"It seems the world has gone mad!" -- everybody keeps saying, not only in Belgrade, but in Moscow too. There has been a hope that the mankind learned something after the Second World War,

that it has learned something important about life and death. But, alas, the sugary smiles of politicians have been replaced by a beastly grin... The third millennium is being welcomed by a gory salute, and explosions and fire light up the future.

I am not a politician and I cannot say what practical steps our government should take to stop the slaughter, but I believe that by the mere fact of its existence and its decisive anti-war stand Russia is already preventing NATO from crushing the independent Yugoslavia. It is clear, in spite of internal problems that are troubling the country, that war does not provide a way out; war is madness.

Writers have always taken the side of victims, not of hangmen, whatever their nationalities and convictions might be. At this decisive moment my heart reaches out to you, my Yugoslav friends!

*Letter to the Association of Writers of Serbia
Moscow, April 6, 1999*

Liyang Slaosheng

THE GREAT MAFIA LEADER

(Excerpt)

... It seems to us, the Chinese, that the President who tucked in his tail so humbly during the sex scandal is now wagging it too eagerly.

It is for this very reason that I, a Chinese writer, wish to take up my pen and tell our Chinese nation that today, on the eve of the 21st century, we should rise up rigorously against American imperialism!

You are using your huge, destructive missiles, your murderous forces and bombing a small, sovereign country that has far less military power than NATO. In your inhumane bombing, you have killed over a thousand innocent civilians, you are wounding tens of thousands, and you are forming rivers of refugees. Can this prove to the world that you are the "defenders of peace?"

It seems to me that this is, first and foremost, an attempt to show the world, and prove to it, that you are the greatest military hegemonists.

NATO, headed by the U.S.A., is, on the one hand, placing itself above the United Nations and, with its warlike pretensions, carrying out inhumane bombing, while, on the other hand, it is looking

at the whole world with arrogance and contempt and showing its real face of a great Mafia leader.

An excerpt from an article published in the "Peking Young People's Daily", May, 1999

Alexander Solzhenitsyn

THE LAW OF THE JUNGLE

By discarding the OUN and trampling on its Charter, NATO has imposed on the whole world and the coming century the primordial law, the law of the jungle - whoever is powerful is always right... And, they now want to make us live in such a world.

A beautiful country is being destroyed before the eyes of the world and civilized governments applaud it. At the same time, desperate people leave underground shelters and form human chains to protect bridges on the Danube and in doing so face death. I do not see why Clinton, Blair and Solana would not start burning and destroying them.

*A statement to Itar-Tass agency
Moscow, April 8, 1999*

Thakis Theodopoulos

I FEAR THAT EUROPE IS DYING

(Excerpt)

... Everything has changed. Everything has changed completely, from its very roots. Here, in Athens, regardless of the fact that we are living in safety, that is if safety means that bombs are not falling upon our heads, no one looks at things the way they used to do. We have finally been deprived of any illusion that international organization exists. It is no longer necessary to analyze anything. We have received all the answers. We have to start afresh with everything. The Serbs will, of course, pay the bill. And, with that blood-drenched bill, world politics, and particularly European politics, has pronounced itself bankrupt. Politics offers us no solution what so-

ever, it has gone under the hammer.

The problem lies in the fact that the children of May '68 are the ones that are today wielding power. They are all the originators of an ideology that convinces them that they are innocent and that they have absolute right on their side. And, naturally, such a stand, like any other exclusive stand, is the cause of great tribulation.

I fear that, after everything that has happened in your country, Europe is dying. That it is dying... That it has lost its political instinct, that there is no longer the "political", but only the "politically correct." Nonetheless, I believe in Europe. But not in America. I believe in European freedom. That is why I consider that, together with Yugoslavia, Europe has received a body blow, and I fear foul blows may follow. And I fear that it is only now starting to awaken from its initial enchantment. Europe, unfortunately, does not have political leaders; it only has politicians, and those it has are not of any stature, who are poltroons, not even before Clinton, but before the caravans of NATO.

To say that you are against bombing seems to me so reasonable, so simple, that you have to be devoid of any sensitivity not to think in that way and to declare oneself in that way. The question is, what will follow? If it ends quickly, what will follow? Nothing may, nothing will be allowed to stay as it was. Where is all this leading to? What should we do? We should once again pose the question, both to ourselves and to the world as a whole, as to the meaning of pride and human honor. Who is controlling us, who giving us the orders? If everything stays the way it was, if even this does not bring us round, then, may God be my witness, nothing good will befall us...

*From an interview to the "Politika",
Belgrade, July 6, 1999*

Mikis Theodorakis

I CANNOT SING

I cannot sing, as my heart is weeping.

*Refusing to take the microphone in the "Hamam"
Athens music club, March 29, 1999*

Tzvetan Todorov

OBJECTIVE AND POSSIBILITIES

... The Balkan countries – Yugoslavia, Macedonia, Albania, Bulgaria, Romania – are in a terrible economic state. They have never been rich. Besides, communism maintained itself longer in them than elsewhere in Europe and accelerated their downfall. At the same time, these are all countries that have significant ethnic minorities, making up a real population jigsaw puzzle. If the Europeans and the Americans do not wish to set fire to some other part of the Balkans – and they are right not to want to do so as the consequences of such would be catastrophic – they should be helping that part of the world emerge from its economic and social backwardness. A new Marshall plan should help those countries, in order to enable their inhabitants to see the light at the end of the tunnel and find a sense in their lives. The fanatical or cynical leaders would then become absurd anachronisms and would just disappear.

Does that cost a great deal? Of course it does, but Europe and the United States are already spending that money to produce planes, missiles and bombs, to arm warriors and help refugees. It would better to drop dollars on that country than bombs, for bombs also require dollars. The bad side to that solution is that we shall no longer be able to proclaim ourselves victors over absolute evil, over the devil, over monsters in human form, that we shall no longer be able to praise ourselves that we are at the same time the incarnation of right and force. But we would have to become accustomed to that too.

"Le Monde", April 11-12, 1999

Vladimir Voynovich

VIOLENT AND STUPID ACTS

Dear friends and colleagues,

There is a truth that is simple and accessible to all: violence breeds violence, and nothing more. Missiles are falling on Belgrade; people are fleeing Priština; hundreds of thousands of refugees have poured into Albania, Macedonia and Montenegro. NATO planes are dropping bombs to kill people, and then dis-

patching medicaments and food to heal and feed the survivors. Protests heard throughout the world more and more loudly often assume unreasonable forms; extremists of all countries and of all commitments have awoken and are endeavoring to use the situation to their own advantage. What a stupid and absurd world!

I commiserate with you; I hope you all live to see the end of these dark days and, in general, to survive. I, of course, condemn the acts of the NATO strategists, for they are violent and stupid. They have made problems that were difficult to resolve – impossible to resolve, and have forced themselves into a blind alley from which there is no way out.

April 1, 1999, Munich
A letter to Serbian writers,
published in "Književne novine" on April 5, 1999

Vladimir Volkoff

I AM ASHAMED OF FRANCE

I am ashamed of being a Frenchman... I am ashamed of the cowardice. I am ashamed of the arrogance, I am ashamed of the servility. I am ashamed of the stupidity. I am ashamed of France. At this moment, I would like to be a Serb. I would prefer to have unjust bombs dropped on me than to drop them myself.

"Književne novine", Belgrade, April 5, 1999

Lech Walensa

STOP THE DEATH AND THE MISERY

Millions of people are losing their homes and their property; thousands are dying, and tons of explosive material are falling on towns and factories. We, people of peace, must offer our mediation, in order to stop the people's death and misery.

In Europe, there are no sure or just borders.

If the Albanians in Kosovo extract Independence, then why should the Hungarians in Vojvodina not do the same? Then the

Hungarian problem would spread to Slovakia and reach the very borders of our country... There should be no shifting of borders in the 21st century, they should be done away with to prevent them being something that divide people but rather something that joins them.

From an appeal by recipients of the Nobel Peace Prize



Hagen (Norway)

www.antlwar.com

Martin Walzer

ERRONEOUS POLICY

The information provided by the media on NATO air strikes is formulated in such a way as to force the viewer or the reader to conclude that those attacks are the right thing to do. Not even a

millimeter of latitude is left for the recipient of the information to judge for himself.

Where I am concerned, I consider any policy leading to war as erroneous.

The claim of the NATO leaders that they are bombing Serbian towns in order to 'save the lives' of Albanian civilians in Kosovo and Metohija rings cynical in one's ears, and they themselves have killed seventy-five such civilians with their bombs.

'Glas Javnosti', Belgrade, April 17, 1999

Peter Worthington

BILL'S PUSH-BUTTON, PLAY-SAFE 'WAR'

...Yugoslavia has got to be the strangest war of the 20th century - and one of the most disquieting. Taki, the great columnist in Britain's Spectator has noted that we went to war to save NATO's credibility by bombing a country that has always fought on our side and to confiscate land Yugoslavia has occupied for centuries and regards as sacred.

Despite the rhetoric of Bill Clinton, Tony Blair and their allies, there has never been genocide in Kosovo, where in the year leading up to air strikes some 2,000 died, roughly equally divided between Serb and KLA atrocities.

As a matter of policy, dictated by President Clinton (the 1960s Vietnam draft-dodger), the U.S. military is ready to kill for its country but not die for it.

The only way war against Yugoslavia could have succeeded in helping Kosovo's Albanians would have been to invade and occupy it as the German Army did in 1941. But that would have meant casualties to our side.

Clinton, Blair, Jean Chretien, et al, don't mind Balkan civilians being killed from 15,000 feet in a remote, antiseptic way that lulls the consciences of those who pull triggers and push buttons, and those who give orders and those who obey them....

...Clinton is safe, but if any tinpot dictator did what he's done he'd be a candidate for a war crimes trial.

Meanwhile, the air war against Yugoslavia continues, with no empty building, TV station, hospital, prison, refugee column, pas-

senger train, residential area, Chinese embassy or innocent civilian safe.

As for the Serb military, NATO daren't risk finding out.

Toronto Sun, May 27, 1999*

Yevgeny Yevtushenko

THE SLEEP OF REASON

(Excerpts)

...Like Raskolnikov, history returns to the scene of its crime. And right now it has returned to the Balkans where at the beginning of the century the first world war began with a shot fired at Archduke Ferdinand. People have reduced the astonishingly beautiful Balkans into a place bewitched, concealing in its crevice-filled rocky crags a serpent's nest of future wars.

Be more careful with the Balkans! If into this nest we too arrogantly start to poke either the toe of a soldier's boot or a colonial master's riding crop, or winged rockets, then the awakened serpents may crawl far afield and one of them, like a cobra, puffing out from a local war into a world war, may possibly destroy the entire globe.

Of course it is amoral to contemplate a fire in a neighbour's house with indifference. But can it be that the only solution is to put the fire out with bombs? It seems the leaders of Nato countries, in taking the decision to bomb Serbs in order to save Albanians, have inexcusably not thought out many factors.

Not everyone in America, and far from everyone in Europe, likes a surgical operation on a purulent ethnic cancer to be carried out with an axe rather than a delicate scalpel.

It may dangerously complicate the relationship of the U.S. and the West with Russia and provoke the future birth of an alternative military alliance, say of China, India, and Russia. And, incidentally, what might happen if Texan separatists who wanted independence from the U.S. were some day to turn to this Chinese-Indian Russian military union with a request for assistance?...

... Do not demonise any nation because somebody might start to demonise your own. The endless procession of completely innocent Albanian refugees moving across the television screen appeals to the mercy of humanity. But so do the burning houses of com-

pletely innocent Serbs. It is tragic that Russia and America watch two completely different wars on television, although it is one and the same war. In the American TV version the Serbs are guilty of everything, and in the Russian version the Americans...

April 29, 1999

Alexander Zinovyev

EXTINCTION AS INTENTION

The present enemies are much stronger than fascist Germany. They are ferocious, merciless, corrupt and mendacious. Their intentions towards us, Russians, and you, Serbs, are identical: they want to kick our heads and finally, make us extinct. We, Russians, have already suffered damage the enemy inflicted on us, damage which is greater than that we had experienced in the war with Germany. We have already been averted to the path of degradation and extinction. Your fate is similar to ours. We have capitulated to this enemy. We have betrayed whatever had been achieved at an enormous cost in the past few years. We have betrayed all those who had stood by us and who had looked up at us with hope. We are now turning into a Western colony. And you are defiant. You are fighting for your independence. I am ashamed on behalf of my people. And I admire your determination to resist the enemy which is ten times, even one hundred times stronger than you are; to resist the enemy when the most powerful Western propaganda showers libelous lies on you, mobilizing hundreds of millions of brainwashed people against you. Your resistance is a historical achievement. Your resistance is not merely a fight for Serbia. It is also a fight for us Russians, who have shamefully deserted the battlefield of history. It is a fight for the whole of mankind, threatened by militant Western imperialism. Whatever the outcome of your resistance to the Western aggressor, you are the winners, by the mere fact that you have stood up to fight for your independence, for your own way. In this struggle of yours, I stand by you. I wish you the strength to persist and endure! Bravo, Serbs!

*Letter to Serbs,
"Večernje Novosti", Belgrade, April 1, 1999*

Prayer for the people of Serbia

GOOD LORD, GIVE THEM PROTECTION

O Lord, You who hold everything in Your hand, listen to our humble prayer for the Orthodox people of Serbia.

We pray to Your Grace for our Orthodox brothers who suffer and whose sacred field of Kosovo, their highest altar, is preyed upon by the villains who had driven out their Serbian forefathers – the villains who insult their women and girls and have no mercy for women and children.

We remember the goodness that we and our fathers received from our Serbian brothers when we fled suffering and torture by the infidels – our Serbian brothers took us into the land of their fathers. We pray to You, who are goodness Yourself, protect them in this life from their enemies and grant them salvation and eternal joy in the life to come, in the prayers of the Holy Mother and Saint Sava, the Holy Prince of Serbia and all Saints, Slav and Universal.

Save Your people, Omnipotent Lord, and take the gratitude and honour we lay before You; in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, in the name of the Holy Trinity of the Lord who is one and only, now and for ever. Amen.

*The prayer has been read in
Russian Orthodox Churches
since the beginning of NATO bombing of Yugoslavia*



El Roto (Spain)

"El País", May 1999

THE TIN DRUM OF FASCISM

Provoked by the statement in which Guenter Grass supported the NATO aggression against Yugoslavia, the "Vecernje Novosti" daily started the "Take Your Books Back, Herr Grass" initiative. Many readers and public figures have reacted to the shameful words uttered by the writer, the words a humanist and a man of letters should never let slip his lips. Individuals and libraries have already sent copies of Grass' books to the "Novosti" Editorial Office.

Among the first to support the idea of collecting a copy of each title (but not all copies) by Guenter Grass and sending him the books complete with 'dedications' was Mr. Željko Simić, Minister of Culture. Still, those who were hurt the most by Grass' statement were the experts of German language and literature, the people who not only know Grass' work in depth, but have known Grass in person and have always believed he would take the right side. Dr. Zoran Konstantinović, member of the Serbian Academy, knows Grass in person and remembers very well his last visit to Belgrade. He says: "This is one of those grave moral crises when a great writer may give in. Unfortunately, a great discrepancy has now shown between the literary values and moral principles in this writer. I have always believed him to be, and, indeed, he was a representative of the generation of German writers who were the conscience of the German people after World War Two. He had put it in his writing and in his political stand."

The symbolic "Novosti" initiative has gained support from well known German language and literature experts, such as Zlatko Krasni, Mirko Krivokapić, Branimir Živojinović, Slobodan Grubačić, Radomir Smiljanić, Tomislav Bekić and many publishers and librarians. Over 40 libraries from Serbia have joined the initiative by contributing one or two copies of Grass' books. Most librarians have taken a common stand – send a symbolic copy or two, but keep Grass books on the shelves for future readers.

WHO'S WHO IN THIS BOOK

- AL-WADISOHI, dean of the High Music Conservatory in Damascus, conductor of the Syrian National Symphonic Orchestra
AKHMADULINA BELA, Russian poet
ALEXELII, Patriarch of Moscow and of all Russia
ANGELOPOULOS THEO, Greek film director, winner of the "Golden Palm" in Cannes
APOLIN ALEXANDER, Czech conductor
BARDOT BRIGITTE, French film actress
BARNET RUDI, Belgian film worker, director of the Organization for the Promotion of the Walloon Film in Brussels
BARR JEAN-MARC, French actor
BARRIOT PATRICK, colonel in the French army, served in Serb Krajina in the Blue Helmets battalion. Together with EVE CREPIN, he wrote the book entitled "They are killing a Nation", devoted to the Serbs
BELOHRADSKY VACLAV, Czech philosopher
BENI STEFANO, Italian satirist
BERTOLUCCI BERNARDO, Italian film director
BESSON PATRICK, French novelist, recipient of the French Academy Award, member of the Association of Writers of Serbia
BUCHANAN PATRICK J., U.S. politician, candidate for the U.S. presidency
BUEY FRANCISCO FERNANDEZ, Spanish philosopher, university professor
BUFFALO CHARLES, U.S. intellectual of Indian origin
BURCHILL JULIE, British journalist, columnist in "The Guardian"
BURNS RICHARD, British poet and translator
CHOMSKY NOAM, U.S. linguist
CLAIR JEAN, Director of the Picasso Museum, an art historian, and writer
CLARK RAMSEY, lawyer, lecturer and writer from New York, former U.S. Attorney General
COELHO PAULO, Brazilian writer
-

DEBRAY REGIS, French writer and philosopher
 DUKOVSKI DEJAN, Macedonian playwright
 DUTOURD JEAN, French Academician
 FARAH JOSEPH, editor of the "Worldnet Daily Internet site"
 FISK ROBERT, journalist and columnist of the "Independent", London
 FO DARIO, Italian writer, winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature
 FUENTES CARLOS, Mexican writer
 GALLO MAX, French novelist, former socialist minister
 GARRAUD MARIE-FRANCE, director of the Institute for Geo-Political studies in Paris
 GIANCANE DANIEL, writer and director of the "La Valiza" publishing house in Bari
 GORBACHOV MIKHAIL, former leader of the Soviet Union, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize
 GOTH RICHARD, British columnist
 GOY EDWARD, professor at the University of Cambridge
 GRIOTTERAY ALAIN, French publicist
 HACKWORTH DAVID, U.S. colonel, eminent military commentator
 HAMPSON DAVID, professor at Brown University '75
 HANDKE PETER, Austrian writer
 HARRIS MICHAEL, columnist of the "Toronto Sun"
 HOKAMA HIROSHI, president of Chuo University in Japan
 JENKINS SIMON, columnist of "The Times", London
 KAHN JEAN-FRANCOIS, French journalist
 KISSINGER HENRY, former U.S. Secretary of State
 KONIDARILIRINE, Greek theatre director
 KONRAD GYORGY, Hungarian writer and philosopher
 KOREMAN YAKOV ISRAILIEVICH, professor at the State Technical Academy in Voronezh, Russia
 KOSIK KAREL, Czech philosopher
 LAPORTE CLAUDE, Swiss legal expert
 LUBKIVSKY ROMAN, Ukrainian poet and translator, member of the Ukrainian PEN Club
 J. P. MAHER, Ph. D. is Professor Emeritus of Linguistics, Northwestern Illinois University Chicago
 MAHEOUS NAGUIB, Egyptian writer, Nobel Prize winner
 MAILER NORMAN, U.S. novelist
 MANDIC IGOR, Croatian writer and publicist
 MARAMAO GIACOMO, Italian philosopher and expert in political studies

MARQUEZ GABRIEL GARCIA, Colombian writer, Nobel Prize winner
 MIHALKOV NIKITA, Russian film director, Academy Award winner
 NAMBIAR SATISH, Indian general, who was commander of the peace forces in Bosnia in 1992 and 1993
 ORGNANI FERDINANDO VICENTINI, Italian film director
 ORTIS JAVIER, Spanish publicist
 PASQUA CHARLES, French politician, former minister
 PINTER HAROLD, British playwright
 RUTH JOEL, M.A. in history, lived in Central Europe for over a decade
 RYAN TOM, director of Epsilon Research, London
 SARAMAGO JOSE, Portuguese writer, Nobel Prize winner
 SCHIFFER DANIEL SALVATORE, French philosopher
 SCHMELLING ELMAR, former Admiral of the Fleet of the West German Navy, former head of the Bundeswehr military intelligence service, who has charged his government on account of the aggression against Yugoslavia
 SHENTALINSKI VITALY, Russian writer
 SIAOSHENG LIYANG, Chinese writer
 SOLZHENITSYN ALEXANDER, Russian writer, Nobel Prize winner
 THEODOPILOS THAKIS, Greek writer
 THEODORAKIS MIKIS, Greek composer
 TODOROV TZVETAN, French essayist of Bulgarian origin, director of the National Center for Scientific Research in Paris
 VOYNOVICH VLADIMIR, Russian writer
 VOLKOFF VLADIMIR, French writer
 WALENSA LECH, former leader of the Polish Solidarity Movement, former President of Poland, Nobel Peace Prize winner
 WALZER MARTIN, German writer
 WORTHINGTON PETER, columnist of the "Toronto Sun"
 YEVTUSHENKO YEVGENY, Russian poet
 ZINOVYEV ALEXANDER, Russian writer

TABLE OF CONTENTS

The right of the stronger and the right of the weaker	7
A cronologu of the violence	11
Statements made by world intellectuals on the killing of Jugoslavia	59
Sohi Al-Wadi	61
Bella Akhmadulina	61
Aleksel II	62
Theo Angelopoulos	63
Alexander Apollin	63
Brigitte Bardot	64
Rudi Barnet	64
Jean Marc Barr	65
Patrick Barriot and Eve Crepin	66
Vaclav Belohradsky	67
Stefano Benl	67
Bernardo Bertolucci	68
Patrick Besson	69
Patrick J. Buchanan	70
Francisco Fernandez Buey	70
Charles Buffalo	71
Julie Burchill	72
Richard Burns	75
Noam Chomsky	78
Jean Clair	83
Ramsey Clark	87
Paulo Coelho	88
Regis Debray	89
Dejan Dukovski	90
Jean Dutourd	91
Joseph Farah	92
Robert Fisk	92
Dario Fo	95
Carlos Fuentes	96
Max Gallo	96
Marie-France Garraud	97
Daniel Glancane	98
Richard Gott	99
Mikhail Gorbatschov	100
Edward Goy	100

Alain Grotteray	101
Colonel David Hackworth	102
David Hampson	103
Peter Handke	108
Michael Harris	108
Hiroshi Hokama	109
Simon Jenkins	110
Jean Francois Kahn	111
Henry Kissinger	113
Irine Konidari	114
Gyorgy Konrad	115
Yakov Israilievich Korenman	117
Karel Kosik	118
Claude Laporté	119
Roman Lubkivsky	120
J. P. Maher	121
Naguib Mahfous	122
Norman Mailer	123
Igor Mandić	124
Giacomo Maramao	125
Gabriel Garcia Marquez	126
Nikita Mikhalkov	129
Lt General Satish Nambiar	130
Ferdinando Vicentini Orgnani	131
Javier Ortiz	131
Charles Pasqua and Max Gallo	132
Harold Pinter	134
Tom Ryan	135
Joel Ruth	136
Jose Saramago	138
Daniel Schlffer	138
Elmar Schmelling	138
Vitaly Shentalinski	139
Liyang Slaosheng	140
Alexander Solzhenitsyn	141
Thakls Theodopoulos	141
Mikis Theodorakis	142
Tzvetan Todorov	143
Vladimir Voynovich	143
Vladimir Volkoff	144
Lech Walensa	144
Martin Walzer	145
Peter Worthington	146
Yevgeny Yevtushenko	147
Alexander Zinovyev	148
Prauer for the people of Serbia	149
The tin drum of fascism	151

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