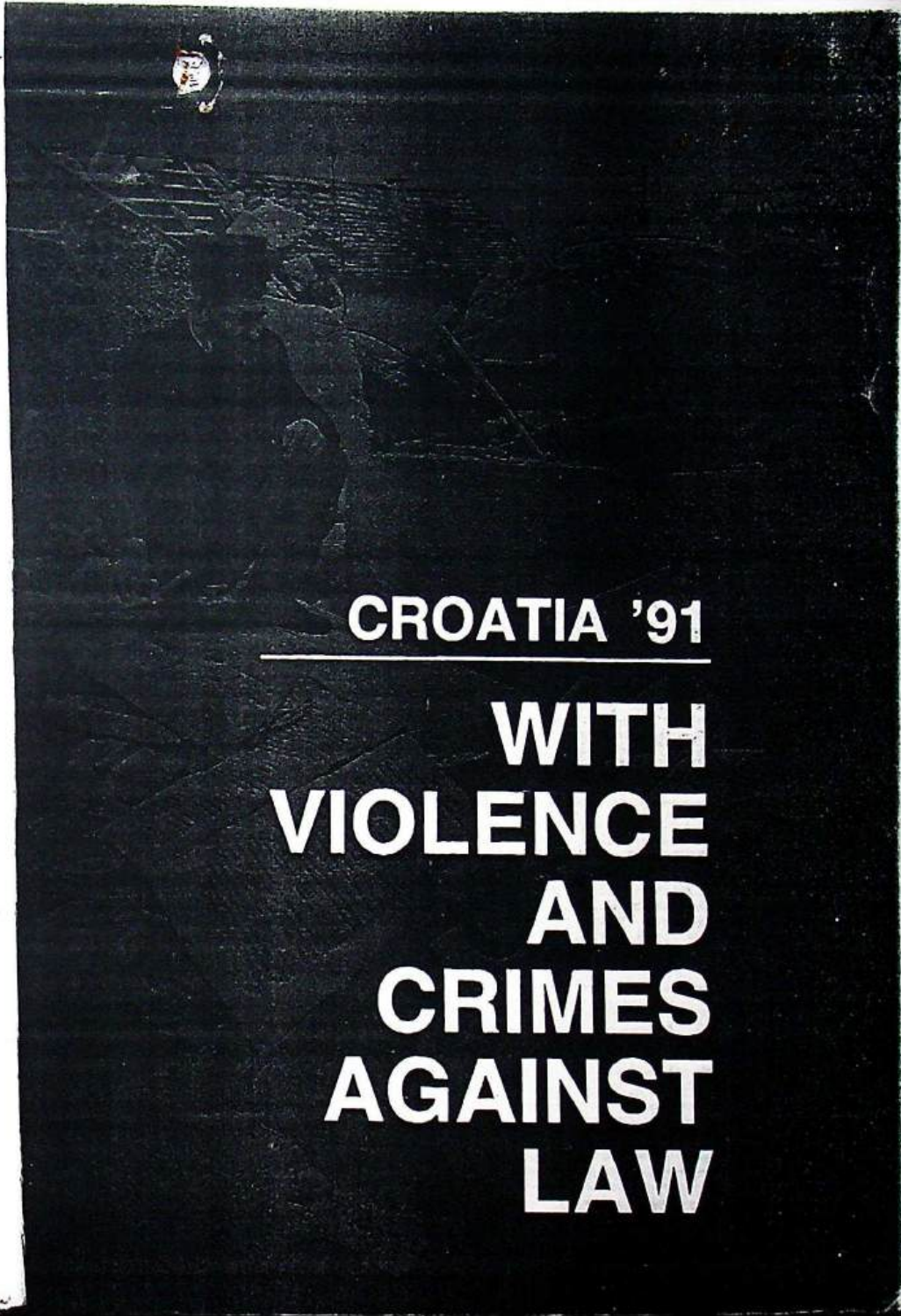


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Joegoslavie

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CROATIA '91

**WITH
VIOLENCE
AND
CRIMES
AGAINST
LAW**



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Cover Illustration: Destroyed Serbian Orthodox Church in Petrinja



*genij odgovara
Hercegovač.*

CROATIA '91

**WITH
VIOLENCE
AND
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I

**GENERAL
CONDITIONS AND
CHARACTERISTICS
OF THE ARMED
CONFLICT IN
CROATIA**



INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

No sooner did the barrels cool after the "dirty" war in Slovenia than the armed conflict in Croatia broke out and rather than calm down, it gains momentum with every day threatening to escalate to a general and total civil war in Yugoslavia. When, how and why did it all begin?

It is difficult to find an all-embracing answer satisfying everybody. Historians would in all likelihood say that the beginnings ought to be traced back to 2nd December 1918, the day following the constitution of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Or, should it be 1941 when the genocide over the Serbs in the Independent State of Croatia started? Some others, again, might argue that it draws its roots from an inadequate denazification of Croatia in 1945 and later. Or should we date it to 1974 when the new Constitution of the S.F.R. Yugoslavia was promulgated?

This is by no means the end of the list of possible answers and, after all, a definitive answer is of no particular consequence for our purpose. One thing, however, is certain: like its predecessor, this armed conflict is the result of many years of destructiveness, erosion of the federal jurisdiction and powers and anti-Yugoslav activities. Little by little, it ate into the Yugoslav federation and the Yugoslav idea itself producing inter-ethnic friction and even open inter-ethnic conflicts. All the efforts invested by men of reason and judiciousness to overcome peacefully the crisis in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia by solving its problems timely and adequately, yielded no fruit. They were thwarted by those who were unexcelled in paying a lip service to a democratic and civilised dialogue as a way out of the crisis.

Through its representatives in the Assembly of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (hereinafter: the Federal Parliament) and other federal agencies Croatia, together with Slovenia, obstructed the adoption of any changes conducive to a solution.

Not content with this obstruction, the Republic of Croatia began to adopt unilateral acts openly and unabashedly violating the Yugoslav constitutional order and to change, arbitrarily and without the consent of other federal constituents, its constitutional status in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia – often to the detriment of other federal constituents. The policy pursued by the new Croatian government was geared to the secession from Yugoslavia and the creation of an autonomous Croatian state.

Federal agencies, composed of representatives of all the Yugoslav republics, could not prevent the developments. Rulings of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia that such unilateral acts were unconstitutional, were completely ignored or, which is absurd from the constitutional law point of view, proclaimed nul and void.

This resulted in a reaction and self-organization of the Serbian people in Croatia. Croatian policies focusing on the creation of an independent Croatian state rekindled the Serbs' fears that there might be a repetition of the 1941–1945 genocide. The first misgivings were felt during the election campaign when the then candidate for the Croatian president Tudjman declared that the Independent State of Croatia had also been "an expression of the historical aspirations of the Croatian people". They grew into a well-founded fear when only Croats in Croatia were given arms and when party (Croatian Democratic Union) paramilitary formations were set up alongside an

enormous expansion of the regular and reserve police force.

In response to such moves of the Croatian authorities, the Serbs begin to create their political organization, conduct a referendum manifesting their wish to remain in Yugoslavia and establish their own police force and authorities. Barricades are raised on the approaches to Serb settlements and the autonomy of Serb lands in Croatia is proclaimed.

Instead of resorting to political means, the Croatian authorities responded with reprisals. Serbs lose their jobs. New laws and regulations increasingly refute the legal order of the S.F.R. Yugoslavia. Police stations are opened in Serb villages and towns hitherto without them. Armed incidents (Pakrac, Plitvice, Borovo Selo) take place.

A fuse has been introduced into a powder keg and all it needed was a spark. This deficiency is overcome: on June 25, 1991 Croatia declares its independence and suspends the Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Shortly afterwards, the "young democracy" undertakes to settle the accounts with "bandits, chetniks, log-revolutionaries, Serbocommunists" which are only some of the names they gave to self-organized Serbs. The spark flashed and the powder keg went up in flames.



THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT

Croatian official representatives always and invariably pronounce themselves in favour of a democratic solution to the Yugoslav crisis. Moreover, they miss no occasion to define the new order in the Republic of Croatia as a "young democracy".

Anybody with the slightest notion of democracy knows that it, above all, means that the procedure in addressing any issue needs to be strictly respected. With reference to the Croatian people's exercise of the right to secede, which the Croatian authorities' representatives invoke, the only democratic way is to respect the rules stipulated by the Constitution of the S.F.R. Yugoslavia. If one is to be objective, any other method is a violent method, legally and factually.

A glance at the relevant provisions of the Yugoslav Constitution suffices to show that Croatia's acts are in drastic contravention of that constitution hence violent.

Constitutional Definition of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

Article 2 of the Constitution of the S.F.R. Yugoslavia explicitly states that the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia consists of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Socialist Republic of Croatia, the Socialist Republic of Macedonia the Socialist Republic of Montenegro, the Socialist Republic of Serbia, the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo,

which are constituent parts of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, and the Socialist Republic of Slovenia.

Article 5 stipulates that the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is a single unified whole and consisting of the territories of the socialist republics; the territory of a republic may not be altered without the consent of that republic, and the frontiers of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia may not be altered without the consent of all the republics and autonomous provinces.

Basic Principles of the Constitution of the S.F.R. Yugoslavia, Chapter VII, para. 2, subpara. 3, moreover, guarantee the right of every nation to self-determination and national independence.

The above provisions clearly show that the Croatian people could pursue, and should have pursued, its goal: self-determination, in a manner prescribed thereby, all the more so as no one in Yugoslavia contested this right and does not contest it today. The only demand was to exercise it peacefully, democratically, in agreement with the other republics and the federal state rather than by unilateral acts.

It needs to be borne in mind also that the Croatian people can exercise its right to self-determination by seceding from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. In that state, S.F.R. Yugoslavia, all its constituent peoples (Croats, Serbs, Slovenes, Macedonians, Montenegrins, Moslems) have equal and identical rights throughout the Yugoslav state territory and regardless of the republic they live in. It means that no one of these peoples is a minority in any one of the republics and that they all have an equal right to self-determination. In other words, if the Croats

not be denied to the Serbs; if the Croats wish to exercise this right by seceding from Yugoslavia, then the Serbs have the right to remain in Yugoslavia exercising thereby their right to self-determination. It goes without saying that this right cannot be absolute: it needs to be defined according to the majority population living in a territory. It is clear that even if the right to self-determination is interpreted in the above manner, it is very difficult to exercise it in practice, particularly when the population is as mixed as in Yugoslavia. It is for this reason that it needs to be considered carefully and with utmost caution.

Rather than accept this interpretation of the right to self-determination, Croatia has tried, and is trying, to convert it into the republican right to self-determination which does not exist in the international law. Probably for this reason the new Croatian authorities defined Croatia in the new Constitution of the Republic of Croatia as "the national state of the Croatian people and the state of members of other peoples and minorities who are its citizens: Serbs, Moslems, Slovenes, Czechs, Slovaks, Italians, Hungarians, Jews and others..."

In view of the former constitutional definition of Croatia as "the state of the Croatian and Serbian people", it is clear that the new definition is an attempt to make the Serbian people, a constituent people in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Croatia, a national minority. It is evident that this Croatian constitution, promulgated contrary to the wishes of the Serbian people, contravenes blatantly the provisions of the Yugoslav Constitution.

The new Constitution of the Republic of Croatia served as a basis for the programme of Croatia's unilateral and anticonstitutional independence. The efforts of the Serb representatives in

the Assembly of Croatia to resist such developments notwithstanding, this option is rapidly put into operation. "Croatization" gains momentum in Croatia: the Assembly of Croatia becomes the Croatian Assembly, the Writers' Union of Croatia becomes the Croatian Writers' Union and so on and so forth. New regulations are adopted conducive also to the operationalization of the projected independence.

Reasonable requests of the Serbian people for cultural autonomy are resolutely rejected and intensified repression and total disregard for the political stands of the Serbian people ensue.

The developments presented briefly in our introductory remarks snowballed into ever-greater divergencies threatening with the outbreak of an armed conflict. This was further encouraged by the rapid and illegal armament of Croatia, establishment of paramilitary armed formations, distribution of weapons to Croats only. It was inexorably leading to an armed conflict and only those who deliberately turned a blind eye, did not see it.

Federal Army's Role in Preventing Inter-Ethnic Conflict

Under such circumstances, the only objective force which could prevent inter-ethnic conflicts was the Yugoslav People's Army which is – according to the still effective Constitution of the S.F.R. Yugoslavia – the common Armed Force of all the peoples and minorities in Yugoslavia. As a federal armed force, the Yugoslav People's Army can perform its mission emerging from its constitutional duty to protect the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and constitutional order

14 of Yugoslavia only if so decided by the Presidency

of the S.F.R. Yugoslavia (hereinafter: Federal Presidency) as the collegial supreme commander of the Armed Forces.

The public already knows that on January 9, 1991, the Federal Presidency ordered to disband and disarm all the paramilitary formations and armed civilians and store all arms in depots under the control of the YPA and relevant republic agencies.

None of these measures were enforced. In spite of their repeated promises to cooperate with relevant YPA and other federal agencies, republican authorities resisted all attempts to establish such cooperation. Moreover, various measures and steps undertaken by them were geared to preventing even the relevant military agencies from complying with the commitments deriving from the order.

Rather than contribute to the disarmament of the illegal armed formations, the relevant republican agencies tried to legalize them by converting armed civilians-conscripts into militia reserves. Instead of demobilizing their reserve militia force, as envisaged by the Order, Croatian authorities undertook openly to create a republican army. Illegal arms imports and armament of the civilian population, based exclusively on ethnic criteria (Croats) continued under their immediate supervision and organization.

Its reiterated suggestions notwithstanding, the YPA did not get the Federal Presidency's authorisation to use force and disarm the illegal armed formations and armed civilians in the Republic of Croatia and the armament continued with ever-greater intensity. The armaments which these armies receive and their publicly stated purpose indicate that their chief mission is to fight against the federal army and secure the enforce-

15

ment of their republic's unilateral decisions, that is prevent the federal agencies from discharging the federal state functions on the territory of the Republic of Croatia as spelled out by the federal Constitution.

Mono-ethnic republican armed formations intensified justifiable fears of the Serbian people and, having already politically organized itself, it also began to procure arms. The outcome was growing inter-ethnic tension which, in its turn, led to first inter-ethnic collisions.

These developments forced the Federal Parliament to consider the situation. At its session of May 10, 1991, its Federal Chamber adopted Conclusions "resolutely requesting to immediately stop armed clashes, any form of violence, to demobilize the police, that is militia reserve formations, organize the collection of arms from the citizens under the relevant agencies' supervision, conduct a detailed investigation relative to armed conflict, victims and material damage and punish the perpetrators of these acts according to statute".

"The Federal Chamber points out that the Yugoslav People's Army, as the armed force of all the peoples and minorities in Yugoslavia should continue to discharge its functions throughout the Yugoslav territory as stipulated by the Constitution of the SFR Yugoslavia and Federal statutes and to gear its activities to the prevention of inter-ethnic conflicts. It condemns all attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army, its members, facilities and equipment and demanded that the conditions necessary for the discharge of its constitutional role be provided".

Nonetheless, inter-ethnic clashes grew in intensity and the number of areas affected by inter-ethnic intolerance and conflict began to in-

crease persistently. In addition to Kninska Krajina, the conflicts in almost all parts of Croatia with mixed population began to gain momentum. Tension grew with every day affecting ever-new areas. Violent acts perpetrated by armed civilians, members of the regular and reserve police force, and armed clashes became a daily occurrence.

The Yugoslav People's Army committed itself to separating the parties to the conflict so as to prevent larger inter-ethnic clashes which would have otherwise probably escalated to tragic proportions much earlier and taken a much heavier toll. In other words, in the absence of other federal forces, the federal army had to assume the role which is normally that of the police. Eventhough not trained for such tasks, the federal army discharged this mission rather successfully and resorted to force only when the lives of its members were threatened.

Throughout period the Federal Secretariat for National Defence consistently drew the attention of relevant federal and republican agencies to the looming danger of an escalating armed conflict which could result in a civil war and proposed measures which could eliminate this threat. All responsible agencies were repeatedly warned that in the areas in question the situation was such that the least provocation might induce escalation to a point when things would escape any control. It was said that even though the federal army was fully prepared, it was impossible to monitor every village and every town and that a sudden escalation of inter-ethnic clashes could result in a large number of victims.

Rather than be rationally considered and acted upon, the proposals of the Federal Secretariat for National Defence met with complete obstruction in the federal agencies. The federat pre-

sidency, as the collegial supreme commander of the Armed Forces of the S.F.R. Yugoslavia discussed the proposals of the Federal Secretariat for National Defence on various occasions in a sterile attempt to stop further escalation of the conflict. The obstruction of all proposals by the federal presidency members from Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia precluded any efficient solution.

The situation continued to deteriorate with every day. While separating the parties to the conflict, the federal army units were increasingly exposed to attacks by armed formations of the Republic of Croatia. Moreover, they were increasingly forced to return the fire in order to protect the lives of their men. Croatian armed formations also began increasingly to attack stationary YPA facilities (barracks, depots etc.) housing federal army units and equipment which had in no way taken part in the separation of the conflicting parties. Trains transporting federal army units and equipment from the territory of Slovenia were intercepted and the freight – armaments and equipment – looted. Yugoslav People's Army barracks and units, training centres, YPA clubs, and even military hospitals were surrounded with barricades.

YPA members and their families were increasingly exposed to insults, harassment, and even physical threats throughout Croatia. Arrests and dismissal from work of their family members, pressures against them at their places of work and in schools began. YPA members, soldiers in particular, were invited to leave and desert from their units. Individual prominent YPA members were publicly accused in mass media of being enemies of the Croatian people or even war

Such behaviour indicated clearly that the new Croatian government had realized that the Yugoslav People's Army was the major, if not the only real, obstacle standing in the way of the increasingly obvious intent of the Croatian authorities to build a pure ethnic state and not a democratic one as they have been declaring. Ever since the new constitution of the Republic of Croatia was promulgated, it has been quite clear that its basic intent was to deprive the Serbian people in Croatia of its rights of a constituent people and subordinate it fully to the Croatian people's will. When the Serbian people organized itself so as to prevent further evolution in that direction, it only helped to render public hitherto covert fascistoid plans of the current Croatian government. While it cannot be denied that some extremist representatives of the Serbian people contributed to the mounting tension, it is indisputable that the cause of this absurd armed conflict rests with the injudicious aspirations of the Croatian authorities to refrain from no means: from eradication of the national feeling to coerced emigration to physical extermination in order to cleanse their "young democracy" from undesirable Serbs. However, facts are obstinate: even though they had organized themselves, the Serbs never physically endangered the Croatian people, never attacked or captured a Croatian village. Quite the contrary: invited to defend the "young democracy", Croatian armed formations, took up arms and set out for Serbian villages. In view of the tragic Serbian experience, the only logical and possible response was the armed resistance to the authorities threatening with an open genocide. And how else is one to understand a statement made by Vladimir Šeks, Vice-President of the Assembly of Croatia, judge in the

Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia, Head of the Crisis Committee for Slavonia, that after all that had happened, there was no longer room for both the Serbs and the Croats in the Croatian lands and that after the termination of the conflict only one of those two peoples could go on living there.

Its constitutional role and mission made the YPA an objective and powerful obstacle impeding the operationalization of these irrational Croatia's goals. It was thus very logical that its units became the target of Croatian armed formations' attacks.

Today, there is no more doubt that in addition to the abovementioned chief reason for the decision to attack the federal army units, the Croatian authorities were encouraged in this by the injudicious support lent them by some European countries abetting the separatist intent to bring about the disintegration of Yugoslavia as a federal state and the only international legal subject on this territory. It is common knowledge that first Austria, then Germany, and even Hungary constantly "threatened" that they would recognize Croatia unless the armed clashes were discontinued. It is evident that it encouraged Croatia enough to pursue recognition by continuing provocation even though every lawyer cannot but realize that the conditions spelled out by the international law as indispensable if an entity is to be considered as a state, i.e. an equitable subject of the international law, have not been met.

All this taken together was conducive to Croatia's conflict primarily with the Serbian people and the Yugoslav People's Army. The road chosen by the "young democracy" leads nowhere but to the tragedy of the Serbian and the Croatian peoples. It is not late yet for Croatia to amend its ways and embark upon the road of concertation

and peaceful solution of all disputes which alone can lead to a civilized settlement of the Serbo-Croat relations.

From the constitutional law point of view it is quite clear that the armed conflict started by Croatia constituting an armed rebellion against the legal and legitimate authorities of the S.F.R. Yugoslavia.

It is also quite clear that no state in the world professing the rule of the law would tolerate it. It is a direct attack on the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the federal state which is the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. That state had to prevent it equally according to the rules governing its internal legal order and the rules spelled out by the international law.

The Federal Army Acts in Line with the Federal Constitution

The events in the Republic of Croatia clearly show that the Yugoslav People's Army units have engaged only to prevent inter-ethnic conflicts in conformity with the Conclusions of the Federal Chamber of the Federal Parliament. The purpose of the engagement was to provide conditions for a peaceful and democratic solution to the Yugoslav crisis. This statement is supported by the manner in which the YPA units operate, refraining from the use of force whenever this is possible. When forced to open fire so as to repel an attack, they do it only inasmuch as it is necessary and using weapons that will not cause massive and needless destruction of human life and material wealth.

Although the federal army has not set out to wage war against the Republic of Croatia or the

Croatian people but to perform a specific mission emerging from its constitutional role, Croatian armed formations and a misguided part of the Croatian people give vent to an incomprehensible hatred towards everything that has to do with the Army or Yugoslavia and the Serbian people. The hatred, as their motive for the struggle against the alleged aggressor makes them "forget" all rules of the humanitarian law and commit acts surpassing even the "specialties" of the almost forgotten fascist war and propaganda machinery.

Persistent violations of the truce and the fact that the YPA units suffer their heaviest casualties during the agreed ceasefire intervals evidence that the Croatian authorities are not interested in peace and peaceful solution to the Yugoslav crisis. Instead, they set out to provoke new armed clashes by all means and resources at their disposal; from armed assaults on the units to attacks on the dignity of YPA members and their families to sieges of barracks and military facilities, and then lay the blame on the federal army again.

II

THE ARMED CONFLICT IN CROATIA AND THE INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW

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An armed conflict is always brutal because it causes human losses and inflicts suffering. However, ever since the first use of arms in the human history there have been in existence certain rules determining the behaviour of the parties to the conflict. Once upon a time they belonged to the sphere of common law; today there is a code of conduct in the armed conflict and the rules spelled out in it have been subscribed to by all civilised peoples.

The raison d'être of these rules is to prevent unnecessary sufferings of the parties to a conflict and individuals not taking part in it, and unnecessary destruction of material wealth. The respect of these rules is imperative if the armed conflict is not to degenerate into bestial killing and wanton destruction which do not contribute to the realization of the objective of an armed conflict as perceived by the parties concerned and cannot be excused by a military necessity.

Rules Relative to Internal Armed Conflicts

From the international law point of view the armed conflict in Croatia is an internal conflict. The international code regulating the conduct in armed conflicts does not apply always to internal conflicts as it refers primarily to international armed conflicts, that is conflicts arising between subjects of the international law. This, however, does not go to say that internal conflicts are beyond the concern of the international law. Quite the reverse: these conflicts are also regulated by the international humanitarian law. Its rules consti-

tute the minimum standards of conduct imposed by the international law on all parties to such armed conflicts.

The principal and in all likelihood the most important source of law containing the international legal regulations relative to internal armed conflicts such as the one in Croatia, is the Additional Protocol to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 relating to the protection of victims of non-international armed conflicts (Protocol II) of 1977.

Its provisions apply to all armed conflict "which take place in the territory of a High Contracting Party between its armed forces and dissident armed forces or other organized armed groups which, under responsible command, exercise such control over a part of its territory as to enable them to carry out sustained and concerted military operations and to implement this Protocol".

The facts presented in Part I make it evident that there are conditions for the implementation of Protocol II and that both parties to the conflict are bound to implement it. The Protocol includes a series of provisions providing a rather broad protection of participants in armed conflicts, and specially those not actively involved in the conflict. The text of the Protocol is enclosed herewith and there is no need to make an in-depth analysis of its provisions. Nonetheless, it seems opportune to quote Part II **in toto** because it regulates the humane treatment and prescribes fundamental guarantees to persons who do not take a direct part or have ceased to take part in hostilities (Article 4) and the provisions contained in Article 5 regulating the protection of persons whose liberty has been restricted. These provisions read as follows:



Article 4

Fundamental guarantees

1. All person who do not take a direct part or who have ceased to take part in hostilities, whether or not their liberty has been restricted, are entitled to respect for their person, honour and convictions and religious practices. They shall in all circumstances be treated humanely, without any adverse distinction. It is prohibited to order that shall be no survivors.

2. Without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing, the following acts against the persons referred to in paragraph 1 are and shall remain prohibited at any time and any place whatsoever:

(a) *violence to the life health and physical or mental well-being of persons, in particular murder as well as cruel treatment such as torture-mutilation or any form of corporal punishment;*

(b) *collective punishments;*

(c) *taking of hostages;*

(d) *acts of terrorism;*

(e) *outrages upon personal dignity, in particular humiliating and degrading treatment, rape enforced prostitution and any form of indecent assault;*

(f) *slavery and the slave trade in all their forms;*

(g) *pillage;*

(h) *treats to commit any of the foregoing acts.*

3. Children shall be provided with the care and aid they require, and in particular:

(a) *they shall receive education, including religious and moral education, in keeping with the wishes of their parents or, in the absence of parents, of those responsible for their care;*

(b) all appropriate steps shall be taken to facilitate the reunion of families temporarily separated;

(c) children who have not attained the age of fifteen years shall neither be recruited in the armed forces or groups nor allowed to take part in hostilities;

(d) the special protection provided by this Article to children who have not attained the age of fifteen years shall remain applicable to them if they take a direct part in hostilities despite the provisions of sub-paragraph (c) and are captured;

(e) measures shall be taken, if necessary, and whenever possible with the consent of their parents who by law or custom are primarily responsible for their care, to remove children temporarily from the area in which hostilities are taking place or a safer area within the country and ensure that they are accompanied by persons responsible for their safety and well-being.

Article 5

Persons whose liberty has been restricted

1. In addition to the provisions of Article 4, the following provisions shall be respected as a minimum with regard to persons deprived of their liberty for reasons related to the armed-conflict, whether they are interned or detained:

(a) the wounded and the sick shall be treated in accordance with Article 7;

(b) the persons referred to in this paragraph shall, to the same extent as the local civilian population be provided with food and drinking

water and be afforded safeguards as regards health and hygiene and protection against the rigours of the climate and the dangers of the armed conflict;

(c) they shall be allowed to receive individual or collective relief;

(d) they shall be allowed to practise their religion and, if requested and appropriate to receive spiritual assistance from persons, such as chaplains, performing religious functions;

(e) they shall, if made to work, have the benefit of working conditions and safeguards similar to those enjoyed by the local civilian population.

2. Those who are responsible for the internment or detention of the persons referred to in paragraph 1 shall also, within the limits of their capabilities, respect the following provisions relating to such persons:

(a) except when men and women of a family are accommodated together, women shall be held in quarters separated from those of men and shall be under the immediate supervision of women;

(b) they shall be allowed to send receive letters and cards, the number of which may be limited by competent authority if it deems necessary;

(c) places of internment and detention shall not be located close to the combat zone. The persons referred to in paragraph 1 shall be evacuated when the places where they are interned or detained become particularly exposed to danger arising out of the armed conflict, if their evacuation can be carried out under adequate conditions of safety;

(d) they shall have the benefit of medical examinations;

(e) *their physical or mental health and integrity shall not be endangered by any unjustified act or omission. Accordingly, it is prohibited to subject the persons described in this Article to any medical procedure which is not indicated by the state of health of the person concerned, and which is not consistent with the generally accepted medical standards applied to free persons under similar medical circumstances.*

3. Persons who are not covered by paragraph 1 but whose liberty has been restricted in any way whatsoever for reasons related to the armed conflict shall be treated humanely in accordance with Article 4 and with paragraphs 1 (a), (c) and (d), and 2 (b) of this Article.

4. If it is decided to release persons deprived of their liberty, necessary measures to ensure their safety shall be taken by those so deciding.

Protocol II includes also provisions relative to the protection of wounded, sick and shipwrecked, medical and religious personnel, medical profession, and medical units and transports (Part III, Art. 7-12). Part IV of Protocol II addresses the protection of the civilian population, objects indispensable to its survival, protection of works and installations containing dangerous forces, and cultural objects and places of worship.

In addition to these rules many rules deriving from the international common law applicable to the conduct of armed struggle and thereby to internal armed conflicts such as the armed conflict in Croatia should have been applied also. These rules are spelled out in the Regulations Concerning the Laws and Customs of War on Land, annexed to the IV Hague Convention of 1907 and prohibit the attack on unarmed persons or persons who have laid down arms, persons not taking part

in the combat, wounded or sick placed **hors de combat**, military medical institutions and transport and the like.

The behaviour in this armed conflict should have been determined by de Martens Clause in the introductory part to the IV Hague Convention of 1907. It is a common law clause whose implementation may not be called into question. It reads:

"Until a more complete code of the laws of war has been issued, the High Contracting Parties deem it expedient to declare that, in cases not included in the Regulations adopted by them, the inhabitants and the belligerents remain under protection and the rule of the principles of the law of nations, as they result from the usages established among civilised peoples, from the laws of humanity, and the dictates of the public conscience."

It needs to be pointed out once again that these rules are equally binding on all parties to the conflict and on all individuals taking part in it. The differences as may exist between the parties regarding the responsibility for the outbreak of the conflict, the goal of the conflict and the like may be open to dispute but under no circumstances may they affect the attitude to the international rules governing armed conflicts. All parties are bound to respect those rules unconditionally and equally with regard to any party or individual taking part in, or affected by, the conflict. The commencement of an aggressive war or other possible "offences" do not deprive that party of the right to request that the international legal rules governing armed conflicts be applied to it, nor do they relieve it of the duty to respect them itself.

It should also be mentioned that the violations of the humanitarian law are sanctioned as criminal offences in the Criminal Code of the S.F.R. Yugoslavia. In other words, the perpetrators of such offences need to know that they are liable for severe punishment for their acts.

VIOLATIONS OF THE RULES OF THE INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW COMMITTED BY MEMBERS OF THE FORCES OF CROATIA

The attitude towards the abovementioned rules of the international humanitarian law is a measure of one's readiness to accept the minimum standards of humaneness without which it would be difficult to consider as a civilized person. In this conflict, which they did not provoke in any way, the YPA members have been firmly determined to strictly respect all these rules, without exception.

Unfortunately, members of the Croatian armed formations have not shown such readiness, and have been violating regularly and continuously the rules of the international humanitarian law since the very beginning of the armed conflict.

The examples of these violations are given according to the object of protection. The list of violations is by no means exhausted with these examples. It is unfortunately, much longer, but even the cases mentioned here are sufficient for an objective observer to understand the true nature of the Croatian armed formations.

Violations Against the Civilian Population

Miladin Milković, member of Croatia's National Guard Corps, detained on October 10, 1991, speaks about war crimes against the civilian population he committed or took part in.

Three guardsmen, Milković, Ivica Zrnić and Ivica Asanović, stopped in a Vukovar street S.P.,

a Serbian girl aged 24 or 25, who was known to Milković. They tied her wrists, spread her legs and tied them. Zrnić ordered Milković to rape the girl in their presence, which he did. Milković left the spot for a few minutes, came back later and found the girl naked, and her throat and stomach cut open. Milković was then ordered to cut off her jaw, which he says he did with considerable effort (the girl did not wear dentures or have any gold fillings).

The same trio and several other guardsmen on another occasion entered a shelter in a part of Vukovar called Olajnica, where there were 15 men and five women, all of Serbian nationality. In another part of the room there was a group of children, including two tied to the chairs.

Milković says the two children tied to the chairs were about fifteen years old. Zrnić ordered Milković to cut their throats. The children and their mothers, who were among the women in the shelter, screamed and pleaded for mercy, but Milković had to carry out his orders.

Milković says that before the incident Zrnić had injected him with a hypodermic whose contents he wouldn't reveal to Milković.

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On Thursday, September 26, 1991, around 4 o'clock in the morning, the ustashi gang from Maraš, a Croatian village, entered, under the cover of fog and shooting, the village Brlog. Headed by some Croatian villagers who knew all the village and showed the way, they began to plunder and set on fire the houses belonging to Serbs. Their cattle was driven away, and their tractors and other valuable possessions were also taken. All of the 80 houses belonging to Serbian

villagers were set on fire and destroyed. Only some 40 houses belonging to Croats or households of mixed ethnic origin were spared.

The majority of the local Serbs had spent the night in refuge camps and shelters outside the village and were saved. About 300 persons escaped. Of those who had stayed behind, not less than 10 were killed and as many taken in an unknown direction. Brother and sister Đuro and Soka Tomić, Petar Prica, 72-year-old Petar Vranović, 61-year-old Dragan Kosovac and others who managed to escape testify about the horrible crime. They have no doubt that brothers Bajko and Mićo Orlović, both sick and bed-ridden were burnt to death in the garage in their yard.

Eye-witnesses say that in a hamlet called Puhalo after the largest local family, the villagers were tied with wire to the house of one of their Croatian neighbours and then taken in an unknown direction. Danko Puhalo, nicknamed 'Russian' and his wife, the most prosperous family in the area have disappeared as well as Vujo, Dika and Nada Puhalo. Their houses and farms were totally destroyed.

Serbian refugees claim that the ustashi were headed by former constable Mate Majkerović, driver Stjepan Nikšić, Vinko Ivanišević, Jozo Maras and Mijat Kajteš.

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In Divoselo, a village in Lika, the ustashi forced Mile Plečaš, after prolonged torture, to set his own house on fire, cynically saying that in this manner they could not be accused of violating the truce. The mutilated villager was then thrown into the burning house.



Riding a tank and three trucks with YPA markings ustashi entered Karadžićevo, a Serbian village. Deceived by the markings the villagers came out to welcome their troops. The ustashi started firing on them from machine-guns. Nine innocent civilians were killed. Their names are Radomir Tišmak, Zoran Šodolovac, Bogdan Rajičić, Čedo Marčeta, Sveto Marčeta, Miroslav Kuzmanović, Dražen Petrović, Željko Petrović and Radmila Katić.

Radmila Katić, whose son is a YPA officer, had her throat cut cruelly and brutally.

Frenzied ustashi decided that killing helpless civilians was not enough and proceeded with their orgies in the course of which, among other things, they beheaded young Zoran Šodolovac.

A certain number of women and children were taken as hostages to the ustashi stronghold in the village of Jarolina.



Branka Roknić, of Croatian nationality, and her son Nenad (16) spoke about a bestial crime committed in Sojevac, a suburb of Karlovac, by their neighbours, members of the Croatian paramilitary formations.

On Saturday, October 5, 1991, between 13:00 and 14:00 hours, Croatian militants surrounded Marko Roknić's home, broke down the gate, shot the dog and opened fire on the house with machine guns, hand grenades and rifle-launched grenades. They then broke into the house, where they found Marko Roknić on the first floor. They killed Marko and his sister Danica by shooting them in the head with pistols at close range, and

shot Marko's fifteen-year-old daughter in the back, but did not kill her. Branka begged that they call an ambulance, whereupon the criminals began shooting wildly.

Branka was spared as a punishment for having married a Serb. After the massacre of her family and with the help of an unknown man, Branka succeeded in reaching the barracks in Kamensko, where she found refuge.

Nenad hid in the attic when the shooting began. The gunfire set alight curtains in the house, and Nenad, afraid that he would be burned to death, called out for help. Luckily for him, the gunfire drowned out his calls and the curtains did not set fire to the rest of the house. After the murderers had left, he descended from the attic and found his father, sister and aunt lying dead on the floor. He sought shelter in a neighbour's garage.

Nenad met his mother in the region of Kordun on October 9. To this day cannot comprehend that this heinous crime could have been committed by their next-door neighbours – Željko Gojak and his brother Marjan, and the son of Jurica Nikšić. Branka Roknić often gave the Gojak family milk and fed their children free of charge.



Dušan Janjić, a Serb from Karlovac, although not a member of any armed formation, was tortured by Croatian National Guards in Karlovac.

On October 7, 1991, Janjić was in the yard of his house in Šimunovićeve Street in Karlovac when three armed men stepped out of a car which had stopped in the street outside. They took him to the barracks in Radićeva street and put him in a cell the floor of which was covered with coagu-

lated blood. They demanded that he make a list of all the chetniks he knew. After he replied that he knew none, they began beating him on the head with truncheons until he fainted. After he regained consciousness, the torture continued, with the following threats: "Čedo (you chetnik), I will now slit your throat."

"Čedo, I will now gouge out your eyes."

"Čedo I will now castrate you."

The torturers cut Janjić's left ear with a knife, and then, holding him by the hair, cut his temple, screaming: "We want to see how much brain you have."

Several of them hit him, knocked him on the floor and kicked him. He was thrown into a corner already occupied by an unknown man whose fingers had been cut off and then moved to another corner, where one of the torturers placed a rifle against his arm and pulled the trigger. The bullet passed through the flesh of his arm and injured his back. They then kicked in his teeth with their boots...

Janjić begged for water, upon which one of the torturers urinated in his mouth warning him not to spill a drop, as he would need it.

They tied him up and took him into the courtyard, forcing him to roll on the concrete. An artillery grenade blew up in the yard and the torturers fled for shelter, leaving Janjić alone and giving him an opportunity to escape. For several days he hid in a firewood shed belonging to a friend. Hearing that a search was on for him, he waded over the river Korana and reached the liberated region of Kordun.

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38 Joško Jurić, a captured member of the Croatian National Guard Corps from Vukovar, says

that only what is Croatian can remain in Croatia and that there is no place in it for Serbs.

To prove his loyalty to "Croatia's cause," Jurić slit the throat of his Serbian wife with a knife, cut open her stomach and took out her unborn child. After further savaging the seven-month-old foetus, he nailed the two bodies to a pear tree in the suburb of Mitnica.

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In the early morning hours of August 23, 1991, units of the Croatian armed formations drove in three olive-colored armoured personnel carriers and an ambulance into the Serb-populated villages Kinjačka, Trnjani, Sjeverovac and part of the village Staro Selo, and opened fire without any reason. The terror-stricken villagers, who fled towards the ambulance, were mown down by automatic weapons.

Eyewitnesses say at least 15 persons were killed in Kinjačka – elderly, women and children. The Croatian militants were guided by inhabitants of neighbouring Croat-populated villages who showed them which houses were owned by Serbs.

Informing about the action, the Croatian media reported with overt satisfaction that between 150 and 200 "terrorists" had been killed in the raids.

Four of the eyewitnesses of the massacres are Stevan Ralić, Pero Didulica, Milan Jovanović and Stoja Jovanović, who were extended medical aid in the hospital in Banja Luka.

☆ ☆ ☆

Miloš Grubić (54), a Serb from the village Blinski kut, although not a member of any armed 39

In addition to the direct commission of the abovementioned acts during the whole armed conflict, the Croatian armed formations and authorities have widely threatened to commit all of the foregoing acts, using primarily mass media for this purpose. These threats mean a direct violation of Article 4, Paragraph 2 (h) of Protocol II.

In addition to the violation of the fundamental guarantees, provisions of Protocol II governing special protection of the civilian population in internal armed conflict have been drastically violated too.

During the whole armed conflict, civilian population has been exposed not to indiscriminate attacks when this population is hit accidentally besides military targets, but rather deliberate, directed attacks geared to provoke fear among the population and to force them to leave their settlements. Attacks on kindergartens (like the one in Šid) represent a precedent in modern armed conflicts. Conduct of military operations in this way represents international violation of Article 13 of Protocol II.

The order to the population to move out of 27 villages inhabited mostly by Serbs cannot be justified by security reasons or imperative military ones, for there were no armed clashes in these villages before, nor were they used for attacks on Croatian armed formations. Quite simply, this was an unjustified and by the rules of the International humanitarian law strictly forbidden act of displacement of the civilian population, drastically violating the provision of Article 17 of Protocol II.

42 The analysis of the treatment of the civilian population merely shows that the sad

practice, observed during the two world wars and in armed conflicts after the Second World War, of exposing the civilian population to greatest losses, sufferings and brutality continues.

The barracks in Vinkovci was blockaded and an all-out attack on it carried out on September 15, 1991. Between September 15 and September 24, 30 YPA servicemen were wounded in the barracks and required medical assistance for which the barracks was not equipped. On numerous occasions the commander of the barracks in negotiations with the civilian authorities sought to secure an evacuation of the wounded, but all his requests were refused. Lacking appropriate aid, ten of the wounded died of injuries which would otherwise be regarded as fatal. The barracks lacks a morgue, and most of the bodies started to decompose rapidly.

Only when YPA units had launched a drive to break the blockade of the barracks did the mayor of Vinkovci seek a truce and talks with the barracks commander, during which an evacuation of the wounded and the bodies of those who had died was agreed. The request by the YPA for body bags to be provided for the dead was turned down by the authorities, and the dead had to be wrapped in bedsheets and taken out in a food van. The convoy carrying the wounded and dead set out from the barracks at 17:10 hours. Only five minutes later and just 150 meters from the barracks, it was stopped by a group of some 200 – 250 armed members of the Croatian National Guard Corps. A large group of armed and unarmed civilians who were assembled nearby urged the guardsmen to shoot all the wounded, calling them chetniks and demanding that they be taken to Belgrade in the last vehicle of the convoy (which was carrying the dead).

Under the pretext of checking the wounded, the guardsmen ripped off their bandages and handled them roughly.

Violations Against Wounded, Sick, Dead, Medical Personal, Medical Transports and Religious Personel

Second Lieutenant Simić, Medical Corps officer sought to protect the wounded, insisting on the fact that an agreement on the transport had been reached. This provoked the guardsmen into beating him, placing a knife behind his ear and saying that it was **their** prerogative to either approve or reject the accord. They took out Major Ljubišić, a psychiatric case who had no visible wounds, threatening to take his photograph first and then cut his throat. They then led him behind one of the Vehicles, where the others could no longer see what was happening to him. Second Lieutenant Simić begged for the major to be returned or for the whole transport to be allowed to go back to the barracks. This was refused, and they were ordered to proceed or else would be liquidated. During the entire incident, a group of Croatian policemen escorting the transport stood by passively and did not intervene.

After 20 minutes the transport continued on its way, but was once again stopped briefly at a roadblock about 15 kilometres out of Vinkovci. During the further course of the journey, the convoy was overtaken several times by vehicles with Croatian guardsmen shouting threats and abuse. Some 25 kilometres out of Vinkovci, the transport was overtaken by a black Mercedes motor car, through the sunroof of which there
44 appeared two rifles crossed into a "V" sign and

between them a blood-stained arm holding a severed head with a military helmet.

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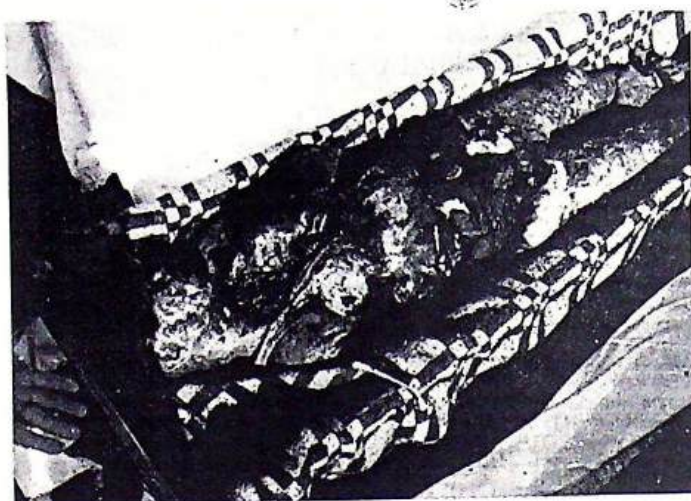
Yugoslav Air Force Flight Lieutenant Zlatko Nuspahić was shot down over the Petrinja garrison, where he was on a mission to break the blockade of the Vasil Gaćeša barracks. Flight Lieutenant Nuspahić ejected successfully from the aircraft, but sustained injuries in the process, landing in an area controlled by units of the Croatian Interior Ministry and National Guard Corps. Instead of helping the wounded airman, the Ustashe forces killed him with shots in the stomach, but this was not enough for them – they continued to massacre his lifeless body. They removed all the clothing from the body and took all the money, documents and credit cards they found.

The naked body remained on a field for eight days, after which it was taken to the Sisak hospital. Its condition was such that the identification took all of two days to complete, using all methods known to forensic science.

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Lieutenant Colonel Dragutin Petković has provided information about inhumane treatment of the dead: units of the Croatian National Guard often leave their bodies lying on roads, in the (correct) impression that YPA troops will refrain from driving over them.

When YPA troops leave their vehicles and attempt to move the bodies, they come under fire from the Croatian militants.



Masacred body of Đorđe Vukičević.

A case has been registered near the village of Jankovci in which the Croatian militants booby-trapped a body and left it lying on the road.

☆ ☆ ☆

During the operations to liberate the village of Lužac, a suburb of Borovo, Đorđe Vukičević, a volunteer from Lužac, came under fire from a hand-held rocket launcher. The missile missed Vukičević, but exploded near him and knocked him to the ground. He was captured alive by the Croatian militants, who immediately began to torture him.

First they cut him several times with a knife, and then turned to more morbid forms of torture: they burned Vukičević piece by piece with a blow-torch. After covering his whole body with burns, they shot at him, and, although he was probably already dead, cut his throat.



☆ ☆ ☆

On October 29, 1991, at around 11:30 hours, near Opuzen, small-arms fire was opened on a Military Medical Corps helicopter with highly visible red cross markings. The helicopter was hit in the tail, and its control mechanism was damaged. Thanks to superhuman efforts, the crew succeeded in reaching their destination and landing without damage or harm to life and limb.

The helicopter had been flying from Mostar to Divulje, from where it intended to transport the remains of Corporal Slaviša Matić. The Croatian authorities had been duly notified about the flight, and it had been cleared by their Crisis Committee for Dalmatia.

The perfidious attack by the Croatian militants resulted in the postponement of the said transport.

☆ ☆ ☆

On October 19, 1991, around 11:30 hours, an attack was launched on a humanitarian convoy organized by the **Medecins Sans Frontières** organization and transporting sixty severely wounded members of the Croatian armed formations out of Vukovar.

The attack took place between the villages Bogdanovci and Marinci, after the convoy had left the area controlled by the YPA, when an anti-tank mine drawn under the seventh vehicle in the convoy exploded. The two nurses hurt in the explosion, Jacquier Ghislaine (Switzerland) and Fabienne Schmidt (Belgium), are treated at the Military Medical Academy in Belgrade.

☆ ☆ ☆

The Croatian regime is not endangering only the physical existence of the Serbian people but

also its spiritual being – on October 30, 1991, twenty Serbian orthodox clergymen were arrested, including Lukijan, the Bishop of Slavonia. Bishop Lukijan spent two months in detention, including a month in the prison in Slavenska Požega.

The arrested clergymen were not members of any armed formations, and their only sin was that they were providing to the long-suffering Serbian people spiritual strength to survive, for the second time in this century, the onslaught of the sinister forces of the rapidly rising fascism in Croatia.

In March this year Bishop Lukijan was scheduled to take part in the work of the United Nations Human Rights Commission, but was unable to attend. In his absence his letter to this body was read out by Dr Miša Milošević. In his letter Bishop Lukijan spoke about of human right's violations in Croatia – this was clearly reason enough for the "democratic" regime of the Republic of Croatia to put him behind bars.

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The attitude towards the wounded and the sick, the dead, medical and religious personnel, medical transports and institutions, has always been a measure of the level of civilization of the parties to armed conflicts. The behaviour of the Croatian armed formations provides ample reason to define them as armed formations which do not deserve to be called a civilized.

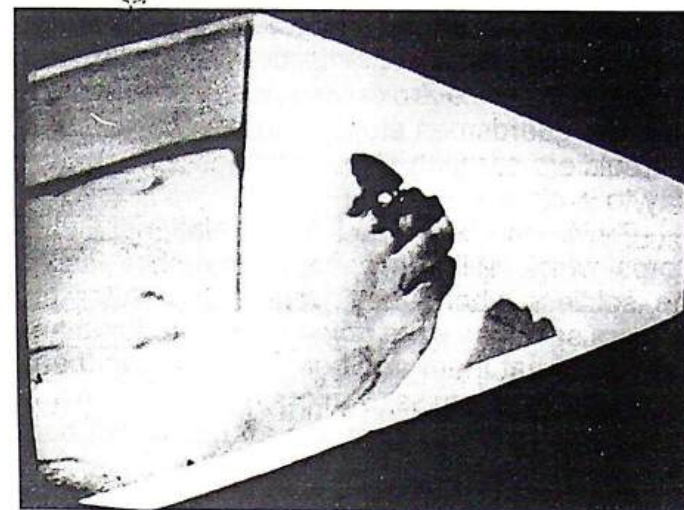
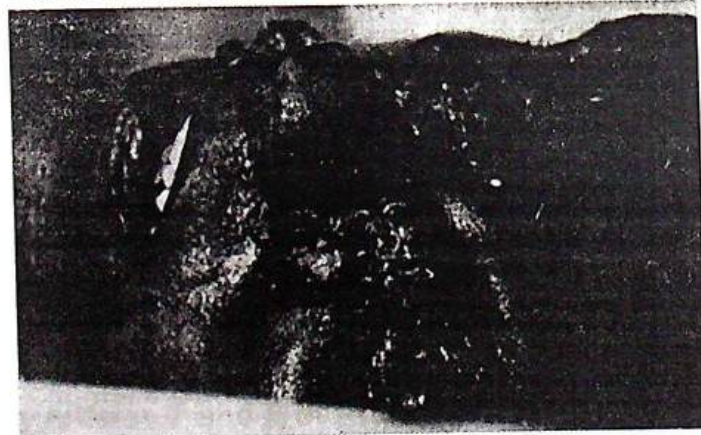
With their markedly inhumane behaviour, denial of an adequate medical care to the wounded and sick, the Croatian armed formations directly violate the provisions contained in Articles 7 and 8 of Protocol II.

The mining of the dead, or prevention of disposal of their bodies in a decent and dignified way, do not deserve any comment. Such acts which go in violation of Article 8 of Protocol II can provoke revulsion only.

Great concern is caused by the fact that the Croatian armed formations do not respect and do not provide due protection to medical and religious personnel, nor to medical units and transports. Medical and religious personnel have been exposed to attacks, brutal treatment, and even arrests during the whole armed conflict. Shooting on medical units and transports has become a regular feature on the battlefields in Croatia. The Red Cross emblem, instead of protection, seems to have become for the Croatian armed formations a sign inviting attack. The effects of such behaviour are more than tragic: a large number of destroyed medical vehicles and helicopters, and numerous physicians and other medical personnel lost their lives while performing their humanitarian mission. These acts of the Croatian armed formations represent a gross violation of Articles 9, 11 and 12 of Protocol II.

Violations Against Persons Deprived of Their Liberty Due to the Armed Conflict

On September 9, 1991 in the village Laslovo in eastern Slavonia Members of the Croatian National Guard Corps captured three Serbian volunteers: Dušan Marković, Mirko Lavadinović and Srdjan Cvetković, who were, as of that moment, entitled to full protection under international humanitarian law.



Massacred Serbian volunteers in the village Laslovo.

However, several days later the commander of Serbian volunteers was informed that all three were dead. Initially, the National Guard Corps refused to turn over the bodies, and their reluctance became clear when the bodies were finally handed over.

The young men had been brutally tortured and murdered. Their eyes had been gouged out, their noses crushed, their ears cut and their facial skin stripped of with knives. Cigarette burns were evident all over the bodies, including their genitals.

One of the bodies lacked an arm, which lay in the coffin beside it – it was by this arm that the murdered man's father recognized his son on video footage shot by the German television network ZDF and allegedly showing Croats massacred by Serbs.

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Miladin Milković, member of the Croatian National Guard Corps detained on October 10, 51

1991, spoke about war crimes he committed or in which he was an accomplice.

Milković, Ivica Zrnić, Ivica Asanović and several other guardsmen stopped in a Vukovar street two soldiers carrying shopping bags and on their way to a shop.

Zrnić, who has a rank in the National Guard Corps which Milković cannot remember, asked the soldiers where they were going. After the soldiers said they were going shopping, Zrnić and Asanović beat them and heaped abuse on them, calling them chetniks. Zrnić struck both on the heads with the butt of his rifle and knocked them unconscious.

Zrnić ordered Milković to extract two golden fillings from the teeth of one of the soldiers with his knife, which Milković did with some difficulty. He was then ordered to cut the soldier's throat, and this he also did. They then killed the other soldier, and cut off one of his arms and one of his legs. They then put the bodies into bags and threw them into an area called Petrovacki doli.

☆ ☆ ☆

Twentythree soldiers under the command of reserve Captain Mile Peurača from the barracks in Mekušje near Karlovac rade in two vehicles to **Stjepan Milašinčić-Šiljo** barracks at Logorište, 5 km from Karlovac.

On the Korana bridge, almost in the heart of Karlovac, the vehicles were intercepted by a group of Croatian policemen requesting their surrender. Captain Peurača refused it and demanded that they be let to continue to their destination or return to their barracks. Neither proposal was accepted and Captain Peurača then proposed to negotiate their surrender with the superior com-

mand. This was also rejected and the men were given 45 minutes to surrender. While these negotiations lasted, the soldiers began to surrender for unknown reasons.

Meanwhile, three tanks left the barracks in Mejušje to rescue the surrendered soldiers. When at a distance of some 500 m from the ambush their crews fired some warning shots from their machine-guns, in the air. The ustashi commander sent one of the surrendered soldiers with the request to stop the fire or else all the soldiers who had surrendered would be killed. In the face of this threat, the tank crews stopped the fire. By that time, ustashi reinforcement had arrived wearing mask uniforms and stockings over their faces. Upon their arrival all YPA men surrendered.

They were ordered to lay down their arms and prostrate themselves on the ground with arms on their heads. Captain Peurača was the last one to be brought on the bridge. An ustashi stabbed him twice in the back. Captain Peurača fell and the ustashi started shooting the soldiers in their legs to prevent them from trying to escape. Sadistic massacring of the helpless soldiers ensued. Their ears were cut off, their eyes gouged, their faces slashed, their bodies carved, their throats all cut. The ustashi were at their cruellest in the case of active Warrant Officer Nikola Babić: every part of his body was carved, his eyes were gouged, part of his face skinned, his ears cut off and his head almost completely severed from the body.

The names of the slaughtered are Jovan Sipić (1966), Božo Kozlina (1954), Nebojša Popović (1967), Milić Savić (1959), Milenko Lukač (1959), Nikola Babić (1948), Slobodan Milanović (1966), Svetozar Gojković (1959), Miloš Srdić

(1948), Zoran Komadina (1964), Mile Babić (1949), Vaso Bižić (1956). Of those 12 young people, seven were the only children of their parents.

When the ustashi opened fire, Branko Madjarac, Dušan Mrkić and Svetozar Šarac jumped into the Korana. Mađarac managed to reach the barracks and the other two are in the hospital in



Massacred soldiers of the YPA reserve force on the Korana bridge in Karlovac.

Karlovac. The fate of the remaining seven is not known.

The first to inform about this terrible massacre was Karlovac Radio whose announcer gloatingly and enthusiastically reported that "17 chetniks were floating down the Korana".

☆ ☆ ☆

Captured officers of the Tuzla Corps were forced, under threat by the prison authorities in Osijek, to sign all the cheques of the Post Office Savings Bank they had on them. This is testified to by Radiša Stamenić, Žarko Djekić, Dragoslav Predolac, Sreško Prekosavec, Ahmet Jumerovski and others.

The purpose was clearly to cash on all those cheques and thus rob the captured officers. They were told by the prison authorities that this was

in payment of the "war damage" caused by the YPA units on the Croatian territory.

☆ ☆ ☆

Dejan Brener, YPA Second Lieutenant from Vršac, talks about his treatment by members of the Croatian Ministry of the Interior and so-called National Guard Corps.

He says he was captured by Croatian troops in Donja Škrabanja near Zadar. He spent 25 days in captivity and was throughout that period subjected to torture to force him to desert to the Croatian National Guard. Corps Dejan's surname led the guardsmen to think he was a Catholic and as such should be "won over" and "have his wish to join the right side fulfilled." This was the start of Dejan's hell.

He was beaten daily, threatened with death and drugged. While in a state of total mental and physical shock, he signed a document certifying that he was joining the National Guard Corps of his free will (for which he had been promised a three-room flat, a summerhouse, 19,000 dinars in monthly pay and early retirement). His condition can best be judged by the fact that his parents could not recognize him when they visited him.

Throughout his captivity, the Command of the Knin Corps was demanding that Second Lieutenant Brener be exchanged with the other prisoners on the basis of "all-for-all" principle. When told that he had gone over to the National Guards, Brener's superiors could not believe it and asked that he confirm it personally before representatives of the European Community Observer Mission.

56 The perfidious game ended when Brener was taken to the village of Zitnić, where he said

before senior Corps Officers, his parents, the E.C. mission and representatives of the Croatian authorities that there existed only one army for him and that he would never break his oath of loyalty to the YPA.

☆ ☆ ☆

Persons deprived of their liberty for reasons related to the armed conflict should enjoy protection stipulated especially by Article 5 as well as the protection stipulated by fundamental guarantees (Article 4, paragraph 2, (a), (c) and (d), and paragraph 3, (b) of Protocol II). However, the practice in the armed conflict in Croatia shows that these provisions are not respected.

First of all, considerable number of these persons were exposed to brutal treatment and violence to the life health and physical or mental well-being. A large number of persons deprived of their liberty were submitted to cruel treatment, torture and corporal punishment. A significant number of persons were shot or most brutally murdered after being deprived of their liberty without any legal proceeding. These activities represent drastic violations of the provisions in Article 4, paragraph 2 (a), and Article 6, paragraph 2 of Protocol II.

Furthermore, the wounded and the sick deprived of their liberty, were not treated adequately, or the treatment was not provided in time. The absence of medical care had in several cases tragic consequences and persons deprived of it died. There is no doubt that provisions of Article 5, paragraph 1 (a) of Protocol II have also been violated.

57

Violations Against Cultural Monuments and Places of Worship

Jasenovac is a small town on the left bank of the Sava in western Slavonia where in 1941–1945 the ustashi Independent State of Croatia exterminated at least 700,000 people in one of the most ill-famed wartime concentration camps, mostly Serbs, Jews and Romanis, but also Croats who were Communists and opponents of the Croatian regime of the period.

After the war, although all traces of the camp had been removed, deliberately or by accident, a memorial complex made up of a museum and a monument was erected at the site of the camp to remind all future generations of the terrible crimes committed by the ustashi and serve as a homage to the Serbian, Jewish, Romani and even the Croatian victims.

In late September, units of the Croatian armed formations entered Jasenovac and set up combat positions there: in itself a gross violation of the international law. Nevertheless, the Croatian forces did not stop there – they destroyed everything they could, burned down the village Jasenovac, blew up the bridge between Jasenovac and Gradina and burned the hotel **Sava**.

The burial mounds in the memorial complex containing the bones of thousands of people murdered in the camp were mined. The Jasenovac museum was devastated – the photographs were destroyed or damaged while all the exhibited “tools” of torture and murder were removed. In this way the museum and its collection were damaged beyond recovery. Every civilized person will find it hard to understand that anything like this could have happened.



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On September 29, 1991, Croatian armed formations shelled the Monastery of Badjani, which lies on the left bank of the Danube, in the Republic of Serbia.

At the time of the attack, there were no military units or installations anywhere near the monastery.

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Serbian Orthodox priest Radovan Vučinić, the parish-rector in the village Kukunjevac (Commune of Pakrac) says the Croatian armed formations completely demolished the local Orthodox church of St Petka. On three occasions on October 8 and 9, they bombed the church with towed artillery and tank guns until it has completely destroyed. They also demolished the Memorial Museum presenting ustashi crimes against the Serbian people in 1942, which stood next to the church. At the time of the destruction, the buildings were not being employed for any military purpose as the entire population of the village had left it in flight from the hordes of evil.

Describing a systematic drive to destroy Serbian Orthodox churches in the area, Vučinić says ustashi formations also destroyed the local church in the village Toranj, the church Dimitri in the village Batinje, the church St John the Theolog in Gornja Obrežja, and heavily damaged the church of St Panetins in the village Šuma.

☆ ☆ ☆

The most frequently recorded violation by the Croatian armed formations of regulations dealing

with cultural monuments, especially places of worship, is their use for military strongholds and other military purposes. In every single town ever held by members of the Croatian Ministry of the Interior units and the Croatian National Guard Corps, the local church steeples were used as observation and sniper posts, and machine-gun nests. Although well aware that in such cases cultural monuments lose the immunity afforded by international conventions, the Croatian militants used them often for attacks against the YPA. This, naturally, provoked the YPA into returning fire, but only highly selectively and to the extent necessary for neutralizing the military target rather than destroying the entire facility.

The Croatian authorities have gone all out in their efforts to present the YPA to the Yugoslav and world public as a horde of barbarians which holds nothing sacred, including cultural monuments. In this manner they committed a crime against the truth – and the real truth is that it is the **Croatian** armed formations that use cultural monuments as shields in their combat operations against the YPA, thereby not only deliberately placing such objects in danger of destruction but also showing clearly their own civilizational level.

The most notorious example of this is the old town of Dubrovnik. This pearl of medieval architecture and culture has never been targeted for attack by the YPA, as it never had any intention or need to attack it. However, the Croatian armed formations not only concentrated their forces in the old town but also deployed their artillery in that location.

The extent to which the Croatian authorities care about saving Dubrovnik is best shown by the so-called humanitarian action for Dubrovnik, headed by Yugoslav Presidency President Stje-

pan Mesić, when the ferry **Slavija** sailed into its port with a fresh force of Croatian militants. November 9, 1991, until the Croatian authorities had not accepted a proposal for the normalization of life in Dubrovnik launched by the YPA on October 27, which calls for the total demilitarization of the city.

All the while, the Croatian authorities, by an aggressive media campaign, sought to create the impression that the YPA had bombarded and destroyed Dubrovnik. The confusion about the genuine state of affairs in Dubrovnik was partly also caused by the amazing passivity of the European Community observer team stationed in Dubrovnik, who did not see fit to deny the allegations in the Croatian media about attacks on the old town, or even the claim by the Dubrovnik authorities that 15,000 artillery shells had fallen in the city.

The concocted „truth“ burst like a soap bubble when Yugoslav and foreign journalists were allowed to visit the city and saw that it had suffered no damage.

After all that has happened, the Croatian militants continue to attack YPA units from the old town, even with mortars. The Yugoslav People's Army continues to endure these attacks and refrain from returning fire, while the E.C. Observer Mission remains silent.

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The treatment by the Croatian militants of cultural monuments and their assaults on the spiritual being of the Serbian people are evidenced by the example of the Eparchial Palace in Pakrac. The beautiful Baroque building, which dates from 1723, was occupied by some 150



A destroyed Orthodox church in Petrinja.

Croatian guardsmen and turned into a military command centre and ammunition storage.

In the Palace itself the Croatian militants destroyed six portraits of Serbian archpriests and a 2,000-book library of priceless value. They also burned down the cathedral which stood next to the Palace.

The true scale of this crime against the culture of the Serbian people will be known only after the end of hostilities – the Palace also contained a collection of about 300 icons dating from the 16th to the 19th centuries, and many other religious and other artifacts, including silver and gold.

☆ ☆ ☆

One of the sad features of the armed conflict in Croatia is the fact that the Croatian armed formations completely disregard the regulations on the protection of cultural objects and places of worship.

The quoted examples clearly show that the Croatian armed formations have been using all places of worship, regardless of their confessional affiliation for the deployment of their armed forces. Besides, they have also been using them continually for military operations.

They have used cultural objects in the same way. The best example is the case of Dubrovnik.

Besides, Croatian armed formations have been launching directed and deliberate attacks on cultural objects and places of worship. In these attacks, the majority of orthodox places of worship, which had been slightly damaged or had remained undamaged during the fighting, were later destroyed and burnt down by these formations prior to their retreat from them.

This attitude towards cultural objects and places of worship convincingly testifies to drastic violations of Article 16 of Protocol II.



Act of Treachery Forbidden Ways and Means of Warfare

Through mediator Haydin Maralli, Akip Crasnici, an Albanian from Priština, applied for a job in Zagreb and was offered 1500 German marks per month. He had not been told, however, that the job was for the Croatian National Guards. Two days after his arrival in Zagreb, he was given a uniform and together with 36 other Albanians from Kosovo sent to be trained. The training took place in the centre of Zagreb and lasted 15 days. The German instructors taught them, among other things, how to cut throats.

After the course was completed they were posted to Sisak and from there sent to the Vinkovci front. Before and during every operation every guard was made, under the commander's supervision, to take six tablets a day. Krasnici does not know what were those tablets but says that immediately after swallowing one of them he sweated and felt as if he had drunk half a litre of some hard liquor. The tablets freed him of fear.

Akip Crasnici also says that in the theatre of war in Tovarnik where he was sent with 2000 other guards, there were quite a number of Rumanians, Bulgarians and Albanians. They were always sent to the front line and were threatened that the Croats would shoot at them unless they shot at Serbs and the YPA men. None of the guards received the salary they had been promised. All they were given were two boxes of cigarettes each. He saw the ustashis bloody orgies; they were mostly Croats who, as a rule, did not only kill but also cut the throats of their victims.

☆ ☆ ☆

Goran Lozo, military policeman from Valjevo, says that in Tovarnik members of the Croatian armed formations drugged a child, tied an explosive device to his back, and sent him towards YPA positions for the "soldiers to give him something." When the child neared a group of soldiers, the bomb went off, blowing him to bits and injuring several soldiers.

☆ ☆ ☆

The municipal authorities of Novi sad report that in the period between July 17 and October 27 this year 17 bodies were found in the Danube within this municipality, jurisdiction. Only one has been identified so far, the first recovered, near Begeč. With the help of his relatives, police experts identified the man as Milenko Djuričić (38), a Serb from Borovo Naselje.

Djuričić had first been tortured, then wrapped in a blanket and thrown into the river while still alive.

Since then, the Danube has brought up from its depths the bodies of 16 other people. Forensic experts have established that all of them had been brutally tortured before being thrown into the river. After the torture, most had been shot several times with various firearms, including the larger calibres, in the back or the nape of the neck. Most of the victims were barefooted when found, and one was still handcuffed.

The savagery exceeds by far that seen during the past war, when corpses of people murdered in Jasenovac reached Belgrade down the Sava.

Each case has been fully documented, and identification will be done when time permits.

The total number of corpses found so far in the Danube in all municipalities downstream of Vukovar is forty.

☆ ☆ ☆

Hrvoje Rajh, a captured member of the Croatian National Guard Corps, says that he came to fight for Croatia from Germany, that he is an ustashi by profession, and that he likes cutting the throats of children, girls whom he had previously raped, and, of course, old people. His greatest pleasure, he says, is watching his victims die slowly after being tortured.

☆ ☆ ☆

Dorel Borsa (21), a Rumanian citizen and a former member of the Securitate secret police, says he came to Croatia at the insistence of a friend, Tudor Valian, about whose fate he knows nothing.



Croatian armed formations call themselves ustashi (graffiti in villages abandoned by Croatian forces)

Borsa says he will never forget what he saw on the battlefield and the crimes he took part in as a member of the Croatian National Guard Corps. He says he saw Croatian militants cutting the throats of people he only later learnt were Serbs. For the first time ever he saw how savagely a human being can be tortured. He says the horror of the events forced him to vomit a number of times.

Borsa says he watched his superior, a certain Tripko, get drunk and rape a woman.

☆ ☆ ☆

On September 10, 1991, members of the Croatian National Guard Corps stopped at a highway toll-gate near Popovača, about 50 kilometres from Zagreb, a YPA tanker transporting drinking water to units stationed near Sisak. The tanker was crewed by Major Jan Valentik and soldier Aleksandar Milićević, both unarmed.

During the "routine check" and without any provocation the Croatian militants shot dead Major Valentik, forced soldier Milićević into a car and drove him off towards Sisak.

Several Croatian policemen, who stood by passively during the incident, have refused to give the YPA any information about the crime.

☆ ☆ ☆

In the village Kamensko, near Karlovac, during the search of the home of Ivo Darežić, who was until two months ago a Warrant Officer in the **Dušan Vergaš** barracks of the YPA in Karlovac, a series of colour photographs was found showing a young man hanged in a forest. The man's identity has not yet been established.

Darežić's son Mario (25) is a member of a special unit of the Croatian Ministry of the Interior deployed in mid-July near Topusko, where the crime shown in the photographs probably took place.

The photographs were printed in **Korana** photo shop in Karlovac.

A photograph of the hanged man was published in the daily **Politika ekspres** on October 23.

☆ ☆ ☆

From October 13 until October 16, 1991 a group of 17 military police members bravely defended the Osijek barracks protecting the units leaving the barracks where they had been cut off from the world, food, electricity, water and medical necessities for weeks. The mission was successfully completed, the units and the brave policemen broke through the blockade.

Enraged ustashi authorities could not reconcile themselves with the defeat. They offered 1000 German marks for any type of information about the military policemen and a special award to those who would bring them to Osijek alive or dead. The same award was promised to those who would help to capture journalist Jovica Mladenović, who was an eye-witness to the events in the Osijek barracks.

It appears that the Osijek ustashi lay a particular value on the commander of the Osijek garrison, Colonel Bora Ivanović. The award to the one who brings him dead or alive totals 400,000 German marks.

☆ ☆ ☆

The Croatian armed formations are endeavouring to spread the fighting outside Croatia at

any cost. These efforts include indiscriminate attacks on civilian facilities which have never been used for any military purpose.

On November 5, 1991, the Croatian armed formations carried out an attack on Šid, which is in Serbia and has no military targets. The attack was aimed at civilian targets. Two men were killed at work – one in his office and the other in the same firm's courtyard. Shells also hit the dining room of a kindergarten, just 15 minutes before the children were to leave their classrooms and assemble for lunch. The brutal attack on Šid left four persons dead and twelve injured.

The next attack same the next day: at around 23:30 hours on November 6, eleven grenades were fired on Apatin, also in Serbia. Seven houses were hit, causing a lot of damage but luckily no casualties.

Indiscriminate attacks of this kind have also been launched against targets in Bosnia-Herzegovina – units of the Croatian armed formations have carried out a number of mortar attacks on Bosanska Gradiška, causing several casualties. Many villages around Bosanska Gradiška have also been hit. On November 6 at around 12:00 hours the village of Bukovica near Bijeljina in Bosnia-Herzegovina came under artillery attack, again luckily with no casualties.

☆ ☆ ☆

From the very beginning of the conflict in Croatia, the armed formations and authorities of that republic have regularly employed perfidious methods, unworthy of honourable warriors.

No fewer than eight cease-fires, most of them requested by the Croatian side, had been agreed by October 8, 1991. All were used by

Croatia's armed formations for the regrouping and repositioning of their forces, as well as perfidious attacks on YPA members and the Serbian People.

It is impossible to list here all the innumerable violations of the cease-fire, and we shall confine ourselves to just a few recorded in the days following the October 8 cease-fire.

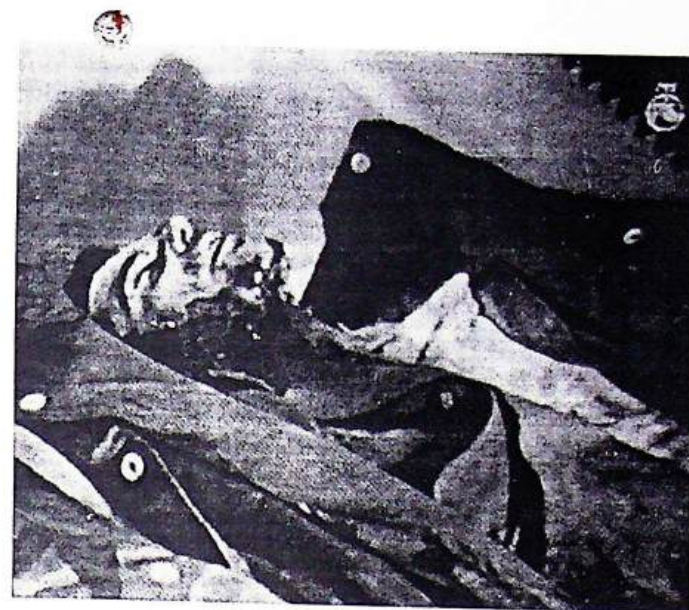
On October 9, 1991, members of the Croatian National Guard Corps carried out three attacks against YPA units, five attacks in the night between October 9 and 10, five attacks on October 10, three in the night between October 10 and 11, nine on October 11, three in the night between October 11 and 12, and ten attacks on October 12.

In just one of these attacks – violations of the cease-fire – which took place in the village Ravne, four YPA servicemen were killed and seven wounded. On October 12 and 13 alone, artillery and mortar fire killed six and wounded 12 members of the YPA and the territorial defence of western Slavonia in the Okučani area alone.

The above list does not include countless sniper attacks, one of which, on October 13 in the village Paklenica near Novska, resulted in the death of YPA Lieutenant Colonel Simo Marjanović.

On the same date and at about 17:00 hours, YPA serviceman Petar Medigović was killed by sniper fire in the village Gruda near Dubrovnik. Negotiations about securing the cease-fire between the YPA, the EC Observer Mission and high municipal officials from Dubrovnik had been concluded just a few hours earlier.

Only a few hours after the departure of an observer mission of the European Community from Ilok on October 10, 1991, units of the Croatian armed formations stormed the village



A slaughtered soldiers of the YPA reserve force.

Šarengrad in the larger Ilok area, where they set fire to four houses owned by Serbs and slaughtered their owners.

During the periods when the cease-fires were in effect, the greatest losses were sustained by the YPA and the Serbian population, which speaks volumes about the "honourable nature" of the Croatian armed formations.

☆ ☆ ☆

From the very start of hostilities the Croatian authorities have been recruiting foreign mercenaries into their armed formations. They include between 500 and 700 Rumanians, many ex-members of Rumania's notorious secret police Securitate. They also include Philippinoes, Kurds, Albanians, Africans and Germans. Scottish paratroopers train units of the Croatian armed



Old German banknotes with which the Republic of Croatia pays foreign mercenaries in its armed formations.

formations. The Croatian leadership has lately more openly admitted to recruiting mercenaries to the republic's armed formations, expressing regret that there are not more of them.

According to available information, these men are paid about 2,000 D-marks a month. However, banknotes found on captured or dead mercenaries have been withdrawn from circulation long ago!

☆ ☆ ☆

The Croatian authorities regularly supply their armed formations with various stimulants, which range from alcohol to the strongest narcotics, about which many Croatian militants taken priso-

ner have testified. All members of the Croatian armed formations are threatened with harsh penalties if they do not take these stimulants under control of their officers, particularly before going into battle.

Diverse drug paraphernalia – hypodermics, narcotics, tablets – were found in almost every stronghold of any size captured from the Croatian armed formations.

A well-known case is that of a member of the National Guard Corps who kept shooting at YPA soldiers even after the fighting had ended on the Dubrovnik battlefield. All through the operation to capture him alive, during his capture, and while he was being taken to the detention centre, he was laughing hysterically – it turned out the next day that he had been under the influence of narcotics.

☆ ☆ ☆

Snipers of the Croatian armed formations now customarily use ammunition intended to inflict insufferable pain and reduce chances of survival for the person hit. They mostly employ ultra-light ammunition of smaller calibres whose effects are similar to those of expanding (dumdum) bullets, but many cases have also been registered when soft-nose dumdum ammunition was used. Ordinary bullets are also treated in various ways to reduce the target's chances for survival: the tip of the bullet is notched to make it expand when it hits, bullets are coated with liquids used for cleaning firearms with the intention of infecting wounds, etc.

Croatia's armed formations have also resorted to chemical warfare. On October 31 they used a non-lethal incapacitating agent on a group of



YPA troops in a fully enclosed space in Vukovar. Used in this manner, the chemicals can have very serious effect, even death, and their use is allowed only outdoors.

On November 9 at the front near Novska and Okučani, the Croatian armed formations used chemicals, believed to be poison gases, which had not been identified by the time this report was prepared.

☆ ☆ ☆

In their conduct of war the Croatian armed formations have violated many common rules of warfare, built over centuries.

It is common knowledge that 11 cease-fires have been agreed upon so far usually at such points in time when the Croatian armed formations were in a nearly hopeless situation. However, each one of these armistices was used to regroup their forces and achieve a better combat position. Moreover during each of these armistices, sudden sniper and mortar fire was opened on YPA units. The YPA suffered most of its casualties during these cease-fires.

Such behaviour represents a classical case of treachery forbidden by the rules of international law.

The quoted examples show that the blackmail of prominent military and political leaders is widely practised, representing a flagrant violation of the rules of international law.

Besides, Croatian armed formations use forbidden means of war fare in their combat operations: expanding ammunition, small

76 gauge (caliber) ammunition, and in some ca-



ses even chemical weapons. By using these means of war fare, Croatian armed formations are obviously violating the rules of the international humanitarian law forbidding the use of means capable of provoking excessive and unnecessary losses and sufferings, which go beyond the objectives of the war.

Genocidal Actions of the Armed Formations and Authorities in Croatia

The best testimony to the ustashi nature of the Croatian Democratic Union's rule in Croatia is the appeal sent by prominent Croatian intellectuals to European antifascist organisations, in which they speak about the massive fascist terror in Croatia. The appeal says: "Under the umbrella and with the participation of the authorities and the Croatian Democratic Union brutal fascist regime and order are methodically established and implemented. The overt and symbolic announcement of their march was the renaming of the Victims of Fascism Square in Zagreb after which about one-hundred streets in Zagreb also changed their names including the Eighth of May Street, commemorating the day when Zagreb was liberated from the fascist occupiers. In one year more than 200 monuments and memorials to the national liberation struggle against fascism were destroyed. In Split alone about 150 antifascist's graves have been desecrated and damaged and the name of Garibaldi Battalion Square commemorating Italian antifascist combatants erased. The Parliament of Croatia passed a law abolishing the special rights of combatants who had joined the resistance movement before 1943, those who had fought in the resistance since the outbreak

77



The burned Serbian village Kosovac.

of 1941 war and those who had fought in the Spanish civil war. New organisations, Croatian War Veterans and Croatian Domobrans, were formed incorporating members of those units

which had fought on the side of the German fascists, and the Association of the National Liberation War Veterans of Croatia was denied any financial support.

About 120,000 Serbs have been fired only because they are Serbs. Over 600 Serbian-owned shops and stores, offices and the like have been blown up. More than 1000 flats, houses and summer cottages have been plundered and destroyed. In Zadar alone 90 Serbian-owned shops were plundered and mined. Militants of the ruling party are daily issued tenancy leases for flats where Serbs, YPA personnel or other undesirable, from the authority's standpoint, citizens live. Serbs are daily harassed in shops, offices, at work or by telephone. Children in public gardens, schools, kindergartens are also exposed to harassment. Thousands of children were under threat forced to leave their schools and kindergartens. In conformance with the war decree issued by the President of Croatia, the police terror has also intensified lately. The decree authorises breaking into flats, searches and plundering, arrests and detention up to five days without any warrant or court edicts. It has officially decreed the terrorisation of the Serbs, YPA personnel and their families and other citizens deemed undesirable by the authorities".

In view of the total media blockade the appeal was launched to the public through the Headquarters of the Yugoslav Party in Sarajevo.

☆ ☆ ☆

An organization calling itself the "Croatian Defence Forces" has issued a document entitled "Instructions for the Defenders of the Homeland", which describes the manner in which YPA servi-

cemen and their families should be treated. The nature of this document is best shown by its contents:

THE CROATIAN DEFENCE FORCES Zagreb, August 28, 1991

Instructions for the Defenders of the Homeland Number 5 PSYCHOLOGICAL STRIKE AGAINST THE MILITARY CRIMINALS Stage 1

Every member of the SERBIAN OCCUPYING RABBLE ARMY in our city must be made to feel totally insecure and endangered outside his barracks.

One week after our psychological strike, the criminal must feel like a rejected mangy dog, terrified of his own shadow. He must be riddled with FEAR about the possible fate of his family. He must be filled with SUSPICION about the judiciousness and morality of the orders issued by his superiors. His CONSCIENCE must pain him at every thought about the crimes to which he is an accomplice.

Life in our city must become totally unbearable for him. If there remains but a tiny grain of humaneness in him, he will cast the blooded star from his brow and join the National Guard Corps.

If, on the other hand, he has no humanity in him, then his fear and suspicion will inflame him, he will lose his mind and we shall overcome him easily.

Actions by the CROATIAN DEFENCE FORCES against the military criminals in the first stage encompass five fields of activity:

1. the streets through which the military criminals move,

80



HRVATSKE BRAMBENE SNAGE

U Zagrebu, 28. kolovoza 1991.

Upute braniteljskim snagama
PSIHOLOŠKI UDAR NA VOJNE ZLOTOVCE

Broj 5
Stranica 1

Svaki pripadnik SRPSKE OKUPATORSKE VOJNOGARDIJE u našim gradovima mora se osjećati izvan svojih totalno nesigurnih i opasnih okoliša. Tjedan dana po našem psihološkom udaru, slikovno se treba činiti poput odbačenog štakora čija je svaki dio vlastite sjene. STRAH ga treba proganjeti pri pomisli na neželjenu sudbinu njegovih najmilijih. SUMNJA ga treba prodirati pri pomisli na razumnost i moralnost naredbi njegovih predpostavljenih. GRIJEŠNA SAVJESTI ga mora izjedati pri pomisli na zločina koji je izvršio. Život u našim gradovima mora mu postati nepodnošljiv. Ako je u njemu bar traga čovječnosti, strah će ga lako tad svladati. Ako pak nema ni traga čovječnosti, strah i sumnja razjarit će ga, postajući neizdrživo i paši će ga lako tad svladati.

Akcijski pripadnici HRVATSKIH BRAMBENIH SNAGA protiv vojnih zločinaca obuhvaćaju u prvoj fazi 5 područja djelovanja:

1. ulice, kojima se kreću vojni zločinci
2. stambene zgrade, u kojima stanuju vojni zločinci
3. stanovi, u kojima žive vojni zločinci
4. osobna vozila vojnih zločinaca
5. obitelji vojnih zločinaca.

1. ULICE

Najbolja mjesta za ispisivanje poruka / grafiti / su zidovi nasuprot ulaza u vojni ili drugi vojni ustanov, te općenito mjesta kojima se kreću vojni zločinci / zidovi zgrada nasuprot tržajevskim stanicama, duž tržajevskih pruga, voze velikih stambenih zgrada i ostale javne zgrade koje su lako uočljive za veći broj prolaznika. Poruke mora biti čitke, jasne i pisane u kasno noćno sate. Poruke:

SMRT JNA !
SMRT JNA – SLOBODA NARODU !
SMRT JNA – SLOBODA HRVATSKOJ !
JNA – HORDE ZLA !

2. the buildings in which the military criminals live,
3. the flats in which the military criminals live,
4. the cars owned by the military criminals,
- and
5. the families of the military criminals.

1. The Streets

The best spots for messages (graffiti) are walls opposite entrances to barracks and other military institutions, as well as walls near places

81

frequented by many people (the walls of buildings opposite tram stops and along the tram routes, the doorways of large apartment blocks and other surfaces clearly visible to a large number of people).

The writing must be legible, with large characters (easiest done with car repair spray paint), and best done during the hours of darkness.

The Messages:

DEATH TO THE YPA!

DEATH TO THE YPA – FREEDOM TO THE PEOPLE!

DEATH TO THE YPA – FREEDOM FOR CROATIA!

YPA – HORDES OF EVIL!

☆ ☆ ☆

The exodus of the Serbian people from „democratic“ Croatia has acquired such proportions that it is now evident that the current developments in this republic are the continuation of the sinister plans of the ustashi genocidal machinery, which from 1941 to 1945 in the so-called Independent State of Croatia (NDH) attempted to resolve the Serbian question according to the following monstrous formula: one-third of the Serbs were to be forcefully catholicized, one-third resettled and one-third liquidated. The fifty years between 1941 and 1991 have not taken the edge off the sword of the hatred directed against the Serbs. On the contrary, the edge is now sharper than ever.

The leadership of Croatia recently issued an order that 27 villages in the areas of Mts Papuk and Psunj be completely evacuated within 48 hours. The explanation offered was that this would be in the interest of the villagers because



A Serbian refuge camp in Slavonia.

of possible attacks by “Serbian Chetniks”. It really is highly cynical to see the ustashi authorities “defending” one group of Serbs from another. The order resulted in a tide of over 10,000 refugees – old people, women and children – from the Serbian villages in the Požega Valley heading for the neighbouring republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. On October 31, 1991, ustashi armed formations launched an offensive on the Serbian villages in the Grubišno Polje municipality at the foot of Mt Bilogora. The people who fled from there joined the exodus from the Požega Valley. Those who did not manage to escape in time could only expect certain death.

Combat operations of Croatian forces continued on November 1, 1991 too, although President Tudjman himself appealed to the YPA to refrain from any combat activities on that day (All Saints’ Day) – yet another in a series of deceptions. Instead of peace, the Croatian militants on

the religious holiday burned to the ground a 300-year-old church of the Assumption in the village Donja Rašenica.

It took only 24 hours for the following Serbian villages to become completely deserted: Orļevac, Nežić, Vrhovci, Velika Klisa, Šnjegovići, Šušnjari, Kamenska, Mijači, Striježevica, Šeovci, Cažje, Kamenska, Vučjak, Kula, Zrinjska, Mali Grdjevac, Veliki Grdjevac, Brdjani, Cremušina, Sibenik, Dapčevica, Lončarica, Mala Jasenovača, Mala Barna, Velika Barna, Mala Petrovica, Velika Petrovica, Turčević Polje and Rešenica. Eighteen villages were burned down and razed to the ground, and everything that moved was shot dead, slaughtered or killed in other ways.

The testimonies of the Serbs who fled from the area are horrifying. We are quoting here only some of them.

Mirko Djordjević of Grubišno Polje says he saw with his own eyes when Croatian militants massacred his first-door neighbours – they cut off



84 Even a dog found in a Serbian village was not spared bestiality.

their fingers, gouged their eyes, cut off their ears and then cut their throats. They butchered and old man and then cut his head off and kicked it around like a football.

Dušan Bojević from the village of Veliki Grdjevac near Bjelovar says that Croatian militants slaughtered all old men and women from his village who had not managed to escape. His parents are among those massacred.

All this shows that there is no room for the Serbian people in the territories where the Croatian "democratic" rule has been established. One of the marketing moves in the election campaign of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) party, when chequered cans containing "pure Croatian air" were sold in Zagreb and in other Croatian towns, is perhaps the best example of this approach.

The historical fact that in these areas in 1942, ustashi slaughtered 1,368 Serbs – mostly women and children, whose bodies were then thrown into five wells in the area of Slobostine – testifies best that the parallel between the current authorities in Croatia and the fascist ustashi authorities in the NDH is neither accidental nor fictitious.

☆ ☆ ☆

In only three hours, the residents of Zadar who went on a rampage on May 2, 1991, destroyed or looted 168 small businesses owned by Serbs. The material damage was enormous. A restaurant owned by Boško Pupovac and valued at one million German marks was completely demolished. The enraged crowd chanted "Ustashi, ustashi... NDH". The local police did nothing to prevent the pogrom.



Neven Ležajić was a successful businessman. He owned the nautical equipment factory "Inoh" in Goženica near Zadar valued at about 4.3 million German marks. And then Croatian authorities confiscated everything he had earned without any explanation. The factory was given to a Croat from Austria, and members of the Croatian National Guard Corps moved into his house.

The procedure for expelling this successful businessman from the territory of "democratic" Croatia followed the well-known scenario: the Slobodni Tjednik (ST) magazine first accused Ležajić of collaborating with representatives of the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) in Zadar, manufacturing arms in his factory and using his private plane for reconnaissance missions; this was followed by "official" steps whose outcome had been known in advance.

Meanwhile, local police arrested Nenad Rnjak and Milan Grčić, financial manager and technical manager of "Inoh", only because they worked in the factory. Both of them are also Serbs.



According to Dragica Graovac, Serbs are persecuted in Rijeka on purely ethnic grounds.

Dragica, an economist, received notice after working for seven years as head of the accounting department of the Rijeka company "Brodokomerc". Another 14 Serbs employed in "Brodokomerc" also lost their jobs. Among them are Josif Vučinić, manager of the "Korzo" department store, and Vedran Nikšić, manager of „Poljopromet”.



The manager of "Maloprodaja", a Croat, lost his job only because his wife is a Serb.

The selection method applied in Rijeka is well-known: first the ST magazine publishes a story about a company in which Serbs hold executive posts. This is followed by individual accusations concerning their alleged collaboration with "chetniks" or their "undesirability", after which they receive notice.



Acting on "an official report" that a "chetnik-terrorist gang" undermining the fledgling democracy is hiding in the house of Živko Peulić, a Serb from Osijek, and that a network of corridors and shelters has been built under the house, Osijek police organized "a spectacular" arrest of the gang. The action was broadcast live thanks to the presence of Croatian television reporters.

The move was aimed at corroborating the claims of the Croatian leadership about the existence of chetnik terrorists and presenting to the public at least one example of the species.

On July 11, 1991, members of the Croatian Ministry of the Interior and National Guard Corps encircled Peulić's house in the "Stadion" district and started without any reason attacking it from all weapons, including armoured personnel carriers. Peulić and his wife Ljubica defended their home for 12 hours, until the ustashi killed him and seriously wounded her. The house was almost completely destroyed and yet no chetnik gang (unless being a Serb suffices to qualify for the term "chetnik bandit") and no underground passages and shelters were found.

Živko Peulić was held in high esteem in the town. His only sin was that he was a Serb.



*A YPA soldier killed after he was captured in the Bjelovar barracks:
a shot fired in the head at close range, while his hands were tied.*

His wife was admitted to the Osijek hospital and then vanished without trace. There is reasonable suspicion that she has been liquidated.

☆ ☆ ☆

Even if all the necessary and advisable caution is exercised in qualifying certain phenomena as genocide, it is difficult, after an objective and careful analysis of the behaviour of the Croatian authorities and armed formations toward the Serbian people in Croatia, not to descry genocidal intentions in them.

Even if pressures against the Serbian population in Croatia, dismissal from jobs, killing of Serbs, even in large numbers, could be 'justified' as part of the struggle against the 'enemy', the deportation of inhabitants of

27 villages on the slopes of mts. Bilogora and Papuk, killing of those who remained behind, the burning of complete villages settled by Serbs, burning of Orthodox places of worship can hardly be qualified as anything else but genocide.

The features of this international crime, which simply can not be overlooked any longer, maybe explain best the very essence of the armed clashes in Croatia, and the cruelty and brutality applied by the Croatian armed formations in them.

INSTEAD OF A CONCLUSION

Examples presented here give ample proof that the rules of the international humanitarian law have been violated in relation to all persons and objects under protection.

The frequency and gravity of these violations show that they are no exception in the behaviour of individuals, commanders and fighters of the Croatian armed formations. Quite the contrary: if one considers all the circumstances in which these violations have been committed, it is quite clear that this is the general attitude of the authorities in Croatia. It is obviously based upon the maxim that the end justifies the means, which has been outlawed in the civilized world a long time ago. By behaving so brutally towards the adversary, particularly towards the weak, Croatian armed formations fully deny the very foundations of humaneness and humanity.

The readiness to violate every agreement (12 armistices), and treacherous and perfidious attack have become a common pattern of behaviour of these armed formations and marked them as a dishonourable adversary who cannot and should not be trusted.

Of particular concern is the fact that in this armed conflict the ghosts of a not so distant past, which had brought unprecedented evil and suffering to these lands, are back and at large again. It is obvious that the fascist ideology of blood and death has been made largely operational by genocidal behaviour of Croatian armed formations and authorities against the Serbian population in Croatia. Burning of Serbian villages in Croatia, deportation of the population of 27 villages on the slopes of Papuk and Bilogora, wanton fire

opened on refugee camps, burning of forests hiding refugees, opening of work camps for the Serbs, are a 'worthy' continuation of the acts which took place in 1941-1945.

For the sake of humanity, these acts should not go unpunished. This is not only a moral obligation of the Yugoslav State, but also its clear legal duty. It emerges directly from all international treaties signed by SFR Yugoslavia as well as from the Yugoslav Criminal Code, defining such acts as criminal offences.

The obligation of criminal proceedings against the perpetrator of the said violations is equally valid for all states signatories to the above mentioned international agreements, which are bound to bring charges against persons who have committed these violations, if they find themselves under their jurisdiction, or to extradite them to Yugoslavia if so requested.

Violations listed above do not fall under prescription. This is something that both these and other perpetrators of the breaches of the international humanitarian law need to bear in mind. In the name of humaneness, one day they will have to account for their acts to the citizens of Yugoslavia and to the mankind as a whole.

III

ANNEXES



RELEVANT PROVISIONS OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE SFRY

BASIC PRINCIPLES

...

In order to carry these principles into effect, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia shall strive:

for the establishment and development of all forms of international cooperation conducive to the consolidation of peace, the strengthening of mutual respect, equality and friendship among nations and states and their rapprochement; for the broadest and freest possible exchange of material and intellectual goods; for the freedom of mutual exchange of information; and for the development of other relations contributory to the realisation of common economic, cultural, and other interests of states, nations, and peoples, especially to the development of democratic and socialist relations in international cooperation, to socialist progress in general, to the overcoming of the bloc divisiveness of the world, to the renunciation of the use of force or threat of force in international relations, and to the attainment of general and complete disarmament;

for the right of every nation freely to determine and build up its own social and political system by ways and means of its own free choice;

for the right of nations to self-determination and national independence and their right to wage a liberation war to attain these aims;

...

Article 2



The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia consists of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Socialist Republic of Croatia, the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, the Socialist Republic of Montenegro, the Socialist Republic of Serbia, the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, which are constituent of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, and the Socialist Republic of Slovenia.

Article 5

The territory of the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia is a single unified whole and consists of the territories of the Socialist Republics.

The territory of a Republic may not be altered without the consent of that Republic, nor the territory of an Autonomous Province without the consent of that Autonomous Province.

The frontiers of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia may not be altered without the consent of all the Republics and Autonomous Provinces.

Boundaries between the Republics may only be altered on the basis of mutual agreement; and if the boundary of an autonomous Province is involved, on the basis of the latter's agreement.

Article 240

The Armed Forces of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia shall protect the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the social system of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia established by the present Constitution.



The Armed Forces of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia shall make a unified whole and shall consist of the Yugoslav People's Army, as the common armed force of all the nations and nationalities and of all working people and citizens and of territorial defence, as the broadest form of organised total national armed resistance.

Any citizen who with arms or in some other way takes part in resistance against an aggressor shall be a member of the Armed Forces of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

RELEVANT PROVISIONS OF THE TOTAL NATIONAL DEFENCE LAW

Chapter IX

Article 91

The Armed Forces shall make a unified whole and shall consist of the Yugoslav People's Army and of territorial defence.

Any citizen who with arms or in some other way takes part in resistance against an adversary shall be a member of the Armed Forces.

Article 92

The Armed Forces shall protect the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the social system established by the Constitution of the SFRY.

Under conditions prescribed by federal statute the Armed Forces may discharge certain social self-protection tasks.

Article 96

The relevant federal agencies shall command and control the armed forces, establish the principles of the armed forces organisation, the armed forces command and control system, fundamentals of the development plans and plans for the deployment of the armed forces, and ensure their uniform action, and in conformity thereof, shall organise and train the Yugoslav People's Army.

98 In conformity with the planning fundamentals mentioned in this Article, para. 1, the regulations

on the methods and procedure in the preparation of the development plans and plans for the deployment of the armed forces shall be adopted by the Federal Secretary of National Defence.

The relevant agencies in the Republics and the Autonomous Provinces shall organise and prepare the territorial defence, command it and ensure the unity of its organisation, training and action in conformity with the fundamentals of the development plans and plans for the deployment of the armed forces.

Article 103

The territorial defence shall be organised and prepared within the unified total national defence system in conformity with the Constitution, statutes, organizational fundamentals and the fundamentals of the armed forces development plans and plans for the deployment thereof, the armed forces control and command system, uniform armament, equipment and armed forces training bases and in line with the decisions and plans of the socio-political communities.

ORDER OF THE PRESIDENCY OF THE SFR YUGOSLAVIA

Belgrade – As it has been stated, the federal Presidency, at its session held yesterday, and chaired by its President Dr Borisav Jović, concluded the following:

The Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, in accordance with its constitutional obligations and authority vested in it under Article 313 of the SFRY Constitution,

reviewing the state of affairs in the area of the protection of the Yugoslav constitutional order and the tendencies imminently threatening that order, notes that arms have been secretly imported from some neighbouring and other countries and distributed to citizens on the basis of their national and political affiliation and choices, in blatant violation of the Yugoslav laws and with the direct involvement of some organizations in foreign states and with the knowledge of their authorities. In this way, illegal paramilitary formations have been set up in several parts of the state territory, the very existence and planned terroristic activities of which constitute an immediate danger of armed rebellion and ethnic clashes of the widest proportions, with unforeseeable consequences for the security of citizens, the country's sovereignty and integrity.

In order to prevent these activities and enable peaceful democratic processes to evolve in SFR Yugoslavia as well as the implementation of the reforms that have been initiated, the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, at its session of January 9, 1991, decides as follows:

ORDER

1. With the coming of this order into effect, all armed formations which are not part of the unified armed formations of the SFR Yugoslavia or of the organs of the interior, and the organization of which has not been provided for by federal regulations shall be dissolved.

2. The arms and equipment belonging to the armed formations under Article 1 of this Order shall be immediately surrendered to the nearest YPA units and establishments, regardless of
100 whether they have been collected by individual

organs in republics of whether they are in the possession of various groups and individual persons.

3. Persons who have come into possession of military arms, ammunition or other combat means, are duty-bound to hand them over, along with a certificate, to the nearest unit or establishment of the Yugoslav People's Army.

4. The activities under items 1 to 3 of this Order are to be completed within TEN DAYS of its adoption. Persons who by this deadline fully meet their commitments under this Order cannot be held accountable. Against those persons who do not carry out these obligations measures envisaged by statute shall be applied.

5. In connection with the implementation of this Order, the Yugoslav People's Army shall, by virtue of a special decision of the federal Presidency, see to the protection of all citizens on the entire territory of the SFR Yugoslavia, in the event that other competent organs are unable to do so.

6. The Federal Secretariat for National Defence, in carrying out its inspection activities under the Law on Total National Defence (Yugoslav Official Gazette, No. 21/82), shall supervise the execution of this Order.

7. The units and establishments of the Yugoslav People's Army appointed by the Federal Secretary for National Defence shall provide for the implementation of this Order.

8. This Order shall be published in the mass media.

9. This order shall come into effect on the day of its adoption.

PRESIDENCY OF
THE SOCIALIST FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA
BELGRADE

January, 9, 1991

PRESIDENT
Dr. Borisav Jović

"Borba", 10. January 1991.



THE CONCLUSIONS OF THE FEDERAL CHAMBER OF THE ASSEMBLY OF SFR YUGOSLAVIA

With reference to the federal Presidency's President Dr. Borisav Jović's paper regarding the current political and security situation in the country and the measures for overcoming the constitutional crisis and relative to the Information presented by the federal Presidency on the current political and security situation in the country of April 1991; bearing in mind the Programme of Measures and Activities of the federal Presidency for a lasting settlement of ethnic and inter-republic conflicts of May 9, 1991, and with reference to the Views of the Federal Executive Council of May 8, 1991, on the current political and security situation in the country, and particularly in the Republic of Croatia; proceeding from the debates at the working bodies of the Council and the Council session, the federal Parliament on the basis of Article 137 of the Rules of Procedure of the Federal Chamber of the Federal Parliament, adopted at the session of the Federal Chamber of May 10, 1991, the following

CONCLUSIONS

1. The Federal Chamber of the Assembly of the SFR Yugoslavia assessments, views and conclusions of the SFRY Presidency embodied in the SFRY Presidency President's address on the current political and security situation in the country and the measures for overcoming the crisis.



The Federal Chamber considers that the Programme of Measures and Activities of the SFRY Presidency for a lasting settlement of ethnic and inter-republic conflicts and the Views of the Federal Executive Council on the current political and security situation in the country, and particularly in the Republic of Croatia, are exceptionally important for easing the political and security situation in the country, for providing conditions for overcoming the crisis by peaceful and democratic means, and for reaching an agreement on the future order of the state.

2. The Federal Chamber of the Assembly of the SFRY makes it incumbent on all organs in the federation to proceed immediately and resolutely to the implementation of the Programme of Measures and Activities of the SFRY Presidency for a lasting settlement of ethnic and inter-republic conflicts and thus preclude possible disastrous consequences on all citizens, nations and national minorities in the country as a whole.

The Federal Chamber calls upon all parliaments of the republics and all parliaments of the autonomous provinces to ensure that the Programme of Measures and Activities of the SFRY Presidency for a lasting settlement of ethnic and inter-republic conflicts and the Views of the Federal Executive Council be consistently implemented.

The Federal Chamber energetically demands that armed clashes and all forms of violence immediately cease, that the reserve formations of the police, that is the forces of the militia, be demobilized and that the withdrawal of weapons from citizens be organized and monitored by responsible agencies, that a detailed investigation be conducted regarding the armed clashes, casualties and material damage caused and that

the culprits of the acts perpetrated be appropriately punished, in accordance with the law.

3. The Federal Chamber of the Assembly of the SFRY underlines that the Yugoslav People's Army, as the armed force of all the nations and national minorities of Yugoslavia, should continue to carry out its functions throughout the territory of Yugoslavia, in conformity with the Yugoslav Constitution and federal laws and act in favour of preventing ethnic conflicts.

The Federal Chamber condemns all attacks against the Yugoslav People's Army, its members, facilities and means and demands that the necessary conditions for the realization of its constitutional role be provided.

4. The Federal Chamber of the Assembly of the SFRY considers it essential that the legal security of citizens is ensured throughout the Yugoslav territory, with the full respect of human rights and freedoms of all nations and nationalities and that the lives and property of citizens and the functioning of the legitimate order in the republics and in the country as a whole be provided for.

The Federal Chamber makes it binding on the Federal Executive Council to secure, in cooperation with the competent organs in the republics and autonomous provinces, the workings of the legal system, the protection of freedoms, the safety of individuals and of property and the rights of all citizens.

5. The Federal Chamber of the Assembly of the SFRY demands that the problems that have arisen in the country be settled in a peaceful and democratic manner, by refraining from passing acts which could unilaterally change the constitutionally-established pattern of relations in the country until a final agreement on regulating



СЛУЖБЕНИ ЛИСТ

СОЦИЈАЛИСТИЧКЕ ФЕДЕРАТИВНЕ РЕПУБЛИКЕ ЈУГОСЛАВИЈЕ

„СЛУЖБЕНИ ЛИСТ СФРЈ“ излази у издату на српском језику, односно хрватском, словеначком, македонском, албанском и мађарском језику. - Отисак по тарифи. - Жиро-рачуна код Службе државног издаваштва 6007460-21943

Петак, 10. мај 1991.

БЕОГРАД

БРОЈ 32

ГОД. XLVII

Цена овог броја је 34 динара. - Авантисна цена протисака за 1991. годину износи 1.190 динара. - Рок за рекламацију 15 дана. - Издавач: Уставна Јована Ристевића бр. 1, Београд, бр. 224. - Телефон: Централна 430-133; Уредништво 431-483; Служба протисака 431-732; Телекс 11754; Телеграф 431-482

380.

Поводом изјављеног председника Председништва СФРЈ др Борислава Јовића о актуелној политичко-безбедној ситуацији у земљи и мерама за превлађивање уставне кризе и Информације Председништва СФРЈ о актуелној политичко-безбедној ситуацији у земљи од априла 1991. године, изјављује у складу са Програмом мера и активностима Председништва СФРЈ за трајно решење међунационалних и међурегионалних сукоба од 9. маја 1991. године, Ставови Савезног извршног већа поводом актуелне политичко-безбедне ситуације у земљи, а посебно у Републици Хрватској од 8. маја 1991. године и, полазећи од правне на радним телима Већа и на седници Већа, Скупштине СФРЈ, на основу члана 137. Пословника Савезног већа Скупштине СФРЈ, на седници Савезног већа од 10. маја 1991. године, донела је

ЗАКЉУЧКЕ

1. Савезно веће Скупштине СФРЈ поздравља оцене, ставове и закључке Председништва СФРЈ савремене у и складу са програмом мера и активностима Председништва СФРЈ о актуелној политичко-безбедној ситуацији у земљи и мерама за превлађивање кризе.

Савезно веће оцењује да су за смирење политичко-безбедне ситуације у земљи и за стварање услова за миран и демократски начин превлађивања кризе и постављање договора о будућем уређењу земље, од изузетног значаја Програм мера и активностима Председништва СФРЈ за трајно решење међунационалних и међурегионалних сукоба, као и Ставови Савезног извршног већа поводом актуелне политичко-безбедне ситуације у земљи, а посебно у Републици Хрватској.

2. Савезно веће Скупштине СФРЈ обавештаје свепартисну федерацију да одмах и одлучно приступе реализацији Програма мера и активностима Председништва СФРЈ за трајно решење међунационалних и међурегионалних сукоба и тиме спрече могуће катастрофалне последице по све грађане, народе и народности и земље у целини.

Савезно веће позива све скупштинске републике и скупштинске аутономне покрајине да обезбеде доследно спровођење Програма мера и активностима Председништва СФРЈ за трајно решење међунационалних и међурегионалних сукоба и Ставови Савезног извршног већа.

Савезно веће одлучно захтева да се одмах прекину оружане сукобе, свако насиље, изврши демобилизација резервног састава полицијских, односно милицијских снага и организација полицајских органа од грађана, под контролом надлежних органа, спроведи детаљна истрага у вези са оружаним сукобима, лудским жртвима и насталом материјалном штетом и, веома желимо, изврши, за учесника дола, одговорност изјави у складу са законом.

3. Савезно веће Скупштине СФРЈ истиче да Југословенска народна армија, као оружана снага свих народа и народности Југославије, и даље треба да на целој територији СФРЈ врши своје функције у складу са Уставом СФРЈ и свепартисном федерацијом и делује на спречавање међунационалних сукоба.

Савезно веће осуђује све нападе на Југословенску народну армију, њене припаднике, објекте и средства и тражи да се обезбеде неопходни услови за остваривање њене улоге.

4. Савезно веће Скупштине СФРЈ оцењује да је неопходно да се на целој територији СФРЈ обезбеде права сигурност грађана, уз пуно поштовање људских права и слобода свих народа и народности, као и да се осигурају животи и имовина грађана и функционисање легитимног поретка у републикама и у земљи у целини.

Савезно веће обавештаје Савезно извршно веће да, у складу са надлежним органима у републикама и аутономним покрајинама, обезбеде функционисање правног поретка, заштиту слобода, личну и имовинску сигурност и права свих грађана.

5. Савезно веће Скупштине СФРЈ захтева да се настали проблеми у земљи разрешавају на миран и демократски начин, уз упућивање од доношних влада којима да се на јединствени начин решају Уставом СФРЈ успостављени односи у земљи, до постављања коначног договора о уређењу односа у Југословенској заједници.

6. Савезно веће Скупштине СФРЈ оцењује да је неопходно да Скупштина СФРЈ и њена већа успоставе непосредну сарадњу са скупштинама република и скупштинама аутономних покрајина у циљу спровођења ове закључке, Програма мера и активностима Председништва СФРЈ за трајно решење међунационалних и међурегионалних сукоба и Ставови Савезног извршног већа поводом актуелне политичко-безбедне ситуације у земљи.

Потпуном од уставне одговорности Скупштине СФРЈ, Савезно веће оцењује да је неопходно да Скупштина СФРЈ и њена већа сагледају тежак и проблем у остваривању њене улоге у разрешавању уставне кризе у земљи и предлози, до краја јуна, намера и мере којима да се створе услови да се Скупштина СФРЈ активније укључи у процес изналажења решења о будућем устројству земље.

7. Савезно веће Скупштине СФРЈ позива све грађане, народе и народности Југославије, политичке партије и организације да се непосредно укључују на трајно решење међунационалних, односно међурегионалних сукоба, а да доприне мирном и демократском начину разрешавања ове ситуације.

8. Савезно веће Скупштине СФРЈ захтева да до краја јуна ове године достави извештаје о спровођењу закључака Већа о политичко-безбедној ситуацији у земљи.

9. Председништво СФРЈ, огласно својим Уставом СФРЈ утврђеним правима и дужностима, обавештава ове обавештења Скупштину СФРЈ о спровођењу Програма мера и активностима за трајно решење међунационалних и међурегионалних сукоба који је оно дошло у циљу превлађивања postoјеће вогорашне политичко-безбедне ситуације и уставне кризе у земљи.

10. Ови закључци објављују се у „Службеном листу СФРЈ“.

Скупштина СФРЈ

Бр. 06-6/91-060
10. маја 1991. године
Београд

Председник
Скупштине СФРЈ,
др Слободан Главогорић, с. р.

Председник
Савезног већа,
Богдана Глушчић-Тешков, с. р.

relations in the Yugoslav community has been reached.

6. The Federal Chamber of the Assembly of the SFRY deems it essential that the federal Parliament and its Chambers establish a more direct cooperation with the parliaments of the republics and the parliaments of the autonomous

provinces with a view to implementing these conclusions, the Programme of Measures and Activities of the SFRY Presidency for a lasting settlement of ethnic and inter-republic conflicts and the Views of the Federal Executive Council regarding the current political and security situation in the country.

Proceeding from the federal Parliament's constitutional responsibilities, the Federal Chamber assesses it imperative that the Assembly of the SFRY and its Chambers review the difficulties and problems attendant to its role in resolving the constitutional crisis in the country and propose, by June, the ways and means of providing conditions for the Assembly of the SFRY to become more actively involved in the process of seeking solutions as to the future system to be set up in the country.

7. The Federal Chamber of the Assembly of the SFRY calls upon all citizens, nations and national minorities of Yugoslavia, political parties and organizations to take an active part in finding a lasting settlement to ethnic, that is inter-republic conflicts with a view to contributing to a settlement of the present social crisis by peaceful and democratic means.

8. The Federal Chamber of the Assembly of the SFRY bids the Federal Executive Council and the competent federal agencies to submit, by the end of June of this year, reports on the implementation of the Conclusions of the Chamber regarding the political and security situation in the country.

9. The SFRY Presidency, in conformity with rights and duties stemming from the Constitution, of the SFRY shall timely inform the Assembly the SFRY about the implementation of the Programme of Measures and Activities for a lasting

settlement of ethnic and inter-republic conflicts which in adopted with the aim of overcoming existing worsened political and security situation and the constitutional crisis in the country.

10. These Conclusions shall be published in the "Yugoslav Official Gazette".

Assembly of the SFRY
No. 06-6/91-060
May 10, 1991
Belgrade

Dr. Slobodan Gligorijević
President
of the Assembly of the SFRY

PROTOCOL ADDITIONAL
TO THE GENEVA
CONVENTIONS OF 12
AUGUST 1949, AND RELATING
TO THE PROTECTION OF
VICTIMS OF
NON-INTERNATIONAL
ARMED CONFLICTS
(PROTOCOL II)

PREAMBLE

The High Contracting Parties,
Recalling that the humanitarian principles enshrined in Article 3 common to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, constitute the foundation of respect for the human person in cases of armed conflict not of an international character,

Recalling furthermore that international instruments relating to human rights offer a basic protection to the human person,

Emphasizing the need to ensure a better protection for the victims of those armed conflicts,

Recalling that, in cases not covered by the law in force, the human person remains under the protection of the principles of humanity and the dictates of the public conscience,

108 Have agreed on the following:

PART I
SCOPE OF THIS PROTOCOL

Article 1

Material field of application

1. This Protocol, which develops and supplements Article 3 common to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 without modifying its existing conditions of application, shall apply to all armed conflicts which are not covered by Article 1 of the Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and relating to the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts (Protocol I) and which take place in the territory of a High Contracting Party between its armed forces and dissident armed forces or other organized armed groups which, under responsible command, exercise such control over a part of its territory as to enable them to carry out sustained and concerted military operations and to implement this Protocol.

2. This Protocol shall not apply to situations of internal disturbances and tensions, such as riots, isolated and sporadic acts of violence and other acts of a similar nature, as not being armed conflicts.

Article 2

Personal field of application

1. This Protocol shall be applied without any adverse distinction founded on race, colour, sex language, religion or belief, political or other opinion, national or social origin, wealth, birth or other status, or on any other similar criteria 109

(hereinafter referred to as "adverse distinction") to all persons affected by an armed conflict as defined in Article 1.

2. At the end of the armed conflict, all the persons who have been deprived of their liberty or whose liberty has been restricted for reasons related to such conflict, as well as those deprived of their liberty or whose liberty is restricted after the conflict for the same reasons, shall enjoy the protection of Articles 5 and 6 until the end of such deprivation or restriction of liberty.

Article 3

Non-intervention

1. Nothing in this Protocol shall be invoked for the purpose of affecting the sovereignty of a State or the responsibility of the government, by all legitimate means, to maintain or re-establish law and order in the State or defend the national unity and territorial integrity of the State.

2. Nothing in this Protocol shall be invoked as a justification for intervening, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the armed conflict or in the internal or external affairs of the High Contracting Party in the territory of which that conflict occurs.

PART II

HUMANE TREATMENT

Article 4

Fundamental guarantees

1. All persons who do not take a direct part
110 or who have ceased to take part in hostilities,

whether or not their liberty has been restricted, are entitled to respect for their person, honour and convictions and religious practices. They shall in all circumstances be treated humanely, without any adverse distinction. It is prohibited to order that shall be no survivors.

2. Without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing, the following acts against the persons referred to in paragraph 1 are and shall remain prohibited at any time and any place whatsoever:

(a) *violence to the life health and physical or mental well-being of persons, in particular murder as well as cruel treatment such as torture, mutilation or any form of corporal punishment;*

(b) *collective punishments;*

(c) *taking of hostages;*

(d) *acts of terrorism;*

(e) *outrages upon personal dignity, in particular humiliating and degrading treatment, rape, enforced prostitution and any form of indecent assault;*

(f) *slavery and the slave trade in all their forms;*

(g) *pillage;*

(h) *threats to commit any of the foregoing acts.*

3. Children shall be provided with the care and aid they require, and in particular:

(a) *they shall receive education, including religious and moral education, in keeping with the wishes of their parents or, in the absence of parents, of those responsible for their care;*

(b) *all appropriate steps shall be taken to facilitate the reunion of families temporarily separated;*

(c) *children who have not attained the age of fifteen years shall neither be recruited in the armed forces or groups nor allowed to take part in hostilities;*

(d) the special protection provided by this Article to children who have not attained the age of fifteen years shall remain applicable to them if they take a direct part in hostilities despite the provisions of sub-paragraph (c) and are captured;

(e) measures shall be taken, if necessary, and whenever possible with the consent of their parents who by law or custom are primarily responsible for their care, to remove children temporarily from the area in which hostilities are taking place to a safer area within the country and ensure that they are accompanied by persons responsible for their safety and well-being.

Article 5

Persons whose liberty has been restricted

1. In addition to the provisions of Article 4, the following provisions shall be respected as a minimum with regard to persons deprived of their liberty for reasons related to the armed conflict, whether they are interned or detained:

(a) the wounded and the sick shall be treated in accordance with Article 7;

(b) the persons referred to in this paragraph shall, to the same extent as the local civilian population, be provided with food and drinking water and be afforded safeguards as regards health and hygiene and protection against the rigours of the climate and the dangers of the armed conflict;

(c) they shall be allowed to receive individual or collective relief;

(d) they shall be allowed to practise their
112 religion and, if requested and appropriate, to

receive spiritual assistance from persons, such as chaplains, performing religious functions;

(e) they shall, if made to work, have the benefit of working conditions safeguards similar to those enjoyed by the local civilian population.

2. Those who are responsible for the internment or detention of the persons referred to in paragraph 1 shall also, within the limits of their capabilities, respect the following provisions relating to such persons:

(a) except when men and women of a family are accommodated together, women shall be held in quarters separated from those of men and shall be under the immediate supervision of women;

(b) they shall be allowed to send receive letters and cards, the number of which may be limited by competent authority if it deems necessary;

(c) places of internment and detention shall not be located close to the combat zone. The persons referred to in paragraph 1 shall be evacuated when the places where they are interned or detained become particularly exposed to danger arising out of the armed conflict, if their evacuation can be carried out under adequate conditions of safety;

(d) they shall have the benefit of medical examinations;

(e) their physical or mental health and integrity shall not be endangered by any unjustified act or omission. Accordingly, it is prohibited to subject the persons described in this Article to any medical procedure which is not indicated by the state of health of the person concerned, and which is not consistent with the generally accepted medical standards applied to free persons under similar medical circumstances.

3. Persons who are not covered by paragraph 1 but whose liberty has been restricted in any way whatsoever for reasons related to the armed conflict shall be treated humanely in accordance with Article 4 and with paragraphs 1 (a), (c) and (d), and 2 (b) of this Article.

4. If it is decided to release persons deprived of their liberty, necessary measures to ensure their safety shall be taken by those so deciding.

Article 6

Penal prosecutions

1. This Article applies to the prosecution and punishment of criminal offences related to the armed conflict.

2. No sentence shall be passed and no penalty shall be executed on a person found guilty of an offence except pursuant to a conviction pronounced by a court offering the essential guarantees of independence and impartiality. In particular:

(a) the procedure shall provide for an accused to be informed without delay of the particulars of the offence alleged against him and shall afford the accused before and during his trial all necessary rights and means of defence;

(b) no one shall be convicted of an offence except on the basis of individual penal responsibility;

(c) no one shall be held guilty of any criminal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a criminal offence, under the law, at the time when it was committed; nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than that which was applicable at the time when the criminal
114 *offence was committed if, after the commission*

of the offence, provision is made by law for the imposition of a lighter penalty, the offender shall benefit thereby;

(d) anyone charged with an offence is presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law;

(e) anyone charged with an offence shall have the right to be tried in his presence;

(f) no one shall be compelled to testify against himself or to confess guilt.

3. A convicted person shall be advised on conviction of his judicial and other remedies and of the time-limits within which they may be exercised.

4. The death penalty shall not be pronounced on persons who were under the age of eighteen years at the time of the offence and shall not be carried out on pregnant women or mothers of young children.

5. At the end of hostilities, the authorities in power shall endeavour to grant the broadest possible amnesty to persons who have participated in the armed conflict, or those deprived of their liberty for reasons related to the armed conflict, whether they are interned or detained.

PART III

WOUNDED, SICK AND SHIPWRECKED

Article 7

Protection and care

1. All the wounded, sick and shipwrecked, whether or not they have taken part in the armed conflict, shall be respected and protected.

2. In all circumstances they shall be treated humanely and shall receive, to the fullest extent practicable and with the least possible delay, the medical care and attention required by their condition. There shall be no distinction among them founded on any grounds other than medical ones.

Article 8

Search

Whenever circumstances permit, and particularly after an engagement, all possible measures shall be taken, without delay, to search for and collect the wounded, sick and shipwrecked, to protect them against pillage and ill-treatment, to ensure their adequate care, and to search for the dead, prevent their being despoiled, and decently dispose of them.

Article 9

Protection of medical and religious personnel

1. Medical and religious personnel shall be respected and protected and be granted all available help for the performance of their duties. They shall not be compelled to carry out tasks which are not compatible with their humanitarian mission.

2. In the performance of their duties medical personnel may not be required to give priority to any person except on medical grounds.

Article 10

General protection of medical duties

1. Under no circumstances shall any person
116 be punished for having carried out medical activi-

ties compatible with medical ethics, regardless of the person benefiting therefrom.

2. Persons engaged in medical activities shall neither be compelled to perform acts or to carry out work contrary to, nor be compelled to refrain from acts required by, the rules of medical ethics or other rules designed for the benefit of the wounded and sick, or this Protocol.

3. The professional obligations of persons engaged in medical activities regarding information which they may acquire concerning the wounded and sick under their care shall, subject to national law, be respected.

4. Subject to national law, no person engaged in medical activities may be penalized in any way for refusing or failing to give information concerning the wounded and sick who are, or who have been, under his care.

Article 11

Protection of medical units and transports

1. Medical units and transports shall be respected and protected at all times and shall not be the object of attack.

2. The protection to which medical units and transports are entitled not cease unless they are used to commit hostile acts, outside their humanitarian function. Protection may, however, cease only after a warning has been given setting, whenever appropriate, a reasonable time-limit, and after such warning has remained unheeded.

Article 12

The distinctive emblem

Under the direction of the competent authority concerned, the distinctive emblem of the red cross, red crescent or red lion and sun on a white
117

ground shall be displayed by medical and religious personnel and medical units, and on medical transports. It shall be respected in all circumstances. It shall not be used improperly.

PART IV

CIVILIAN POPULATION

Article 13

Protection of the civilian population

1. The civilian population and individual civilians shall enjoy general protection against the dangers arising from military operations. To give effect to this protection, the following rules shall be observed in all circumstances.

2. The civilian population as such, as well as individual civilians, shall not be the object of attack. Acts or threats of violence the primary purpose of which is to spread terror among the civilian population are prohibited.

3. Civilians shall enjoy the protection afforded by this Part, unless and for such time as they take a direct part in hostilities.

Article 14

Protection of objects indispensable to the survival of the civilian population

Starvation of civilians as a method of combat is prohibited. It is therefore prohibited to attack, destroy, remove or render useless, for that purpose, objects indispensable to the survival of the
118 civilian population, such as foodstuffs, agricultural

areas for the production of foodstuffs, crops, livestock, drinking water installations and supplies and irrigation works.

Article 15

Protection of works and installations containing dangerous forces

Works or installations containing dangerous forces, namely dams, dykes and nuclear electrical generating stations, shall not be made the object of attack, even where these objects are military objectives, if such attack may cause the release of dangerous forces and consequent severe losses among the civilian population.

Article 16

Protection of cultural objects and of places of worship

Without prejudice to the provisions of The Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict of 4 May 1954, it is prohibited to commit any acts of hostility directed against historic monuments, works of art or places of worship which constitute the cultural or spiritual heritage of peoples, and to use them in support of the military effort.

Article 17

Prohibition of forced movement of civilians

1. The displacement of the civilian population shall not be ordered for reasons related to the conflict unless the security of the civilians involved or imperative military reasons so demand. Should such displacements have to be carried out, all
119

possible measures shall be taken in order that the civilian population may be received under satisfactory conditions of shelter, health, safety and nutrition.

2. Civilians shall not be compelled to leave their own territory for reasons connected with the conflict.

Article 18

Relief societies and relief actions

1. Relief societies located in the territory of the High Contracting Party, such as Red Cross (Red Crescent, Red Lion and Sun) organizations, may offer their services for the performance of their traditional functions in relation to the victims of the armed conflict. The civilian population may, even on its own initiative, offer to collect and care for the wounded, sick and shipwrecked.

2. If the civilian population is suffering undue hardship owing to a lack of the supplies essential for its survival, such as foodstuffs and medical supplies, relief actions for the civilian population which are of an exclusively humanitarian and impartial nature and which are conducted without any adverse distinction shall be undertaken subject to the consent of the High Contracting Party concerned.

PART V

FINAL PROVISIONS

Article 19

Dissemination

This Protocol shall be disseminated as widely
120 as possible.

Article 20

Signature

This Protocol shall be open for signature by the Parties to the Conventions six months after the signing of the Final Act and will remain open for a period of twelve months.

Article 21

Ratification

This Protocol shall be ratified as soon as possible. The instruments of ratifications shall be deposited with the Swiss Federal Council, depositary of the Conventions.

Article 22

Accession

This Protocol shall be open for accession by any Party to the Conventions which has not signed it. The instruments of accession shall be deposited with the depositary.

Article 23

Entry into force

1. This Protocol shall enter into force six months after two instruments of ratification or accession have been deposited.

2. For each Party to the Conventions thereafter ratifying or acceding to this Protocol, it shall enter into force six months after the deposit by such Party of its instrument of ratification or accession.

Article 24

Amendment

1. Any High Contracting Party may propose amendments to this Protocol. The text of any proposed amendment shall be communicated to the depositary which shall decide, after consultation with all the High Contracting Parties and the International Committee of the Red Cross, whether a conference should be convened to consider the proposed amendment.

2. The depositary shall invite to that conference all the High Contracting Parties as well as the Parties to the Conventions, whether or not they are signatories of this Protocol.

Article 25

Denunciation

1. In case a High Contracting Party should denounce this Protocol, the denunciation shall only take effect six months after receipt of the instrument of denunciation. If, however, on the expiry of six months, the denouncing Party is engaged in the situation referred to in Article 1, the denunciation shall not take effect before the end of the armed conflict. Persons who have been deprived of liberty, or whose liberty has been restricted, for reasons related to the conflict shall nevertheless continue to benefit from the provisions of this Protocol until their final release.

2. The denunciation shall be notified in writing to the depositary, which shall transmit it to all the
122 High Contracting Parties.

Article 26

Notifications

The depositary shall inform the High Contracting Parties as well as the Parties to the Conventions, whether or not they are signatories of this Protocol, of:

(a) *signatures affixed to this Protocol and the deposit of instruments of ratification and accession under Articles 21 and 22;*

(b) *the date of entry into force of this Protocol under Article 23; and*

(c) *communications and declarations received under Article 24.*

Article 27

Registration

1. After its entry into force, this Protocol shall be transmitted by the depositary to the Secretariat of the United Nations for registration and publication, in accordance with Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations.

2. The depositary shall also inform the Secretariat of the United Nations of all ratifications and accessions received by it with respect to this Protocol.

Article 28

Authentic texts

The original of this Protocol, of which the Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish texts are equally authentic shall be deposited with the depositary, which shall transmit certified true copies thereof to all the Parties to the Conventions.

EXCERPT FROM THE CRIMINAL CODE OF THE SOCIALIST FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA

Chapter XVI

CRIMINAL OFFENCES AGAINST HUMANITY AND INTERNATIONAL LAW

Article 141

Genocide

Whoever, with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group, commits wilful killings, or inflicts serious bodily harm or gravely impairs the physical and mental health of members of the group, or forcibly deports the population, or inflicts on the group conditions of life conducive to its extermination in whole or in parts, or imposes measures intended to prevent procreation within the group or forcibly transfers children of the group to another, or whoever commits one of the above offences

shall be punished by strict imprisonment for not less than five years or by death penalty.

Article 142

War Crimes Against the Civilian Population

Whoever, in violation of the rules of international law at the time of war, armed conflict or
124 occupation, orders or executes wilful killings, tor-

tures or inhuman treatment of the civilian population, including therein biological experiments, causing great suffering or serious injury to body or health; unlawful deportation, transfers, forcible denationalization or conversion of the population to another faith; rape or compulsion to prostitution; use of measures of intimidation and terror, taking of hostages, collective penalties, unlawful taking to concentration camps and other unlawful confinements, deprivations or rights to a fair and impartial trial; compulsive enlistment in the armed forces of an enemy power, in its intelligence service or administration; coercion to compulsive labour; exposition of the population to starvation, confiscation of property, pillage, unlawful and arbitrary destruction or large-scale appropriation of property not justified by military needs, imposition of unlawful and disproportionately large contribution and requisitions, devaluation of domestic currency, or the unlawful issuance of currency, shall be punished by strict imprisonment for not less than five years or by death penalty.

Article 143

War Crimes Against the Wounded and Sick

Whoever in violation of the rules of international law at the time of war and armed conflict, orders or executes murders, tortures or inhuman treatment of the wounded and sick, the shipwrecked persons or medical personnel, including therein biological experiments, causing of great sufferings or serious injury to body or health; or whoever orders or executes unlawful and arbitrary destruction or large-scale appropriation not justified by military needs of material and supplies belonging to medical units or establishments, shall be punished by strict imprisonment for not less than five years or by death penalty. 125

War Crimes Against Prisoners of War

Whoever in violation of rules of international law orders or executes murders, tortures or inhuman treatment of prisoners of war, including biological experiments, causing of great sufferings or serious injury to body or health, compulsive enlistment into armed forces of an enemy power, or deprivation of the right to a fair and impartial trial,

shall be punished by strict imprisonment for not less than five years or by death penalty.

Article 145

Organizing a Group for Commission of Genocide and War Crimes

(1) Whoever organizes a group for the commission of criminal offences under Articles 141 to 144 of the present Code.

shall be punished by strict imprisonment for not less than five years.

(2) Whoever becomes a member of a group in paragraph 1 of this Article

shall be punished by strict imprisonment for not less than one year.

(3) A member of the group in paragraph 1 of this Article who discovers the group before becoming a member of it or committing a crime for it shall be punished by strict imprisonment up to three years, but the punishment may also be remitted.

(4) Whoever incites the execution of such criminal offences under Art. 141 to 144 of this Criminal Code,

shall be punished by strict imprisonment from one to ten years.

Unlawful Killing Or Wounding of the Enemy

(1) Whoever in violation of the rules of international law in time of war or armed conflict, kills or wounds an enemy who has laid down arms or unconditionally surrendered, or has no means to resist,

shall be punished by strict imprisonment for not less than one year.

(2) If the killing referred to in paragraph 1 or this Article has been committed in a cruel or treacherous way, out of greed or from other base motives, or if more persons have been killed, the perpetrator shall be punished by strict imprisonment for not less than ten years or by death penalty.

Article 147

Marauding

(1) Whoever orders or carries out the unlawful taking of belongings from the killed or wounded on the battlefield,

shall be punished by strict imprisonment from one to five years.

(2) If the offence specified in paragraph 1 of this Article has been committed in a cruel way, the perpetrator shall be punished by strict imprisonment from one to ten years.

Article 148

Making Use of Forbidden Means of Warfare

(1) Whoever orders the use of means or practices of warfare prohibited by rules of interna- 127

tional law in time of war or armed conflict, or whoever makes use of such means and practices, shall be punished by strict imprisonment of not less than one year.

(2) If several persons have been killed as a result of the offence defined in paragraph 1 of this Article,

the perpetrator shall be punished by strict imprisonment for not less than five years or by death penalty.

Article 149

Violating the Protection Granted To Bearers of Flags of Truce

Whoever, at the time of war or armed conflict, insults, maltreats or detains the bearer of the flag of truce or his escort or prevents them from returning in violation of the rules of international law, or in any other way violates the privilege of inviolability granted to them,

shall be punished by strict imprisonment for not less than six months or by strict imprisonment for not more than five years.

Article 150

Mishandling of the Wounded, Sick and Prisoners of War

Whoever in violation of the rules of international law, brutally treats the wounded, the sick or the prisoners of war, or prevents or impedes them in exercising the rights accorded to them under international law,

shall be punished by imprisonment for not less than six months or by strict imprisonment for not more than five years.

Article 151

Destruction of Cultural and Historical Monuments

Whoever, in time of war or armed conflict, destroys cultural and historical monuments, buildings or establishments devoted to science, art, education or humanitarian purposes in violation of the rules of international law,

shall be punished by strict imprisonment for not less than one year.

Article 152

Inciting Aggressive War

Whoever calls to or incites aggressive war, shall be punished by strict imprisonment for not less than one year and for not more than ten years.

Article 153

Misuse of International Emblems

(1) Whoever misuses or carries without authorization the flag or emblem of the United Nations, or the emblem or flag of the Red Cross, or symbols corresponding to them, or other international symbols recognized for the protection of certain objects from military operations,

shall be punished by strict imprisonment for not less than three years.

(2) Whoever commits the offence specified in paragraph 1 of this Article in the theatre of war, shall be punished by imprisonment for not less than six months or by strict imprisonment for not more than five years.

Racial and Other Discrimination

(1) Whoever violates fundamental human rights and freedoms recognized by the international community based on differences of race, colour of skin and ethnic background, shall be punished by strict imprisonment for not less than six months and not more than five years.

(2) The punishment specified in paragraph 1 of this Article shall be inflicted on whoever persecutes organizations or persons on account of their efforts in favour of human equality.

(3) Whoever spreads ideas of superiority of one race over another, or disseminates racial hatred, or incites racial discrimination, shall be punished by strict imprisonment for not less than three months and not more than three years.

Article 155

Establishment of Relations of Slavery and Transport of Persons In Relations of Slavery

(1) Whoever places another in a relationship of slavery or trades with persons who are in a relationship of slavery, or incites another to sell his freedom or the freedom of his dependents, shall be punished by strict imprisonment for not less than one year and no more than ten years.

(2) Whoever transports persons who are in a relationship of slavery from one country to another, shall be punished by imprisonment for not less than six months and not more than five years.

Imposition of the Punishment of Confiscation of Property

In imposing a sentence to strict imprisonment upon the perpetrator of any criminal offence under Articles 141 to 145 and Article 148 of the Present Code, the court may also inflict the punishment of confiscation of property.

SOURCE: Yugoslav Official Gazette No. 44/76

Det. Smith, Sgt. Cavalry



1

	Page
GENERAL CONDITIONS AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ARMED CONFLICT IN CROATIA	5
Introductory Remarks	7
The Constitutional Context	11
Constitutional Definition of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia	11
Federal Army's Role in Preventing Inter-Ethnic Conflicts	14
The Federal Army Acts in Line with the Federal Constitution	21

1

THE ARMED CONFLICT IN CROATIA AND THE INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW	23
Rules Relative to Internal Armed Conflicts	25
Violations of the Rules of the International Humanitarian Law Committed by Members of the Armed Forces of Croatia	33
Violations Against the Civilian Population	33
Violations Against Wounded, Sick, Dead, Medical Personnel, Medical Transports and religious personel	44
Violations Against Persons Deprived of Their Li- berty Due to the Armed Conflict	49
Violations Against Cultural Monuments and Places of Worship	58
Acts of Treachery, Forbidden Ways and Means of Warfare	64
Genocidal Actions of the Armed Formations and Authorities in Croatia	77
Instead of a Conclusion	90

133

ANNEXES	93
Relevant Provisions of the Constitution of the SFR Yugoslavia	95
Relevant Provisions of the All-National Defence Act .	98
Order of the Presidency of the SFR Yugoslavia ...	99
Conclusions of the Federal Chamber of the Assembly of the SFR Yugoslavia	102
Protocol Addition to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and Relating to the Protection of Victims of Non-International Armed Conflicts (Protocol II) . .	108
Excerpt from the Criminal Code of the SFR Yugoslavia	124

van holst en steijnen

Van: "Jürgen Elsässer" <J.Elsasser@t-online.de>

Aan: <juergen-elsaesser@gmx.de>

Verzonden: maandag 16 september 2002 03:54

Onderwerp: The Lies of Nato - now published in Italy

Dear ladies and gentlemen,

It's a pleasure for me to announce the italian edition of my book

"WAR CRIMES

NATO's Deadly Lies and its Victims in the Kosovo Conflict"

Under the title "Menzogne di Guerra" it is now out on sale, published by Edizione Citta del Sole in Napoli (you find details below). After the serbian edition "Ratni Zlocini" it is the second translation, books in french and in greek are in preparation.

The book had four editions in German, although the mainstream press in Germany tried to ignore it. The response abroad was better. "Die Presse", a big daily in Vienna, wrote: "If (German foreign minister) Fischer has to resign, than it is because of this book." "Nin", the famous weekly of Serbia, reprinted four parts of the book. Slobodan Milosevic quoted the book several times in the Hague.

On my website www.juergen-elsaesser.de you can find excerpts of the book in German and Serbian and the index of the italian edition. If you can help finding a publisher in the United Kindom, United States or elsewhere, I would be pleased.

You can try to order the book in your bookstore with the help of the ISBN-Number.

German: Juergen Elsaesser, Kriegsverbrechen. Die toedlichen Luegen der Bundesregierung und ihre Opfer im Kosovo-Konflikt. Konkret Verlag, Hamburg, Auflage 2001 (ISBN 3-930786-29-X)

Serbian: Jirgen Elzeser, Ratni Zlocini - Bestidne lazi i Ortve NATO-a u Kosovskom sukobu, Publisher Jasen, Niksic, 2002 (Tel. +381-83-212453)

Italian: Juergen Elsaesser, Menzogne di Guerra - Le bugie della NATO e le sue vittime nel conflitto per il Kosovo, La Citta' del Sole, Napoli 2002, ISBN 88-8292-183-2

Or you can order the book in any language directly from me. Please send 20 € to: Redaktion KONKRET, for Juergen Elsaesser, Ruhrstr.111, D.22761 Hamburg.

Below you find:

- An english abstract
- Biography in english
- The italian index
- My lecturing dates in Italy.

----- An english

abstract -----

»Never before so few lied so thoroughly to so many, as in connection with the Kosovo war«, says Willy Wimmer, member of the CDU party in the German Bundestag. »People died for this.«

No lie seemed too grotesque to start the slaughter and keep it going: Milosevic as the new Hitler, concentration camps in Pristina, Auschwitz in Kosovopolje. Whereas NATO and CNN took the trouble to provide fabricated video documents, the German Minister of Defense sought to convince by mere force of words: Mister Scharping's portrayal of Serbs playing football with the heads of their Albanian victims or Serbs grilling foetuses, torn from their mothers' wombs will go down in the annals of psychopathology. Finally miracles of biblical dimensions: massacred Albanian intellectuals hold post mortem press conferences in Western capitals; ghost trains suddenly appear on scarcely used tracks and bore their way into NATO-missiles; mass graves are found as empty as Our Lord's vault on the third day.

What is left? »In the nine months after stationing of KFOR in Kosovo nothing could be found to sustain the indictment of »genocide« (Le Monde Diplomatique, March 2000). In the light of new evidence and with the aid of previously inaccessible documents Juergen Elsaesser questions NATO's justification for the war.

Elsaesser proves the thesis that the first victim of war is the truth to be wrong. For the truth dies long before a war starts: It was the lies about Srebrenica, about Racak, about Rambouillet and about the so-called apartheid in Kosovo that deceived members of parliament and citizens alike and led them into a murderous adventure. NATO was made the »air force in an ethnic « (Henry Kissinger) and brought the KLA into power. The result: Pristina is purged, ethnic minorities have been driven out of Kosovo, chaos rules in the streets, the KLA's secret police is everywhere, and the few remaining survivors fear in ghettos for their lives. Indeed, nobody talks now of »humanitarian catastrophe«, »ethnic cleansing« or »genocide« and not surprisingly so: to acknowledge the disgrace of the last war would impede preparations for the next.

About the author

Juergen Elsaesser was born in 1957. Until June 1997 he was chief editor of Berlin's daily newspaper Junge Welt and from April 1999 on has been editor of the monthly magazin Konkret, Germany's most important magazine of an independent Left since 1957. He also works as a freelance journalist, amongst others for the Allgemeine Juedische Wochenzeitung, the Sueddeutsche Zeitung, the state television WDR and the Kursbuch.

Indice

L'Oceania fa la guerra

Premessa

La rampa di Srebrenica"

La preparazione della guerra Nato contro la Jugoslavia iniziò nel 1995

I combattenti per la libertà

Il terrore dell'UCK prima della guerra e la disinformazione dell'opinione pubblica occidentale

Racak: il silenzio della signora Ranta

I verbali delle autopsie dei 40 cadaveri di Racak, finora segreti, smentiscono la versione Nato di un massacro serbo

Manovrato

Che cosa accadde a Rambouillet?

Wag the dog

Come la Nato escogitò una campagna serba di espulsioni - "l'Operazione a ferro di cavallo"

Sesso, bugie e videotape

Le armi miracolose della Nato contro la propaganda di Milosevic

Dove sono i Killing Fields?

Propaganda bellica tramite comunicati di centinaia di migliaia di Albanesi del Kosovo massacrati

Fosse comuni dimenticate

Gli "effetti collaterali" della guerra di bombardamento e il cinismo dei responsabili

Depleted Credibility

La discussione occidentale sulle munizioni all'uranio è ipocrita e mira a rendere ancora più efficace la propria condotta bellica.

Il fascismo albanese

La favola del futuro multietnico del Kosovo, protettorato Nato

Epilogo

Droghe e oleodotti

Con la guerra dei separatisti albanesi contro la Macedonia si vuole erigere la Grande Albania - e controllare le vie dell'eroina e del petrolio

Appendice

Documenti

"La libanizzazione del Paese"

Comunicati stampa internazionali e perizie sulla situazione in Kosovo fra l'inizio degli Anni Settanta e l'inizio degli Anni Novanta

"Un trattamento peggiore non poté essere accertato"

Il Ministero degli Esteri tedesco sulla situazione in Kosovo dal 1990 alla fine del 1997

"Difficile distinzione fra combattenti dell'UCK e civili"

Il Ministero degli Esteri tedesco sull'escalation in Kosovo dalla primavera 1998

Jürgen Elsässer

Montagne di cadaveri per sentito dire

Un'analisi dello studio dell'OSCE "As Seen - As Told" sulle violazioni dei diritti umani in Kosovo

L'AUTORE SARA' IN ITALIA PER UN GIRO DI PRESENTAZIONI:

ROMA 25/9/2002 ore 11:00

Associazione della Stampa Estera, Sala Soci, Via della Mercede 55

NAPOLI 25/9/2002 ore 17:30

Centro Culturale "La Citta' del Sole", Via dei Tribunali 362 (palazzo Spinelli)

ROMA 26/9/2002 ore 17:00

Universita' "La Sapienza", Facolta' di Sociologia,
Via Salaria 113, aula "Mauro Wolf" (primo piano a sinistra in fondo)

BOLOGNA 27/9/2002 ore 20:30

sala Benjamin, via del Pratello 52

MILANO 28/9/2002 ore 18:00

Circolo Marchesi, Via Spallanzani 6 (presso p.ta Venezia)

TORINO 29/9/2002

orario e luogo da definire

A cura di

Coordinamento Nazionale per la Jugoslavia (CNJ): <jugocoord@libero.it>

Edizioni "La Citta' del Sole": Telefono e fax 081-4206374

Slander of Milosevic - lies about the 1989 Speech at Kosovo Polje

Here is what Robin Cooke says Milosevic said on June 28, 1989:

"Milosevic used this important anniversary not to give a message of hope and reform. Instead, he threatened force to deal with Yugoslavia's internal political difficulties. Doing so thereby launched his personal agenda of power and ethnic hatred under the cloak of nationalism. All the peoples of the region have suffered grievously ever since."

- Robin Cooke, June 28, 1999, justifying NATO aggression as a response to Serbian ethnic crimes, quoted on the Website of the British Foreign & Commonwealth Office

Here is an excerpt from the actual speech Milosevic made:

"Serbia has never had only Serbs living in it. Today, more than in the past, members of other peoples and nationalities also live in it. This is not a disadvantage for Serbia. I am truly convinced that it is its advantage.

National composition of almost all countries in the world today, particularly developed ones, has also been changing in this direction. Citizens of different nationalities, religions, and races have been living together more and more frequently and more and more successfully.

"Socialism in particular, being a progressive and just democratic society, should not allow people to be divided in the national and religious respect. The only differences one can and should allow in socialism are between hard working people and idlers and between honest people and dishonest people. Therefore, all people in Serbia who live from their own work, honestly, respecting other people and other nations, are in their own republic.

"After all, our entire country should be set up on the basis of such principles. Yugoslavia is a multinational community and it can survive only under the conditions of full equality for all nations that live in it.

"The crisis that hit Yugoslavia has brought about national divisions, but also social, cultural, religious and many other less important ones. Among all these divisions, nationalist ones have shown themselves to be the most dramatic. Resolving them will make it easier to remove other divisions and mitigate the consequences they have created.

"For as long as multinational communities have existed, their weak point has always been the relations between different nations. The threat is that the question of one nation being endangered by the others can be posed one day — and this can then start a wave of suspicions, accusations, and intolerance, a wave that invariably grows and is difficult to stop. This threat has been hanging like a sword over our heads all the time. Internal and external enemies of multinational communities are aware of this and therefore they organize their activity against multinational societies mostly by fomenting national conflicts. At this

Here is Nasir Oric in the Washington Post -

"Nasir Oric's war trophies don't line the wall of his comfortable apartment. They're on videocassette tape: burned Serb houses and headless Serb men, bodies crumpled in a pathetic heap

"'We had to use cold weapons that night,' Oric explains as scenes of dead men sliced by knives roll over his 21-inch Sony...Reclining on an overstuffed couch, clothed head to toe in camouflage fatigues, a U.S. Army patch proudly displayed over his heart...the Muslim commander is the toughest guy in this town [of Srebrenica], which the U.N. Security Council has declared a protected 'safe area.'"

— 'Washington Post,' 16 February 1994

Nasir Oric was Commander of the Islamist forces in Srebrenica. His forces used terror raids to empty surrounding villages of Serbs and Yugoslav-loyalist Muslims. His Commander in Chief was Bosnian President Alijah Izetbegovic. Izetbegovic was glorified in the Western media as tolerant and democratic. Oric is not in The Hague. He runs a discotheque in Tuzla in Bosnia.

Here is Franjo Tudjman on Croatian Radio. Tudjman was on a railroad tour at the time, celebrating the destruction of the Krajina.

Start Quote]

"And there can be no return to the past, to the times when they the Serbs were spreading cancer in the heart of Croatia, cancer which was destroying the Croatian national being and which did not allow the Croatian people to be the master in its own house and did not allow Croatia to lead an independent and sovereign life under this wide, blue sky and within the world community of sovereign nations...They [Serbian refugees driven from their homes by the Croatian Army] didn't even have the time to take with them their filthy foreign currency or their knickers."

[End quote]

Croatian Radio, transcribed by BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, August 28, 1995

Slandering Milosevic and the Serbs over the Term "Ethnic Cleansing"

Like everything bad, the term "ethnic cleansing" is blamed on Milosevic. This has been argued in the NY Times, especially by leading columnist Anthony Lewis, as quoted below.

A few days after the NY Times published Lewis, and 20 minutes after doctored pictures that falsely portrayed the refugee center at Trnopolje (B-H) as a "death

By DAVID BINDER, Special to the New York Times

"Both the Yugoslav Army and the militia maintain a large visible presence here. Yet acts of violence, mostly attacks on Kosovo Serbs or their property, continue to be reported every week in the Belgrade press.

"A few days ago a newspaper reported that a young Albanian had splashed gasoline in the face of a 12-year-old Serbian boy and ignited it with a match.

"The boy avoided serious injury by pulling his sweater over his head, extinguishing the flames.

Such incidents have prompted many of Kosovo's Slavic inhabitants to flee the province, thereby helping to fulfill a nationalist demand for an ethnically 'pure' Albanian Kosovo. The latest Belgrade estimate is that 20,000 Serbs and Montenegrins have left Kosovo for good since the 1981 riots."

— NY Times November 9, 1982

In winter, 1998, in an early stage of the US proxy war in Kosovo, top US officials admitted that Milosevic was a peacemaker, not a war maker:

Headline: "Washington ready to reward Belgrade for 'good will': envoy"

BELGRADE, Feb 23, 1998 (AFP) - The United States is ready to reward federal Yugoslavia for its "good will" in implementing the 1995 Dayton peace accords, US special envoy Robert Gelbard said in Belgrade Monday.

Among the measures which would "improve relations" and "encourage further positive movements" towards the implementation of the Dayton accords were "to increase the level of (Yugoslavia's) diplomatic representation in the United Nations and opening of its consulate in the United States," Gelbard said.

The US special envoy earlier had several hours of talks with Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic. Gelbard said his government praised "a significant positive influence" of Milosevic's government...

His moderate policies have buoyed prospects for the Dayton peace process that the United States brokered in 1995.

...

"We want to encourage further positive movements in terms of our bilateral relationships and further positive movements towards the implementation of the Dayton accords," Gelbard said.

The US was prepared to "accept participation of Federal Yugoslavia (FRY, Serbia

EXAMPLE TWO: In 1997-1998, the Kosovo Liberation Army began launching attacks in Kosovo based on a strategy of terrorist provocation. The pro-NATO journal, 'Jane's Defense Weekly,' described the KLA approach as being based on:

"The harassment and assassination of Serb officials and civilians from Kosovo's Serb minority. This has included sniper attacks, Serbs dragged from their vehicles and beaten, together with pressure on them to leave their homes. The killing of a Serb policeman, Milan Jovic in Podujevo, a mainly Albanian town 40km north of Pristina, by men with automatic weapons on 21 December was one such incident. This UCK tactic has the double benefit of forcing Serbs to quit the province and provoking Serb police into retaliation and subsequent censure by OSCE observers." (Jane's Defense Weekly, 2/1/99)

The 'Jane's' report leaves out the fact that a key target of the KLA was so-called 'collaborationist' Albanians, meaning those who had anything to do with the government, e.g. woodcutters, those who paid bills, those who sent their children to Albanian-language government schools, or whatever.

The secessionist movement had long targeted such Albanians. This is even admitted in the March 24, 1998 report by the pro-NATO organization, International Crisis Group. This report is called "Kosovo Spring." Here is an excerpt:

"In many spheres of life, including politics, education and health-care, the boycott by Kosovars of the Yugoslav State is almost total. "In particular," Kosovars refuse to participate in Serbian or Yugoslavian political life. The leading Yugoslav political parties all have offices in Kosovo and claim some Kosovar members, but essentially they are "Serb-only" institutions. In 1997 several Kosovars accused of collaborating with the enemy (i.e. the Serbian State) were attacked, including Charnilj Gasi, head of the Socialist Party of Serbia in Glagovac, and a deputy in the Yugoslav Assembly's House of Citizens, who was shot and wounded in November."

— 'Kosovo Spring,' ICG

At one time even the UN Security Council Admitted the KLA was terrorist...

Series of UN Security Council Resolutions in 1998 on situation in Serbian province of Kosovo treated issue of terrorism, its consequences and its foreign support. Despite the strong words, there was NO ACTION against it. Instead, these resolutions also contained much stronger criticism and even threats against legal authorities of Serbia and Yugoslavia, that conducted legal struggle against terrorism.

Today it is obvious - all that was only a planned creation of atmosphere for the illegal and criminal 1999 NATO aggression against Yugoslavia - conducted in the ALLIANCE with the terrorist organization KLA - a part of the international terrorist network:

Kosovo Liberation Army or any other group or individual and all external support for terrorist activity in Kosovo, including finance, arms and training, (...)

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, (...)

2. Calls also upon the Kosovar Albanian leadership to condemn all terrorist action, and emphasizes that all elements in the Kosovar Albanian community should pursue their goals by peaceful means only;

3. Underlines that the way to defeat violence and terrorism in Kosovo is for the authorities in Belgrade to offer the Kosovar Albanian community a genuine political process; (...)

8. Decides that all States shall, for the purposes of fostering peace and stability in Kosovo, prevent the sale or supply to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, including Kosovo, by their nationals or from their territories or using their flag vessels and aircraft, of arms and related matériel of all types, such as weapons and ammunition, military vehicles and equipment and spare parts for the aforementioned, and shall prevent arming and training for terrorist activities there; (...)

RESOLUTION 1199 (1998)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 3930th meeting on 23 September 1998

The Security Council, (...)

Recalling its resolution 1160 (1998) of 31 March 1998, (...)

Condemning all acts of violence by any party, as well as terrorism in pursuit of political goals by any group or individual, and all external support for such activities in Kosovo, including the supply of arms and training for terrorist activities in Kosovo and expressing concern at the reports of continuing violations of the prohibitions imposed by resolution 1160 (1998), (...)

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, (...)

6. Insists that the Kosovo Albanian leadership condemn all terrorist action, and emphasizes that all elements in the Kosovo Albanian community should pursue their goals by peaceful means only; (...)

11. Requests States to pursue all means consistent with their domestic legislation and relevant international law to prevent funds collected on their territory being used to contravene resolution 1160 (1998); (...)

North Atlantic Treaty Organization compliance report for Kosovo
16 January-22 March 1999

Table 1*

United Nations Security Council resolution 1199 (1998)

Resolution tenet
Related activity

(...)
(...)

10. Kosovo Albanian leadership:

Condemn all terrorist activity.

There has been no public declaration by either political or military leadership to denounce alleged UCK acts of terrorism in the reporting period.

(...)

How Did the U.S. Use the Verification Mission in Fall Of 1998?

1) Who is William Walker, head of the mission?

He is a specialist in organization, management and public relations work for U.S.-sponsored death squads. This was his job in El Salvador. In late 1989, when Salvadoran soldiers executed six Jesuit priests, their housekeeper, and her 15 year-old daughter, blowing their heads off with shotguns, Walker scarcely batted an eyelid.

The following is a 'Washington Post' story that discusses how Walker handled the Jesuit murders:

[Washington Post article starts here]

Ambassador William Walker was widely reported as claiming that the guerrillas were responsible for the murders, but he said in an interview this was "simply not true. What we were saying was that we did not know — that it could have

Here is more on the real goals of the Verification Mission

An Italian verifier whose identity was hidden (he used the false name, 'Romanus,' to protect himself) told the publication LiMes:

"The [Kosovo Verification] mission in my view had two primary aims. One was to infiltrate personnel into the theatre with intelligence tasks and for Special Forces activities (preparatory work for a predetermined war). The other was to give the world the impression that everything had been tried and thus create grounds for public consent to the aggression we perpetrated."

"Romanus", in LiMes 2/99, cited by il manifesto, 19 June 1999.

According to the Swiss member of the Verification Mission, Pascal Neuffer:

"We understood from the start that the information gathered by OSCE patrols during our mission were destined to complete the information that NATO had gathered by satellite. We had the very sharp impression of doing espionage work for the Atlantic Alliance"(26).

— La Liberté, Genève, 22 April 1999

NATO Coordination with the Terrorists During Aggression of 1999

Following is an excerpt of article from The Independent (London) May 16, 1999

"Speaking from a KLA camp in Babine, between the northern Albanian town of Bajram Curri and the Kosovo border, Shpend Gjocaj revealed that British and American special forces originally entered the Serbian province in the early hours of 21 March, three days before the start of the Nato air strikes against Yugoslavia. But the Serbs' success at concealing themselves from air attacks had led to a decision to send larger formations deep into enemy territory, said Mr Gjocaj. General Wesley Clark, Nato's supreme commander, gave the order, he said, after consulting Hasim Thaci, the KLA's leader and head of a provisional government declared by the few rebel units left in Kosovo.

"Serbian forces have proved adept at using tunnels, natural camouflage and underground hideouts to avoid attack from Allied planes flying at a medium altitude of 16,000ft to minimise the risk of anti-aircraft fire. "We are helping the special forces to get in low and identify where the targets are," said Mr Gjocaj, who is the ethnic Albanians' liaison officer in the rapid training and deployment of KLA troops by US, British and French airborne regiments.

...

The switch in tactics was acknowledged last week by Nato's Major-General Walter Jertz, who referred obliquely to "improvements in intelligence gathering", and said the alliance was now succeeding in attacking targets identified by "spotter"

ATROCITIES DURING 1999 AGGRESSION

THE BOMBING OF THE TRAIN

SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER

April 13, 1999

"NATO BOMBS SLAM PASSENGER TRAIN ; AT LEAST 10 ABOARD ARE KILLED BY RAID IN SCENIC SERB GORGE"

BYLINE: STEVEN ERLANGER THE NEW YORK TIMES

GRDELICA, Yugoslavia

No one knew the names of the dead.

They were not locals, just strangers passing through on the Belgrade-to-Skopje train, No. 393, at about 11:45 yesterday morning.

They were unlucky, it seems, to be in this particularly spectacular gorge, on this particular bridge, in this particular train, at this particular time, when death dropped down unseen from a cloudy sky.

In its expanding air war, NATO planes yesterday morning bombed two bridges - one highway, one railway - over the Juzna Morava River. The train, five cars pulled by a bright red, white and blue engine, was on the railway bridge, a narrow structure of steel girders painted a dull gray. The explosion blew the train in half. At least 10 people were killed and at least 16 others, badly wounded, were taken to a hospital in nearby Leskovac.

At least two planes were heard, according to a police sergeant who would not give his name, but they could not be seen above the clouds. He said the bridge was hit and then the train itself.

"Now go away," he said through a translator. "I don't want to hear English anymore."

NATO officials said in Brussels yesterday that the alliance had targeted the bridges here, some 190 miles south of Belgrade, on what it considers an important supply route into Kosovo. But the deaths they put down to another accident of war.

"There was no intent to hit the train," said NATO spokesman Jamie Shea...

— SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER, April 13, 1999

paragraphs 9 and 10 are entirely correct. That means Clark was lying about both the plane and the bomb. Clark of course knew he was lying. For example, here is a news release sent out from the Aviano base in Italy, talking about the F-15:

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AIR FORCE * April 16, 1999; Friday

"F-15E WSOS GUIDE TECHNOLOGY TO TARGET"

AVIANO AIR BASE, Italy (AFPN) — When it comes to fending off enemy fighters and surface-to-air defenses, while guiding 2,000-pound bombs with pinpoint accuracy, two heads are better than one.

The F-15E Strike Eagle's weapons systems officer, or WSO,

The aircraft's pilot and "wizzo" allow the warplane to fight its way to a target, prosecute attacks right in the nerve center of enemy ground positions, and fight its way back out.

Of recent importance are the F-15E's unique munitions, which allow the pilot and weapons systems officer to see below the clouds over Yugoslavia — clouds which would otherwise hamper NATO efforts to put bombs on target.

The AGM-130A, a powered surface-to-air missile equipped with a television camera and data link, has been able to break through the cloud layer and provide a clear picture of the target for the pilot and WSO in the aircraft, said the 494th EFS commander.

Watching the entire event through the camera on the end of the missile, the WSO can literally steer the weapon to its intended destination,

...

The AGM-130A, a powered surface-to-air missile equipped with a television camera and data link, has been able to break through the cloud layer and provide a clear picture of the target for the pilot and WSO in the aircraft, said the 494th EFS commander.

Watching the entire event through the camera on the end of the missile, the WSO can literally steer the weapon to its intended destination, a capability that has proven invaluable in Operation Allied Force.

[— End of statement from Aviano Air Base]

In addition, as she shall see from General Wald's testimony, he was also lying about there being no visual inspection prior to attack.

that it could not have been a mistake.

VERY IMPORTANT POINT:

Note that this explanation by Wald defeats all NATO claims about mistakenly hitting civilian targets. His point: the target is checked so carefully that it is virtually impossible to aim for the wrong one.

Here is GENERAL. Wald:

"GEN. WALD: But I can say that the way these missions work in Kosovo, with a forward air controller, either an A-10 or an F-16 forward air controller, is that the forward air controller will be cued to a target area by possibly an off-board sensor or some other report, or possibly he will be looking in the area himself and find a — what could be a military target. That cuing could come from Predator, could come from JSTARS, it could come from — once again, from the pilot himself finding the target. In the case of an A-10, he will find the target. He will identify it, actually using binoculars, very slow speed. And from reports I've heard today and from last night, they're taking heavy AAA, and significant SAMs and MANPADS were fired both last night and today. He loiters over the area to identify the target. They're trained for identifying military targets, as you can imagine and at that time will call in another set of fighters, probably two, to expend their ordnance on the target. But before they do that, the FAC, the forward air controller, will talk to the other set of fighters and make sure they both have 100 percent assurance that they have the correct target, they both identify it, and there's a verbiage that goes on between the two of them. And just as my answer is taking a long time, it takes a long time for this to happen —

Question: So it's eyes-on?

GEN. WALD: It's eyes-on and confirmation both from the forward air controller and the pilot itself, their air crew that's going to drop the weapon, and the forward air controllers can self-expand. But it's eyes-on. And it's dual control from the standpoint there's verification both from the pilot dropping the bomb and the forward air controller, through a set of dialogues that goes on. And then, and not until then, is the pilot cleared in to drop the bomb. And once the forward air controller is assured this pilot is dropping on the right target, he will clear him to drop the bomb. And then from bomb fall till target impact is about 10 to 15 seconds. So through that 10 to 15 seconds, it's once again basically you're at the mercy of fate. But the fact of the matter is there, in both mind of the pilot and the air crew that's dropping the bomb, you have to be, in your own mind, 100 percent sure of what you're going on before you actually release. So it's about as positive control on a weapons release as you can get.

Question: And tractors from the air, filled with people's mattresses, don't look like military convoys, would you say?

GEN. WALD: Well, I've been a forward air controller in Vietnam. I've flown in

Evidence that NATO and the UN have Reversed UN SC Resolution 1244 is everywhere.

They faked the disarmament of the KLA

They cover up the continued arming and toleration of arming of KLA

They fail to arrest terrorists and stage phony roundups to appease public opinion, then let the terrorists go free

They continue training terrorists

They organized and pay the terrorists in an official UN organization, the KPC

They use the KPC as terrorist command center in attacks on Serbs and others in Kosovo, inner Serbia and Macedonia

They encourage secessionism

On the phony disarming of the KLA

Regarding this, the Russian Press Digest commented:

"The head of the U.N. mission in Kosovo, Bernard Kouchner, has announced that KLA representatives had turned in 10,000 units of various types of weapons which allows the mission to speak about the completion of the disarmament process. 'We are satisfied that the OAK [KLA] handed in 10,000 firearms, even if we know that they still have another 100,000 guns,' joked one of the members of the U.N. mission in Kosovo."

—Russian Press Digest 21 September 1999 (4)

Here are examples of staging of phony actions to cover up the failure to disarm terrorists as required under UN resolution 1244

Below are several examples.

EXAMPLE ONE - a May 24 2001 press release from KFOR in which they describe their "soft policy" of "detaining and releasing" the terrorists, who are called 'extremists.' In the press release they hide the crimes of the terrorists by saying all were released unless there was evidence they had committed serious crimes! As if terrorism is ever NOT a serious crime.

And note - these terrorists were in Kosovo. So much for the 'rebels' in inner Serbia, 'rebellious' against local oppression etc. etc.

accepts the term "rebel" without question:

Here is the excerpt:

"One of the rebels met by AFP was wearing the uniform of the Kosovo Protection Corps (KPC), the civilian successor of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA). The man, who was unarmed, wore the shoulder flash of the group's Second Region, that operating in the north of Kosovo near Kosovska Mitrovica.

"The KPC, which is commanded by former KLA leaders, was set up as a civilian disaster relief force and receives funding from international donors including the United States and the European Union.

"Other rebels wore a variety of camouflage or black fatigues emblazoned with the red, black and gold UPCMB badge, itself very similar to those worn by the KLA and KPC.

"From the hill above Dobrosin, a small farming community huddled around a tiny mosque, six-man UPCMB patrols can be seen strung out along dirt tracks into the hills around the village.

"KFOR has repeatedly warned the UPCMB that they will not allow their troops to be drawn into fighting in the Ground Safety Zone or further inside Serbia."

— AFP July 27, 2000

Here are some Texts from UN SC Resolution 1224 Adopted by the Security Council June 10, 1999

The following is one of 1244's overall principles:

"Reaffirming the commitment of all Member States to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the other States of the region, as set out in the Helsinki Final Act and annex 2..."

Regarding specific responsibilities:

"[The Security Council] decides that the responsibilities of the international security presence [that is, KFOR and UNMIK] to be deployed and acting in Kosovo will include:

a. Deterring renewed hostilities, maintaining and where necessary enforcing a cease-fire...

b. Demilitarizing the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) and other armed Kosovo Albanian groups as required in paragraph 15 below;

'Jane's Defense Review' writes:

"[Thaci's] PDK has good links with Albanian exile groups in America, Switzerland and Germany, although the bulk of Thaci's funding is now believed to come from racketeering and other crime-generated sources."

- 'Jane's Intelligence Review' September 1, 2000

How blasé 'Jane's' is - as if it were reporting on networking among Business School grads. Gangsterism has become no big deal in Kosovo.

Albanian Liberation in the New Kosovo

The New York Times

July 29, 1999, Thursday, Late Edition - Final

AS U.N. ORGANIZES, REBELS ARE TAKING CHARGE OF KOSOVO

By CHRIS HEDGES

PRISTINA, Kosovo, July 26

The provisional government is headed by Hashim Thaci, a rebel commander who has appointed himself Prime Minister and his friends and relatives to head various departments, including his uncle Azem Sylja to the post of Defense Minister.

Mr. Thaci's orders are usually delivered by bands of sunburned young men, many carrying concealed pistols. The orders are handed over with warnings that failure to comply will lead to beatings or death.

The reach of these newly formed institutions is increasingly felt in the streets and neighborhoods, where most people say they are afraid to run afoul of the self-appointed authorities. Business owners interviewed in recent days were reluctant to give their names, but many said they were being pressed for money by the rebels or have had their vehicles confiscated.

Tahir Canolli, 49...ran a furniture store in Pristina for nearly three decades

...A group of fighters arrived at his shop two weeks ago with a paper issued by "The Ministry of Public Order" demanding the keys to his 1990 Audi 80 and his store.

"They were arrogant, brutal and rude," he said, unfolding the stamped order that he now carries in his pocket. "They told me that if I did not comply immediately they knew a cellar I might like to visit."

Within hours, \$50,000 worth of furniture was loaded onto trucks brought by the officials who had demanded his keys. The looters not only stripped the store of

2) Involvement of the Kosovo Protection Corps as terrorists in the so-called NLA attacking Macedonia:

LONDON TIMES June 10th 2001:

"Hundreds of KPC [Kosovo Protection Corps] reservists were called up by their Albanian commander, Agim Ceku, in March. They subsequently disappeared to former KLA training camps in Albania and are now re-emerging in Macedonia."

— London Times June 10, 2001

In the LA STAMPA article above they talk about Gezim Ostemi. He became the Chief of Staff of the Kosovo Protection Corps.

"Rebel chief worked for UN funded force in Kosovo
By Chris Stephen, in Pristina

MACEDONIA: The co-ordination of the international community in the Balkans has been thrown into confusion by revelations that the leader of Macedonia's rebel army was a leading figure in Kosovo's UN- funded civil defence force.

Before launching war in Macedonia, Commander Gezim Ostremi was paid by the UN to help set up the Kosovo Protection Corps (KPC), being appointed its chief-of-staff."

* The Irish Times, July 5, 2001

3) UN General Secretary Annan Knows Perfectly Well that The Kosovo Protection Corps Is A Terrorist Organization

The following is from a March 12, 2000 report from the LONDON Observer, not a big critic of NATO.

"Murder, torture and extortion: these are the extraordinary charges made against the UN's own Kosovo Protection Corps in a confidential United Nations report written for Secretary-General Kofi Annan.

"The KPC stands accused in the document, drawn up on 29 February, of 'criminal activities - killings, ill-treatment/torture, illegal policing, abuse of authority, intimidation, breaches of political neutrality and hate-speech'.

"The 5,000-strong corps, funded by UN members including Britain, has a £30 million aid budget for Kosovo. It was set up to provide 'disaster response services'; instead, says the UN, it has been murdering and torturing people. "

- London 'Observer,' March 12, 2000

Intimidation, expulsion of minorities and hate speech - thousands of teenagers

demilitarised in 1999. Some members of the KLA had been trained by the SAS.

International security sources in Pristina said it was likely that three of the men would be freed today because of insufficient evidence.

But one high-ranking KPC official is expected to be charged or kept in detention.

Although the operation was a military success, the identity of the men arrested is bound to prove highly embarrassing for Western governments.

As a supposed civil defence organisation, the KPC receives funding and training in human rights, first aid, fire-fighting and language skills from Britain, the European Union, America and a host of international organisations. They include the International Organisation for Migration and the United Nations.

Links between the KPC and organised crime and political violence are an open secret in Kosovo. The KPC's alleged involvement in the killing of the 11 Serbs - an incident which was condemned around the world - comes at a highly sensitive time for Nato and the UN in Kosovo."

— From 'THE DAILY TELEGRAPH (LONDON)' Wednesday 28 March 2001

NOTE: Four men were arrested. Three were released for lack of evidence. The other, the high ranking KPC official referred to above, escaped from Bondsteel! That's is reported in the Los Angeles Times, May 15 2001

By the way, here is how leading US military officer Michael Short Described the 'Allies' in the Attack on Yugoslavia.

The following is General Michael Short, Wesley Clark's top commander of the air attack on Yugoslavia, discussing the other members of NATO. These comments were made during the October 21, 1999, Hearing Of the Senate Committee On Armed Services, Entitled, " Lessons Learned From Military Operations And Relief Efforts In Kosovo"

General Short: They recognize that they are small dogs, but they want to have a seat at the table. I would use the Dutch as the prime example. A small air force, a proud air force, a competent air force. They have bought their own tankers. They have two modified DC-10s with the Israeli system in the front with mirrors to allow them to refuel their own airplanes. They have lantern pods. You'll remember on the first night of the war, a Dutch F-16 shot down a MiG-29? A small air force, but a seat at the table. And I knew I could send the Dutch anyplace I had to send them and they'd salute and say, "Yes, Boss, we'll be there."

- LT. GENERAL MICHAEL SHORT, assistant to Wesley Clark, in charge of aerial attack on Yugoslavia speaking in October 1999

“As we were leaving we saw, already, Serbian houses being burned. KFOR did nothing. We complained; they said they didn’t have enough people. Soon reinforcements arrived but the situation stayed the same for a month. Over a hundred houses were burned. And they robbed whatever they could. A few

“Gypsy” (Roma) houses were burned too. Twenty-five people who stayed in the mixed section were kidnapped, plus their houses were burned too.

“...Every day KFOR offered new excuses for not protecting us. They said: ‘We can’t put guards in front of every house. We can’t give every Serb an armed guard.’

“The KFOR checkpoint is close to the ghetto. KFOR guards the entrance and exit to the Serbian area. Plus there are barricades, which the Albanians put up. First you hit KFOR and second you hit the Albanian barricades. KFOR supplied tents for the Albanians who are sitting on those barricades. And they ran electric wiring into those tents to provide current.”

[End of excerpt from interview Natasha Grkovic]

1) Excerpts from Helsinki Final Act> The Final Act was signed 1 August 1975. The US has routinely violated the Act in regard to Yugoslavia:

“To refrain from any use of armed forces inconsistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the provisions of the Declaration on Principles Guiding Relations between Participating States, against another participating State, in particular from invasion of or attack on its territory.

“To refrain from any manifestation of force for the purpose of inducing another participating State to renounce the full exercise of its sovereign rights.”

More quotes from the Helsinki Final Act

From the Section entitled: “VIII. Equal rights and self-determination of peoples,” the following is paragraph 2:

“By virtue of the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, all peoples always have the right, in full freedom, to determine, when and as they wish, their internal and external political status, without external interference, and to pursue as they wish their political, economic, social and cultural develop-

THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY
Helmut SCHMIDT
Federal Chancellor

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Gerald R. FORD
President of the United States of America

THE KINGDOM OF BELGIUM
Leo TINDEMANS
Prime Minister

THE REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA
Todor JIVKOV
First Secretary, Central Committee of the Communist Party of
Bulgaria

CANADA
Pierre Elliott TRUDEAU
Prime Minister

SPAIN
Carlos ARIAS NAVARRO
Head of the Government

THE REPUBLIC OF FINLAND
Urho KEKKONEN
President of the Republic

THE FRENCH REPUBLIC
Valery GISCARD D'ESTAING
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THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND
The Rt. Hon. Harold WILSON, O.B.E., M.P., F.R.S.
First Lord of the Treasury and Prime Minister of the United
Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

THE ITALIAN REPUBLIC
Aldo MORO
Prime Minister of the Italian Republic and in his capacity as
President in office of the Council of the European Communities

THE KINGDOM OF THE NETHERLANDS
J. M. DEN UYL
Prime Minister

THE SOCIALIST FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF JUGOSLAVIA

HISTORIE!

Voor de Arbitration Commission of
"Badinter Commission", bedoeld in
de ontplotting van Joegoslavië te
Biljune, zijn van belang

- EC Declaration on Yugoslavia van
3 sept 1991, EPC Press Release P 89/91
- Declaration on the Occasion of the
Ceremonial Opening of the Conference
on Yugoslavia, 7 sept 1991, EPC Press
Release P 86/91

»Der Nationalismus ist das schlimmste Problem«

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

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

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

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

Die Rede

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

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

das historische Ereignis fernr Vergangenheit zu feiern, das für Serbien sowohl symbolisch als auch historisch eine große Bedeutung für die Zukunft hat.

Heute ist schwer zu sagen, was bei der Kosovo-Schlacht historische Fakten sind und was zur Legende gehört. *Aber das ist auch nicht mehr wichtig.* Erfüllt von Schmerzen, aber auch von Hoffnung, ist das Volk gewöhnt, sich zu erinnern, ganz wie es eigentlich auch bei anderen Völkern der Fall ist. Das Volk hat sich wegen des Verrates geschämt, hat aber auch die Tapferkeit gepriesen. Deshalb ist heute schwer zu sagen, ob die Kosovo-Schlacht eine Niederlage oder ein Sieg für das serbische Volk war, ob wir als Folge der Niederlage in die Sklaverei kamen oder ob wir aus dieser Niederlage gelernt haben, die Zeiten der Sklaverei zu überleben. Die Antworten auf diese Frage suchen das Volk und die Wissenschaft unablässig. Was aber nach all diesen Jahrhunderten, die hinter uns liegen, Gewißheit geworden ist, das ist die Tatsache, daß wir auf dem Kosovo Polje vor 600 Jahren unsere Uneinigkeit erfahren mußten.

Wenn wir eine Niederlage auf dem Kosovo Polje erlitten haben, dann war das kein Ergebnis der gesellschaftlichen oder militärischen Überlegenheit des Osmanischen Reiches, sondern Ergebnis der tragischen Uneinigkeit an der Spitze des serbischen Staates. Damals, im fern 1389, war das Osmanische Reich nicht nur stärker als das serbische Königreich, sondern auch glücklicher. Uneinigkeit und Verrat im Kosovo haben das serbische Volk weiter als böses Schicksal durch seine ganze Geschichte hindurch begleitet. Auch im letzten Krieg haben Uneinigkeit und Verrat das serbische Volk und Serbien in eine Agonie geführt, deren geschichtliche und moralische Konsequenzen die der faschistischen Aggression übertroffen haben.

Auch später, nach der Gründung des sozialistischen Jugoslawiens, war die Spitze der serbischen Führung in diesem neuen Land uneinig und neigte zu Kompromissen auf dem Rücken des eigenen Volkes. Die Zugeständnisse, die viele der serbischen Führer zum Nachteil des eigenen Volkes machten, wären weder historisch noch ethisch von irgendeinem Volk auf der Welt akzeptiert worden. Dies gilt um so mehr, als die Serben während ihrer ganzen Geschichte niemals Eroberer oder Ausbeuter waren. Das nationale und historische Wesen der Serben in ihrer ganzen Geschichte, insbesondere auch während der beiden Weltkriege, war die Befreiung von Knechtschaft und das Leben in Freiheit, und so bleibt es auch heute. Die Serben haben sich immer wieder selbst befreit und, wenn es ihnen möglich war, halfen sie auch anderen, sich zu befreien. Und die Tatsache, daß sie in dieser Region als ein großes Volk gelten, ist doch keine Schande und keine Sünde. Es ist ein Vorteil, den sie niemals gegen andere ausspielten. Aber ich muß sagen, hier auf diesem legendären Kosovo Polje, daß die Serben diesen Vorteil auch niemals zu ihrem eigenen Wohl genutzt haben.

Den serbischen Politikern und Führern und deren Vasallenmentalität ist zu verdanken, daß die Serben Schuldgefühle den anderen und sich selber gegenüber hatten. Die Uneinigkeit der serbischen Politik hat Serbien zurückgeworfen, und deren Inferiorität hat Serbien gedemütigt. Das ging so über Jahre und Jahrzehnte. Wir sind heute hier auf das Kosovo Polje gekommen, um zu sagen, daß heute die Dinge anders liegen. *Es gibt keinen anderen, keinen geeigneteren Ort als Kosovo Polje, um zu sagen, daß die Einigkeit in Serbien dem serbischen Volk, den Serben und jedem Bürger Serbiens, unabhängig von seiner nationalen und religiösen Zugehörigkeit, Wohlstand bringen wird.*

Serbien ist heute geeint und anderen Republiken gleichgestellt. Es ist bereit, alles zu tun, um das materielle und soziale Leben aller seiner Bürger zu verbessern. Mit Verständnis füreinander, mit Zusammenarbeit und Geduld wird Serbien dabei erfolgreich sein. Deshalb ist auch der Optimismus mit Blick auf die Zukunft, wie er heute allenthalben in Serbien festzustellen ist, durchaus gerechtfertigt. *Dieser Optimismus basiert auf der Freiheit, die allen Menschen ermöglicht, positive, kreative und humanitäre Fähigkeiten zum Wohl der gesamten Gesellschaft und auch zum eigenen Wohl zu entfalten.*

In Serbien haben niemals nur Serben gelebt. Heute leben in diesem Lande mehr als jemals zuvor Bürger anderer Völker und Nationalitäten. Und das ist natürlich kein Nachteil für Serbien. Im Gegenteil: Es ist ein Vorteil Serbiens. *In diesem Sinne ändert sich die nationale Zusammensetzung auch in anderen Ländern, insbesondere in den hochentwickelten Ländern der Welt. Immer mehr und immer erfolgreicher leben Bürger verschiedener Nationen und verschiede-*

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regionen in einem gemeinsamen Land zusammen. Im besonderen soll der Sozialismus als eine progressive, demokratische Gesellschaft die Menschen zusammenführen und dazu beitragen, die Trennung nach nationaler oder religiöser Zugehörigkeit zu überbrücken. Der einzig maßgebende Unterschied zwischen den Menschen im Sozialismus sollte der Unterschied zwischen denen sein, die arbeiten, und denen, die nicht arbeiten wollen. Zwischen Menschen, die füreinander da sind und sich gegenseitig achten, und solchen, die keinen Respekt vor ihren Mitmenschen haben. Die Bürger Serbiens, die von ihrer eignen Arbeit leben, verdienen die Achtung aller, sie müssen einander respektieren, unabhängig von ihrer nationalen Zugehörigkeit. Gerade auf solchen Prinzipien der gegenseitigen Achtung und des gegenseitigen Respekts basiert unser Land.

Jugoslawien ist eine multinationale Einheit und kann nur überleben, wenn völlige Gleichberechtigung zwischen allen im Land lebenden Nationen hergestellt wird. Die Krise, die Jugoslawien getroffen hat, hat sowohl nationale als auch soziale, kulturelle und religiöse Zwietracht hervorgebracht. Dabei ist der Nationalismus das schlimmste Problem. Ihn zu überwinden ist die Voraussetzung dafür, die anderen Mißstände zu beseitigen und die Konsequenzen zu mildern, die sie hervorgebracht haben.

Seit dem Bestehen von multinationalen Gesellschaften war deren Schwachstelle immer das Verhältnis zwischen den einzelnen Nationen. Es besteht die Gefahr, daß die Frage der angeblichen Bedrohung einer Nation durch eine andere aufgeworfen werden kann, was wiederum zu einer Welle von Verdächtigungen, Anschuldigungen und Intoleranz führen kann, einer Welle, die unaufhaltsam wächst und sehr schwer zu stoppen ist. Diese Gefahr bedrohte uns die ganze Zeit. Innere und äußere Feinde multinationaler Gesellschaften wissen das und tun alles, sie durch das Anstacheln nationaler Konflikte zu zerstören. Wir verhalten uns gegenwärtig in Jugoslawien so, als ob wir nie zuvor solche tragischen nationalen Konflikte, die die Existenz unserer Gesellschaft in Frage stellten, zugetragen gehabt hätten.

Gleichberechtigte und harmonische Beziehungen zwischen den jugoslawischen Völkern sind die unabdingbaren Voraussetzungen für das Überleben Jugoslawiens, die einzige Möglichkeit, aus der gegenwärtigen Krise einen Ausweg zu finden, vor allem um ökonomische und soziale Prosperität für das Land zu erreichen. In dieser Hinsicht unterscheidet sich Jugoslawien nicht von anderen Ländern der Welt, und insbesondere nicht von den entwickelten Ländern.

Die heutige Welt zeichnet sich immer stärker durch Toleranz, Kooperation und Gleichberechtigung zwischen den Nationen aus. Die moderne ökonomische, technologische, aber auch politische und kulturelle Entwicklung führt die Menschen verschiedener Nationen zueinander, macht die Völker voneinander abhängig und trägt Zug um Zug zu ihrer Gleichberechtigung bei. Zur Zivilisation, der die Menschheit zustrebt, haben vor allem die gleichberechtigten und vereinten Völker Zutritt. Auch wenn wir nicht an der Spitze dieses Weges in die Zivilisation sein können, so möchten wir doch auch nicht die letzten sein.

Zur Zeit der großen historischen Schlacht auf dem Kosovo Polje blickten die Menschen hinauf zu den Sternen, von denen sie sich das Heil erhofften. Jetzt, sechs Jahrhunderte später, blicken sie wieder hinauf zu diesen Sternen – um sie zu erobern (»FAZ«: »... und bitten für den Sieg«). Und auf jeden Fall dürfen sie sich heute nicht mehr erlauben, uneinig zu sein und sich von Haß und Verrat leiten zu lassen, leben sie doch nicht mehr in kleinen, schwachen und kaum miteinander verbundenen Welten. Heute können die Menschen dieses Planeten nicht einmal ihren eigenen Planeten erobern, geschweige denn andere Planeten, solange sie nicht in Harmonie und Solidarität leben.

Gerade deshalb haben auf dem Amselfeld, dem Symbol der Uneinigkeit und des Verrats, vielleicht wie nirgendwo sonst auf dem Boden unseres Heimatlandes die Worte Einigkeit, Solidarität und Gemeinsamkeit so viel Sinn. Diese Uneinigkeit, die für die Niederlage in der Schlacht verantwortlich war und auch für das unglückliche

che Schicksal, das Serbien ganze fünf Jahrhunderte lang ertragen mußte, ist im Gedächtnis des serbischen Volkes und wird es bleiben. Auch wenn es mit den historischen Gegebenheiten nicht unbedingt übereinstimmen mag, so bleibt doch die Gewißheit, daß das Volk seine Uneinigkeit als seine größte Tragödie erlebt hat. Deshalb haben wir die unbedingte Verpflichtung, die Uneinigkeit zu überwinden – das ist die unbedingte Voraussetzung, um künftig Niederlagen, Mißerfolge und Stagnation durchzustehen.

Das Volk in Serbien ist sich in diesem Jahr bewußt geworden, daß es seine innere Einheit als unverzichtbare Voraussetzung für das heutige Leben und seine weitere Entwicklung finden muß. Ich bin überzeugt, daß Serbien aufgrund dieses Bewußtseins der Einigkeit nicht nur als Staat, sondern auch als erfolgreicher Staat leben wird. Deshalb, so denke ich, macht es doch Sinn, gerade hier auf dem Kosovo Polje, wo einmal Uneinigkeit auf tragische Weise und für Jahrhunderte Serbien zurückgeworfen hat, zu sagen, daß nur die

Einheit uns die Kraft geben wird, Serbien zu erneuern und die Würde zurückzuerlangen. Und dieses Bewußtsein von der inneren Einigkeit stellt auch für Jugoslawien eine Notwendigkeit dar, weil das Schicksal Jugoslawiens in den Händen aller seiner Völker liegt.

Die Kosovo-Schlacht ist auch ein Symbol für Tapferkeit. Das drückt sich in Gedichten, Legenden, in der Literatur und in Erzählungen aus. Die Helden des Kosovo inspirieren seit sechs Jahrhunderten unsere Kreativität, sie nähren unseren Stolz, sie lehren uns, nicht zu vergessen, daß es einmal eine Armee gegeben hat, die tapfer und stolz war – eine der wenigen, die trotz der Niederlage nicht verloren hat. Sechs Jahrhunderte später stehen heute wieder Kämpfe bevor. (»FAZ«: »Sechs Jahrhunderte später befinden wir uns wieder in Kriegen ...«) Es sind keine bewaffneten Kämpfe (»FAZ«: »Schlachten«), die

wir auszutragen haben, obwohl auch solche nicht auszuschließen sind. Aber unabhängig davon, welche Kämpfe uns bevorstehen, sie können nicht ohne Entschlossenheit, Tapferkeit und Aufopferung gewonnen werden, also nicht ohne die guten Eigenschaften, die man auch damals auf dem Kosovo Polje demonstrierte.

Unser heutiger Kampf zielt auf die Verwirklichung der ökonomischen, politischen, kulturellen, der umfassenden Prosperität unseres Landes. Und dieser Kampf wird um so erfolgreicher sein, je mehr wir uns der Zivilisation nähern, in der die Menschheit im 21. Jahrhundert leben wird. Auch für einen solchen Kampf brauchen wir Tapferkeit. Natürlich eine andere Art von Tapferkeit. Es bleibt aber eine Herzensangelegenheit, ohne die nichts auf der Welt, nichts Ernsthaftes, nichts wirklich Großes erreicht werden kann. Eine Tapferkeit, die aus dem Herzen kommt und immer für die Menschheit lebensnotwendig bleiben wird.

Vor 600 Jahren verteidigte Serbien hier auf dem Kosovo Polje tapfer nicht nur sich selbst, sondern auch Europa. Serbien stand damals für die Verteidigung europäischer Kultur, Religion und der europäischen Gesellschaft insgesamt. Deshalb ist es heute ungerade und im Widerspruch zur Geschichte, ja es ist sogar absurd, die Zugehörigkeit Serbiens zu Europa in Zweifel zu ziehen. Serbien gehört zu Europa, heute wie in der Vergangenheit, und zwar auf eine Art und Weise, die seiner Würde und seinem Wesen entspricht. In diesem Geiste möchten wir heute eine Gesellschaft aufbauen, die reich und demokratisch ist. Dadurch wollen wir zum Wohlergehen unserer Kinder und unseres Landes beitragen, das heute völlig zu Unrecht leiden muß. Wir wollen das Unsere tun, um das Streben aller progressiven Menschen unserer Zeit nach einer neuen, schöneren Welt zu unterstützen.

Die Erinnerungen an die Tapferkeit der Kosovo-Helden soll ewig leben!

Hoch lebe Serbien!

Hoch lebe Jugoslawien!

Hoch lebe der Frieden, hoch lebe die Brüderlichkeit zwischen den Völkern!

(Übersetzung nach dem Redetext, abgedruckt in der Belgrader Tageszeitung »Politika« am 29. Juni 1989. Übersetzung: Dr. Donka Lange)

Kosovo Polje, 28.6.1989



Neven Štimac

International Forum "Bosnia", France

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA BY THE LIGHT OF INTERNATIONAL LAW: FROM THE "BADINTER'S COMMISSION"
TO THE EUROPEAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

In 1991 and 1992 the international community published - through "arbitrarial opinions" of Badinter's Commission - its legal decisions as for all main issues concerning the questions on the break up of the former Yugoslavia and of the rights of its states. As to the international recognition of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Commission has published its legal "opinions" and thus facilitated the recognition.

Thus, the Commission made indisputable what was and what was not in accordance with the international law. Neither Bosnia and Herzegovina nor Croatia has utilised enough of those "opinions", although the "opinions" have been and still remain strong legal means.

Three years after - with the Dayton agreement - Bosnia and Herzegovina accepted the incorporation of the European Convention on Human Rights into its state Constitution and the direct application of the convention to its legal order. That Convention represents the first supra-national instrument of judicial protection - from States - of many natural, political and cultural rights of citizens and associations through European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg. Henceforth, Bosnian and Herzegovinian citizens and civil society are in a position to take advantage of the important opening of their State to the law of Europe.

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THE 'Yugoslav' Crisis in International Law:
General Issues

Daniel L. Brumberg (Editor)
Brumberg (Editor)

GAT OVER RECONSTITUTION
KRENNING, UTTER-
VALLEN FRY

ISBN 0521463041

President Kroatië geeft paus uitleg

²⁰⁰⁷
ZAGREB, 10 AUG. President Stipe Mesić van Kroatië heeft de paus in een brief de politieke ontwikkelingen in zijn land uitgelegd. Volgens een woordvoerder vindt Mesić dat de Kroatische bisschoppen de paus verkeerd hebben geïnformeerd. De Kroatische kerk stelt zich steeds harder op tegen de regering, vooral over de uitlevering aan het VN-tribunaal in Den Haag van Kroaten die van oorlogsmisdaden worden verdacht. De kerk vindt dat de regering Kroatische helden „voor een handvol dollars aan Den Haag verkoopt”.

van holst en steijnen

From: <joesb@vorstadtzentrum.net>
To: <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>
Sent: dinsdag 2 oktober 2001 09:11
Subject: Neuerscheinung des Buches "Balkankrieg - Zehn Jahre Zerstörung Jugoslawiens"

Das neue Buch von Dr. Hannes Hofbauer ist eine gänzlich umgearbeitet und erweiterte Auflage seines Buches "Balkankrieg - Die Zerstörung Jugoslawiens".

Über die Jugoslawisch-Österreichische Solidaritätsbewegung kannst Du die serbische Fassung dieses Buches bestellen.
 Über e-mail: joesb@vorstadtzentrum.net oder über den postalischen Weg: JÖSB, Postfach 217, A-1040 Wien, Kennwort "Balkankrieg".

Hannes Hofbauer
 BALKANKRIEG
 Zehn Jahre Zerstörung Jugoslawiens

ISBN 3-85371-179-0, 296 Seiten, br., 17,90 d; 35,- DM; 256,- öS; 32,50 slr.; Edition Brennpunkt Osteuropa.

Der 24. März 1999 markierte das Ende der europäischen Nachkriegszeit. Mit dem Einsetzen der Bombardements gegen serbische und montenegrinische Städte durch die NATO eskalierte die Zerstörung des ehemals multinationalen und blockfreien Jugoslawien zur kriegerischen Intervention. Hannes Hofbauer zeichnet die Tragödie am Balkan nach. Ein Blick von außen, weltsystemisch und historisch fundiert, soll dabei helfen, die Nebel von Propaganda, die eine totale Verunsicherung in der kritischen Öffentlichkeit im Westen bewirkt haben, zu lüften. Nur so können die Konturen der Interessenslagen deutscher und US-amerikanischer Kriegstreiber nachgezeichnet und die ideologische Substanz der scheinbaren Rechtfertigung, Bomben im Dienste von Menschenrechten und Solidarität zu werfen, bloßgelegt werden.

Am Ende steht ein sozial und national aus dem Gleichgewicht geratener, ein total zerstörter Balkan. Slowenien und Kroatien sind, letzteres nach der Vertreibung von 300.000 Serben aus der Krajina und aus Slawonien, ethnisch weitgehend homogenisiert. Bosnien-Herzegowina nimmt die Position einer Kolonie der Europäischen Union ein. Serbien und Montenegro sind durch die NATO-Schläge ihrer ökonomischen Struktur beraubt, verwüstet. Der Kosovo erinnert eher an ein Bild nach dem 30-jährigen Krieg denn an eine europäische Region zu Beginn des 21. Jahrhunderts. Makedoniens staatliche Lebensfähigkeit ist durch die Kampfbereitschaft albanischer Separatisten in Zweifel gezogen. Für die Ethnisierung sozialer und ökonomischer Probleme traten seit 1989 in allen Teilrepubliken und Regionen verstärkt nationalistisch argumentierende Protagonisten auf. Zur Katastrophe dynamisiert hat sich dieses Phänomen allerdings erst durch die Einnischung des Westens.

Nach dem Sturz von Slobodan Milosevic sind nun alle Republiken des ehemaligen Jugoslawien zum Tummelplatz ausländischer Militärs, Politiker und NGO-Vertreter geworden. Den geopolitischen Interessen der USA stehen die wirtschaftlichen Begierden des deutsch geführten EU-Europa gegenüber. Die brennende Lunte für kriegerische Auseinandersetzungen am Balkan dürfte vor diesem Hintergrund auch in den kommenden Jahren nicht zum Erlöschen kommen.

Ein eigenes Kapitel widmet Hannes Hofbauer den Konsequenzen des Balkankrieges für die westeuropäischen Gesellschaften. In Deutschland und Österreich ist über falsch verstandene Aufrufe zur "nationalen Selbstbestimmung" sowie über blanke Desinformation und Lügen eine neue Generation auf die politische Bühne getreten, die den Krieg als Mittel der Konfliktauflösung akzeptiert hat. Die Rechtfertigung der NATO-Aggression gegen Jugoslawien hat ehemalige Pazifisten der 1968er Bewegung zu Kriegshetzern mutieren lassen. Wie ihre Großväter und ihre Väter stehen sie nun - in militärischer Montur - am Balkan, um angebliche "europäische Werte" zu verteidigen.

Der Autor: Hannes Hofbauer, geboren 1955 in Wien, Historiker, Journalist, Verleger. Seit mehr als zehn Jahren arbeitet er zur sozialen und ökonomischen Lage in Osteuropa. Von ihm ist zuletzt im Promedia-Verlag erschienen: "Schlesien. Europäisches Kernland im Schatten von Wien, Berlin und Warschau" (2000; gemeinsam mit Julian Bartosz).

Über die erste Auflage dieses Buches schreiben und sendeten u.a.:

Die Zeitschrift "Konkret" im Dezember 1999: "Daß es auch anders geht, zeigt wiederum ein ausländischer Autor, nämlich Hannes Hofbauer in dem von ihm herausgegebenen Buch 'Balkankrieg'. Der Wiener Journalist zeichnet dort die Eskalation der letzten zehn Jahre nach und verbindet enorme Sachkenntnis mit anschaulichen und konkreten Anekdoten. Ein bißchen rasender Reporter à la Kisch, ein bißchen historischer Materialist à la Lingels - mit anderen Worten: spannende Zeitgeschichte."

Der WDR/Köln am 19.1.2000: "Ausführlich beschäftigt sich das Buch mit der westlichen Wirtschaftsstrategie auf dem Balkan. Eine zentrale Ursache für das Auseinanderbrechen Jugoslawiens sieht Hofbauer im Sanierungsprogramm des IWF. Der staatliche Sparkurs bei gleichzeitiger radikaler Importliberalisierung hat innerhalb weniger Monate die Wirtschaft des Landes nahezu völlig ruiniert und die vorhandenen Sezessionstendenzen der Republiken dramatisch verstärkt."

Die Zeitschrift "Illoyal" im Winter 1999/2000: "Ein Vorzug des von Hofbauer herausgegebenen Bandes ist auf jeden Fall, dass der Kosovo-Konflikt hier in den Kontext der vorangegangenen Kriege gestellt wird."

"Buchkultur" im Februar 2000: "Wie Propaganda und ideologische Rechtfertigung bis zum heutigen Tag funktionieren, zeigt dieser Band eindrucksvoll und bestens recherchiert."

Die Zeitschrift "Ossietzky" in der Nr. 24/99: "Hannes Hofbauer liefert nicht nur eine ausführliche Schilderung der Geschichte Jugoslawiens von der Staatsgründung bis zum Einmarsch der NATO in den Kosovo, sondern auch eine kritische Untersuchung diverser Gruselberichte, die, zum Teil nie hinterfragt, durch die Medien geisterten und zur Kriegsbegründung herhielten."

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Wickenburggasse 5/12
A-1080 Wien
Tel.: (0043/1) 405 27 02
Fax: (0043/1) 405 71 59 22
E-Mail: promedia@mediashop.at

Jugoslawisch Österreichische Solidaritätsbewegung JÖSB
PF 217
A-1040 Wien
Tel&Fax: (+43 1) 924 31 61
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van holst en steijnen

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To: NSP <STOP-NSP@topica.com>; NATO <ANTINATO@topica.com>; Siem-News <news@siem.net>;
 SNN <news@antic.org>; <sorabia@yahoogroups.com>
Cc: SIN <sin@antic.org>; 'KPJ' <KPJ@topica.com>; Ijudska_prava <ljudska_prava@yahoogroups.com>
Sent: zaterdag 25 augustus 2001 09:46
Subject: [www.antic.org] TIMOTHY BANCROFT-HINCHEY NATO'S BALKANS CAMPAIGN - THE TRUTH, THE WHOLE TRUTH AND ..

TIMOTHY BANCROFT-HINCHEY NATO'S BALKANS CAMPAIGN – THE TRUTH, THE WHOLE TRUTH AND NOTHING BUT THE TRUTH

The truth, where NATO is concerned, is always difficult to find because it is hidden and distorted. Tampering with evidence, threats, concealing facts, bullying, huge under-the-table payouts in cash all serve the same purpose. But there were witnesses. Not all were silenced.

Open a western newspaper and you will find stories of "bodies" being transported hundreds of kilometres in refrigerated lorries to burial sites in Serbia, by Serbs of course. You will find stories of rape of Albanian girls – by Serbs, of course. You will read about Albanian villagers being ordered out of Kosovo – by Serbs, of course. You will be informed of the deeds of Arkan, the skulduggery of Milosevic and the heroic altruism by that saviour of Serbia, the saintly Zoran Djindjic.

You will probably not learn about the fact that Albanian women and girls sought protection from Serb soldiers in Kosovo – protection from the Ushtria Clirimtare e Kosoves, which was selling the prettier Albanian refugees into prostitution rings in Italy and Greece. You will also be surprised to learn that there is a hidden nightmare about to be revealed in the Balkans – that of the action of the Croat forces against Serbs, Croats who were trained and equipped by the United States of America and financed by Germany. Germany's forcing its EU partners to recognise Croatia in 1992 sparked off the civil war in the Balkans. The USA's arming and equipping of the butchers who called themselves the Croatian Army is tantamount to responsibility for the horrors perpetrated by this collection of psychopaths.

Ethnic cleansing of Albanians in Kosovo, the massacre of 577 Albanian civilians by Serbs, the massacres of Racak and Srebrenica are all well-oiled gasps in the holier-than thou western mouthpieces which purport to call themselves news organs. What about Knin? And the Medac pocket?

To refresh the memories of those who do not know, or do not wish to remember, here are the hard facts. The Canadian government knows only too well what happened in Medac (1993) and Knin (1995) because the Canadian contingent of UN forces accompanied the Croatian armed forces there. There was documented evidence, films were taken. Garth Pritchard was the cameraman and he told his story to the Toronto Sun newspaper (2001.08.12)

"Civilians were slaughtered. Animals were castrated and shot. Farms were burned. The Krajina was ethnically cleansed of more than 185,000 human beings whose roots were there for ages" claims Pritchard, who witnessed some of the most horrific scenes any human being could imagine. He remembers images of a child's tricycle run over by Croatian tanks, which returned to the scene to run over the body bags lined up by the Canadian troops, in Knin.

Canadian General Alain Forand was officer in command of the Canadian contingent in Krajina when the Croatian armed forces followed the orders of their US advisors and ploughed through the weak Serb defences, displacing nearly 200,000 Serb civilians, those who were not slaughtered. They had to contend with scenes such as an elderly Serb lady, her eye torn out by shrapnel, holding her dead husband and refusing to leave his side as the Croats launched another mortar attack against their farm. Forand protected as many civilians as he could and the men under his command, to give them their due, did their best, even lying over civilians during mortar attacks to protect them from shrapnel.

Meanwhile, the United Nations classified the Serb civilians as "displaced persons" and ordered them to be handed over to the Croats. This despite the evidence of massacres of civilians by the US-backed Croats. "An old woman sprawled in an ancient car, her body riddled by a machine-gun, the bodies of a family of farmers, thrown down the farm's well...I documented much of this. The National Film Board and CBC refused any part of it", claims Pritchard.

Knin hospital. Serb patients thrown out of windows. Bodies piled high on the basement floor. No comment.

When the stories of the atrocities started to leak, enormous sums of cash started to appear as a frantic cover-up began. This would ruin the demonology carefully planned and nurtured for a gullible public, used to decades of lies, about how horrible the Serbs were. After all, were these people not Slavs, just like the Russians who ate babies during Soviet times?

A Canadian who worked for the UN, who asked to remain unnamed, told of huge sums of cash paid to him by Croats for certain favours. The United Nations had to clear mines from roads. They used tanks, mines exploded and Croatian roads were destroyed. Huge sums were then paid by the UN in cash to local Croatian dignitaries. UN troops were billeted in destroyed buildings. Huge sums were paid to the Croatian owners, in cash. UN helicopters landed at Croatian airports. Enormous cash sums were handed over for landing rights. Monthly meetings, huge brown envelopes exchanged stuffed full of crispy-clean USD. Parties, wine, women and song, rivers of money exchanging hands.

Cash. To buy the silence of those who knew the truth and to pull strings to cover it up. Five days after the atrocities in the Krajina, everything was cleared up, the roads repaired and traffic signs painted, in Latinitsa (Croatian script), the bodies in Knin hospital gone, the hospital functioning normally, evidence of the unspeakable war crimes disappeared.

What happened to the footage shot by the cameraman? The National Film Board of Canada forced him to hand it over to the War Crimes Tribunal at the Hague, without his being officially legally bound to do so. There is therefore no paperwork recognising the fact that such footage exists, if it has not already been destroyed. Evidence of war crimes committed by Croats, equipped and trained by Americans and financed by Germans is missing. But it happened.

As for Carla del Ponte's War Crimes Tribunal, that travesty of international justice, a massive and unsightly carbuncle on the face of the world's legal systems, Croats are turning themselves in because any evidence condemning them of war crimes has been destroyed. Major General Rahim Ademi, who led the Croatian forces' onslaught against Krajina, gave himself up on 2001.07.26, declaring that he had a clear conscience.

Behind the United Nations missions in the Balkans was NATO. NATO started the conflict in the Balkans because it needed an excuse to perpetuate itself. It needed to justify its existence because too many high-placed people depended financially on this outdated and useless organization. NATO decided that there had to be a hero and an anti-hero, just like all the Hollywood films, carefully tailored for public consumption.

The guy in the black hat was Serbia, Slavic, connected to Russia, the chance to have a final jab at the Soviets, since that much-sought-after war never materialised while Russia was strong enough to fight back. The guy in the white hat...the hero of the plot...was he a Bosnian Moslem, a Croat or a member of the UCK?

Timothy BANCROFT-HINCHEY

PRAVDA.Ru <http://english.pravda.ru/main/2001/08/24/13221.html>

LISBON PORTUGAL

van holst en steijnen

From: Despotovic, Ruza <despot@wish.net>
To: Hans Hupkes <HANS.Hupkes@Planet.NL>; Globalreflexion <office@globalreflexion.org>; Nico & Neeltje Steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>
Sent: woensdag 18 juli 2001 13:48

Biography

[Back to start](#)

Juergen Elsaesser (*1957) is editor of the German Magazine KONKRET. The German Secret Service („Verfassungsschutz“) wrote about KONKRET: „Most influential medium of the anti-german left“. KONKRET, founded in 1957, sells about 40.000 copies each month.

Juergen Elsaesser created during the war against Yugoslavia the slogan „Kein Blut für Joschka“ („No blood for Joschka“), which was directed against the German foreign minister and was a game with words of the slogan „Kein Blut für Öl“ („No blood for oil“), which was the favourite slogan of the pacifists - in those times including the Greens and Joschka Fischer - during the Gulf War 1991. The leading magazine DER SPIEGEL then denounced Elsaesser as a „professional cynical“ with „oldfashioned left stereotypes“. On the other hand, his book about the war against Yugoslavia „Nie wieder Krieg ohne uns. Das Kosovo und die neue deutsche Geopolitik“ („Never again war without us. Kosovo and the new german geostratics“, published by KONKRET June 1999) was praised by the leading daily „Frankfurter Rundschau“: „An outstanding book, written in rage and deep frustration, frustration about leftists and greens. But it is carefully investigated.“



Kontakt

- * 1976-1982: studied History, German and Psychology in Freiburg/Brsg.
- * 1982-1994: Teacher in Stuttgart
- * 1994 - 1997 editor of the Berlin daily JUNGE WELT
- * 1997/98 co-founder of the Berlin weekly JUNGLE WORLD
- * since 1991 regular analysis of German and western Balkan policies
- * Author of/in several books about the balkans:
 - Krisenherd Europa. Nationalismus, Regionalismus, Krieg (1994)
 - Bei Andruck Mord. Die deutsche Propaganda und der Balkankrieg (1997)
 - Nie wieder Krieg ohne uns. Das Kosovo und die neue deutsche Geopolitik (1999)
 - „Die Fratze der eigenen Geschichte“. Von der Goldhagen-Debatte zum Jugoslawienkrieg. (1999)

[Elsaesser's speech in Belgrade at the conference of Lord Byron Foundation and Serbian Writers' Union](#)

[WAR CRIMES: My new book \(October 2000\)](#)

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From: Despotovic, Ruza <despot@wish.net>
To: Ksenija Sigulinski <sigu@worldonline.nl>; Ruza Despotovic <ruzad@ggzbba.nl>; Globalreflexion <office@globalreflexion.org>; <speerpunt@wx.nl>; Nico & Neeltje Steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>
Sent: woensdag 20 juni 2001 15:48
Subject: Fw: - Ljudska prava - Pls. Fwd: Toronto : "Yugoslavia: The Avoidable War"

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

From: petar <petar@mail.cyberus.ca>
 To: <Recipient list suppressed>
 Sent: Wednesday, June 20, 2001 12:54 AM
 Subject: - Ljudska prava - Pls. Fwd: Toronto : "Yugoslavia: The Avoidable War"

> Winner of the Best Social Documentary
 > at the New York International Independent
 > Film and Video Festival (September 1999)
 > ----- "Yugoslavia: The Avoidable War" <-----
 >
 > will be shown at the BLOOR CINEMA on Tuesday, June 26, 7:30 p.m.
 >
 > ++++++
 >
 > Date: Tuesday, June 26, 2001
 > Time: 7:30 PM
 > Place: Bloor Cinema, 506 Bloor St. West at Bathurst
 > Admission: \$10, students \$5
 > Yugoslavia: The Avoidable War was co-produced by George Bogdanich and
 > German
 > TV producer Martin Lettmayer.
 >
 > TORONTO - The documentary traces how crucial mistakes by the
 > West, particularly Germany and the US led to the violent break-up of
 > Yugoslavia in 1991, culminating in the devastating NATO bombing campaign
 > of
 > 1999.
 >
 > "Yugoslavia: The Avoidable War" traces the role of Western intelligence
 > agencies in arming separatist groups in Croatia, Bosnia and Kosovo and
 > reveals how Western governments supported different sides in an ethnic
 > conflict while portraying themselves as peacemakers. Most compelling are
 > the
 > candid statements of the decision-makers themselves, including former EC
 > Mediator Lord Peter Carrington, former US Secretaries of State James Baker
 > and Lawrence Eagleburger, as well as Germany's former foreign minister,
 > Hans
 > Dietrich Genscher, UN Commanders Lewis MacKenzie and Sir Michael Rose,
 > former Newsweek military correspondent Col. David Hackworth, author Susan
 > Woodward, former Nuremberg prosecutor Walter Rockler, historian Nora
 > Beloff, Canadian diplomat James Bissett, author Scott Taylor and many
 > other
 > participants and observers.
 >
 > The LA Weekly called the film "truly accomplished," adding: "The numerous
 > strategic missteps by the West and the endless political doublespeak are
 > carefully detailed. The tragedy of the situation seems to multiply
 > before your eyes as the film clearly proves that so much of the bloodshed
 > could have easily been prevented."
 > Winner Best Social Documentary at the New York International Independent
 > Film and Video Festival, September 1999.
 >
 > This special screening is sponsored by Association of Serbian Women and
 > WILPF (Women's International League for Peace and Freedom)
 >
 > For more information , please go to: <<http://avoidablewar.webjump.com>>
 > e-mail: <zana@baxter.net>

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YUGOSLAVIA: THE AVOIDABLE WAR

Documentary by [George Bogdanich](#) and Martin Lettmayer

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"The numerous strategic missteps by the West and the endless political doublespeak are carefully detailed. The tragedy of the situation seems to multiply before your eyes as the film clearly proves that so much of the bloodshed could have easily been prevented." - LA Weekly

"The segment on Kosovo is of special interest to Canadians, since we joined the war because the U.S. wanted a united front, not because we had a clue what was going on, or why." -Peter Worthington, The Toronto Sun

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Tel: +44 (207) 713 7130 Fax: +44 (207) 713 7140

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From: Despotovic, Ruza <despot@wish.net>
To: Globalreflexion <office@globalreflexion.org>; Nico & Neeltje Steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>; Michel Collon <michel.collon@skynet.be>; Marrie Kardol <mkardol@mac.com>; Ksenija Sigulinski <sigu@worldonline.nl>; Kale Milan Kasic <milan.kasic@3web.net>; JELA Jovanovic <nerajov@EUnet.yu>; Herman de Tollenar <my636847@asianhistory.myweb.nl>; <speerpunt@wxs.nl>; Jan Beentjes <beentjes@knoware.nl>; Dolf Loth <dolfloth@hotmail.com>; Ruza Despotovic <ruzad@ggzba.nl>
Sent: vrijdag 6 juli 2001 12:18

Michael Parenti

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To Kill A Nation: The Attack on Yugoslavia



1-859-84776-5 (cloth)
 Verso Books, 2001

For ten years, US and NATO forces have waged a campaign to dismember Yugoslavia, including 78 days of round-the-clock aerial attacks in 1999 that killed or injured upwards of six thousand people. Drawing on a wide range of published and unpublished material (mostly Western sources) and observations gathered from his visit to Yugoslavia in 1999, Michael Parenti challenges the mainstream media demonization of Yugoslavia and the Serbs, and uncovers the real goals behind Western talk of "genocide," "ethnic cleansing," and "democracy."

To Kill A Nation reveals a decade-long disinformation campaign waged by Western leaders and NATO officials in their pursuit of free-market "reforms." The political and economic destabilization of that country continues today, Parenti shows, as does the forced privatization and Third Worldization of the entire region.

What they are saying about TO KILL A NATION: The Attack on Yugoslavia:

"Parenti has written a brilliant critique of the news reports on Yugoslavia published in the respectable press. Each chapter provides a detailed refutation of the propaganda myths that justified NATO's war. This is by far the most compelling account in print."

— James Petras, co-author of *Empire or Republic?*

"A fierce, elegantly constructed elegy not just for the lives sacrificed in the Balkan wars, but for concepts of national sovereignty and constitutionality ... he writes with a taut cadence that exudes conviction. Extremely disturbing, but, for the brave, jolting and necessary reading."

— Kirkus

"To Kill a Nation is the best explanation of the great crime NATO committed and what it will mean for our future. It is full of insights on the role of US militarism and media disinformation in the service of corporate profits."

— Sara Flounders, editor and co-author of *NATO in the Balkans*

Contents

- Introduction: Whom Do We Believe?
- 1. Hypocritical Humanitarianism
- 2. Third Worldization
- 3. Divide and Conquer
- 4. Slovenia: Somewhat Out of Step
- 5. Croatia: New Republic, Old Reactionaries
- 6. Bosnia: New Colonies
- 7. Republika Srpska: Democracy, NATO Style
- 8. The Other Atrocities
- 9. Demonizing the Serbs
- 10. On to Kosovo
- 11. The Rambouillet Ambush
- 12. NATO's War Crimes
- 13. The Genocide Hype Continues
- 14. Where Are All the Bodies Buried?
- 15. Ethnic Cleansing, KLA-NATO Style
- 16. Rational Destruction: Eliminating the Competition
- 17. Multiculturalism in Yugoslavia
- 18. Yugoslavia's Future: Is It Bulgaria?
- 19. Privatization as a Global Goal
- 20. The Aggression Continues
- Notes
- Index

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From: Despotovic Ruza <despot@wishmail.net>
To: Nico /Neeltje Steijnen <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>; Globalreflexion <office@globalreflexion.org>
Sent: zaterdag 2 juni 2001 14:16
Subject: Fw: - Ljudska prava - Bosnian War, by Dr. Srdja Trifkovic

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

From: "petar" <petar@mail.cyberus.ca>
 To: <Recipient list suppressed>
 Sent: Wednesday, May 30, 2001 8:01 PM
 Subject: - Ljudska prava - Bosnian War, by Dr. Srdja Trifkovic

> The Oxford Companion to Politics of the World
 > Oxford University Press, 2001 (1018pp, \$60)
 >
 > [p. XXX, DIRECTORY OF CONTRIBUTORS]
 > Srdja Trifkovic, Foreign Affairs Editor, Chronicles: A Magazine of
 American
 > Culture, and Director, International Studies Program, The Rockford
 > Institute
 >
 > [pp. 79-81]
 > BOSNIAN WAR. The war in Bosnia-Herzegovina (1992-1995) was the most
 > destructive segment of the War of Yugoslav Dissolution that began when the
 > Yugoslav republics of *Slovenia and *Croatia seceded in the summer of
 1991.
 > Because there was no ethnic majority within its boundaries and no
 "Bosnian"
 > nation, of all six republics of the old Yugoslav federation the Republic
 of
 > Bosnia-Herzegovina (hereafter "Bosnia") had most to fear from violent
 > secession. A majority of its citizens would have preferred the
 > then-existing Yugoslav framework to political experiments that could risk
 > *war. But once reunited Germany was committed to the recognition of
 Croatia
 > and Slovenia, the Muslim leadership in Sarajevo knew both that the old
 > *Yugoslavia was impossible and that historic opportunities beckoned.
 >
 > Of the three constituent peoples of Bosnia-Herzegovina, as defined by
 > earlier Yugoslav constitutions, the Muslims were the most numerous (43
 > percent). Most of them were prepared to accept a compromise that would
 fall
 > short of full independence - especially if full independence risked war -
 > but they nevertheless nervously followed their leaders in the Party of
 > Democratic Action (Stranka demokratske akcije, SDA) who demanded a leap in
 > the dark.
 >
 > The Croats (17percent%) were the least numerous, but - especially in their
 > stronghold of western Herzegovina - they were the most determined to get
 > Bosnia out of Yugoslavia, and then to break away from Bosnia with the
 > support of Croatia. Their party (Hrvatska demokratska zajednica, HDZ BH)
 > was prepared to enter a tactical alliance with the Muslims to get the
 > independence vote, but most Bosnian Croats were not prepared to see their
 > long-term future in a sovereign Bosnia. Their leader, Mate Boban, did not
 > believe in any permanent alliances, but clearly saw the interests of his
 > people and their statelet ("Herceg-Bosna") in an extended Croatia.
 >
 > The Serbs of Bosnia, overwhelmingly, refused to be ejected from
 Yugoslavia,
 > especially as the Bosnian referendum on "sovereignty" (February 1992) was
 > held in violation of the constitutional right of each of Bosnia's three
 > peoples to veto any decision unacceptable to its vital interests. That
 they
 > would have liked a "Greater Serbia" is certain. That they would have gone
 > to war to get it is unlikely. Indeed, the Serbian Democratic Party (Srpska
 > demokratska stranka, SDS) was willing to settle - before the war began -
 > for a regional autonomy far less substantial than what the Serbs were

- > subsequently offered in Geneva in 1993 and at Dayton in 1995.
- >
- > In the aftermath of the first post-communist election in Bosnia (fall 1990)
- > those three main ethnic political parties were included in a coalition
- > government of anti-communist nationalists. The breakup of that coalition
- > clearly reflected external pressure as Serbia tried to frighten Alija
- > Izetbegovic, the Muslim leader, into passivity and Croatia, with German
- > support, tried to win him for secession. There was never any prospect that
- > Bosnia could be taken out of Yugoslavia, that is, detached from Serbia,
- > without a war.
- >
- > President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia, however, played the Bosnian crisis
- > primarily as a means of consolidating his power in Serbia proper and
- > extending his influence without committing himself to any clearly defined
- > strategic objective, such as the "Greater Serbian" project. A cynical
- > apparatchik devoid of convictions rather than a "Serbian nationalist," he
- > withdrew the Yugoslav National Army (JNA) from Bosnia (April 1992) and sent
- > in his paramilitaries, who triggered ethnic cleansing. Ever the short-term
- > manipulator, he imposed his control on the Bosnian Serbs, whom he managed
- > to divide between a civilian faction in Pale (Radovan Karadzic, Momcilo
- > Krajisnik) and the military HQ at Han Pijesak (General Ratko Mladic).
- >
- > Milosevic in Serbia and President Franjo Tudjman in Croatia were both busy
- > establishing a quasi-dictatorial post-communist regime, and they needed
- > vulgar nationalism - for a time - to outbid the most vulgar nationalists.
- > Tudjman, however, did not shed Marxist crocodile tears at the passing of
- > the old Titoist certainties. Their respective struggles to impose
- > themselves on their own republics may explain more about the war in Bosnia
- > than the confused and variable goals of any of the Bosnian leaders.
- >
- > When the Bosnian Serbs took control of the Serb-majority areas, they were
- > well equipped and officered. But the numerical advantage lay with the
- > Muslims, who hoped to win in the end with international help. The crucial
- > military issue was whether the Serbs could bottle up superior Muslim
- > forces
- > by keeping an armed ring around Sarajevo. Consequently, cease-fires tended
- > to favor the Serbs and to be broken by the Muslims. The Serb ring round
- > Sarajevo held from first to last.
- >
- > In addition the Serbs severely damaged the patience of western states by
- > their mistreatment of prisoners in 1992 and by their expulsion of non-Serb
- > civilians. Similar atrocities by Croats and Muslims were less conspicuous.
- > The Western media chose their sympathies at the start and kept up an
- > agitation in favor of military intervention against the Serbs.
- >
- > Of several peace plans offered or mediated by the EC/EU from 1991 to 1993
- > the Serbs rejected the Vance-Owen Plan (May 1993) that would have divided
- > Bosnia into ten "cantons," and Muslims rejected the Owen-Stoltenberg Plan
- > that provided for a confederal model of three sovereign national entities
- > (December 1993). A territorial plan that did not include a constitutional
- > blueprint, presented by the "Contact Group" in 1994, was refused by the
- > Serbs because it was non-negotiable. It was quietly discarded in 1995.
- >
- > The media call for intervention made the war the subject of international
- > debate to an extent unknown since Vietnam. Many Europeans were inclined to
- > support a compromise peace and a federalized Bosnia, supported no side,
- > and
- > wanted a real arms embargo; whereas the United States disliked European
- > peace plans, broke the arms embargo from at least 1994, and overtly
- > supported the Muslims.
- >
- > In 1992-1993 the Serbs sat on their advantages and hoped that the world
- > would recognize their apparent victory. But the war changed when the U.S.
- > sponsored a Croat-Muslim alliance and the Europeans realized that there
- > would be no settlement unless the EU surrendered political leadership to
- > Washington. This was followed by a crisis in 1994 when a mortar shell fell
- > on the crowded Markale market in Sarajevo. The Serbs were blamed, and
- > evidence that the shell could not have been fired from Serbian lines
- > became
- > available too late to affect the crisis caused by the massacre.

> The *North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), in loose combination with
 > the UN, demanded that Serbian artillery be removed from the vicinity of
 > Sarajevo. A NATO attack on the Bosnian Serb Army (VRS) was obviated when
 > the Russians agreed to send troops to help monitor the cease-fire. From
 > this point the war became a matter of Muslim attempts to exploit the safe
 > areas - in Sarajevo, Gorazde, Tuzla, Bihac, and finally Srebrenica - which
 > had been declared by the UN but never demilitarized by UNPROFOR (United
 > Nations Protection Force). In short the Muslims were allowed to attack out
 > of these areas but the Serbs were not allowed to pursue them back in.

> This inequitable stance was disliked by the UNPROFOR commander, General
 > Michael Rose, but it seemed just what the U.S. NATO commander, Admiral
 > Leighton Smith, needed to get his aircraft into action. The first NATO
 > bombs ever dropped in action fell on the VRS near Gorazde in April 1994.
 > General Rose managed to contain the crisis, however, as he did during the
 > even more alarming confrontation between the Serbs and NATO near Bihac in
 > November.

> The pursuit of peace by international threats, intermittent military
 > intervention, sanctions, and sanctions-busting was extremely complicated
 > and accompanied by a diplomatic and ideological debate of unusual
 emotional

> intensity. It transformed NATO from a purely defensive alliance into an
 > "out-of-area" enforcement agency. The apparent success of the
 > prointervention lobby in the media must be seen in the context of strong
 > support for their agitation from parts of the U.S. administration.

> Post-communist Russia was consistently reluctant to exert itself in the
 > Balkan area. Russian policy began with an almost ideological commitment to
 > accepting Western good faith, and there was severe disillusion in Russia
 > when it became clear that much of the West wanted a peace settlement based
 > on the defeat of the Serbs. By 1995 even informed Russian opinion was
 > getting alarmed at the direction events were taking, but it was too late,
 > and too difficult, for the Yeltsin presidency to devise a new policy.

> In 1995 London and Paris rather reluctantly agreed to allow NATO to bomb
 > the Serbs, while the United States accepted the sort of settlement the
 > Europeans had recommended in 1993. But the bombing of the VRS in August
 > 1995, which appeared to end the war, was probably less important than the
 > entry of the Croatian Army in Bosnia, now trained and extensively
 > re-equipped at the initiative of the US. Even this Croatian intervention
 > was only possible because the Yugoslav army refused to intervene to save
 > its clients west of the Drina. The war ended because Milosevic of Serbia
 > wanted it to end.

> The chief outcome of the war was a transformed NATO, and the renewal of
 > American leadership in Europe to an extent not seen since before the
 > *Vietnam War. It established that America wanted to lead, and to be
 > indispensable, in the process of European reorganization after *1989.
 > Bosnia itself was not much affected by international intervention. The war
 > took longer than it would have done, and the Serbian position is more
 > uncertain, but the settlement that followed Dayton is not unlike a
 > plausible compromise in April 1992.

> In the last two centuries, *Balkan states have been employed to slow and
 > control the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. Balkan nations were created,
 > enlarged, and shrunk as the need arose. During the two world wars of the
 > twentieth century, Balkan territories were bargaining chips for alliance
 > construction and Balkan nationality and ethnicity were never taken too
 > seriously. The war of 1992-95 confirmed this trend.

> Richard Holbrooke, the chief U.S. negotiator in 1995, boasted a year
 later:
 > "We are re-engaged in the world, and Bosnia was the test." This "we" meant
 > the United States, not "the West" or "the international community."

Indeed,
 > no nation-state started and finished the Bosnian story as a political
 actor
 > with an unchanged diplomatic personality. All the major actors were
 > uncertain and divided about their policies. Debate took place within and
 > between agencies, departments, armies, and diplomatic chancelleries. Each

- > great power became a forum for the global debate for and against
- > intervention, the debate for and against a certain kind NATO and an
- > associated, media-led international political process.
- >
- > If the old Yugoslavia was untenable and eventually collapsed under the
- > weight of the supposedly insurmountable differences among its constituent
- > nations, it is unclear how Bosnia - the Yugoslav microcosm par
- > excellence -
- > can develop and sustain the dynamics of a viable polity. The answer will
- > become known only when the outside powers lose their present interest in
- > upholding the constitutional edifice made in Dayton.
- >
- > (See also BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA; POST-COMMUNISM; SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO.)
- >
- > Robert D. Kaplan, Balkan Ghosts. A Journey Through History (New York,
- > 1994). Susan L. Woodward, Balkan Tragedy (Washington, D.C., 1995). General
- > Sir Michael Rose, Fighting for Peace (London, 1998). Robert M. Hayden,
- > Blueprints for a House Divided: The Constitutional Logic of the Yugoslav
- > Conflicts (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1999)
- >
- > SRDJA TRIFKOVIC
- >
- >
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Waarom de NAVO de Balkan probeert te decimeren

DOOR JARED ISRAËL EN NICO VARNHUISER

Gedurende de afgelopen veertien jaar hebben Joegoslavische loyalisten en hun leiders, met name het Servische volk en president Milosevic en zijn medewerkers, hetzelfde bereikt als de Serviers in 1941.

In maart van dit jaar wierpen de Serviers hun pro-Duitse regering omver. In een vlaag van woede beval Hitler de verovering van Joegoslavië. Zijn troepen liepen vast in hun poging. Hierdoor liep Operatie Barbarossa, de invasie van de Sovjet-Unie, vertraging op, waardoor de nazi's in de val liepen van de ijzige Russische winter.

In 1987 overwonnen de krachten rondom Milosevic de pro-NAVO elementen in de Servische regering, waarmee zij zich onafhankelijk van Washington verklaarden. Vanaf dat moment hebben Joegoslavische loyalisten een obstakel opgeworpen voor de drang naar het Oosten van de NAVO en een sein gegeven aan de voormalige Sovjet-Unie om zich te verzetten.

Een oude strategie

De aanval op Joegoslavië en de onvoering van Milosevic zijn geen willekeurige incidenten. Ze zijn onderdeel van een nieuwe fase in de anti-Oostblokstrategie, waarin Washington nu al vijf decennia volhardt.

Die strategie bestond uit twee delen: deel één was het opbreken van de Sovjet-Unie, wat in 1991 werd bereikt. Deel twee was het omvormen van de voormalige Sovjet-republieken van natus in kleine protocoracien onder toezicht van de Verenigde Staten en haar volgelingen. Washington streeft dit doel al na sinds het einde van de Tweede Wereldoorlog, toen de CIA werd opgericht, grotendeels opgebouwd uit generaal Gehlen's netwerk van nazi-spionnen en -agenten en nazi-actanten.

Deel één van de strategie kwam echt goed op gang in 1979, toen de Verenigde Staten de oorlog tegen Afghanistan begonnen en Washington het fenomeen islamistisch terrorisme creëerden en voedden. In het Westen wordt het uiteenvallen van de Sovjet-Unie toegeschreven aan een onvermijdelijke 'revolutie' als gevolg van het interne verval. Het merendeel van de Sovjetburgers (70 procent) was echter tegen het uiteenvallen van de Sovjet-Unie.

Alexander Zimoviev, een vooraanstaande Sovjet dissident, zegt: 'De val van het communisme is gewijzigd in de val van Rusland. De Russische catastrofe is bewust zo gepland in het Westen. Ik zeg dit omdat ik eens betrokken ben geweest bij deze plannen, die onder het mom van een gevecht tegen een ideologie in wezen het einde van Rusland voorbereiden. In tegenstelling tot een vrijverspreide gedachte ging het communisme niet ten onder aan interne problemen. De val van het communisme is de grootste denkbare overwinning van het Westen. Deze kolossale zege heeft een wereldmacht gecreëerd. Het einde van het communisme is ook het einde van de democratie: ons tijdperk is niet alleen postcommunistisch, het is ook postdemocratisch. Dit volgt uit het feit dat democratie pluralisme inhoudt: het vereist het bestaan van minstens twee min of meer vergelijkbare machten. Ten tijde van de Koude Oorlog was er sprake van democratie op wereldniveau, een globaal pluralisme waarin kapitalisme en communisme naast elkaar bestonden. Op dit moment leven wij in een wereld die wordt gedomineerd door één enkele macht, één enkele ideolo-

gie en één enkele globale partij. De westerse landen zijn dominant maar worden ook gedomineerd, omdat ze steeds meer hun soevereiniteit kwijtraken aan wat ik de 'supra-gemeenschap' noem. Deze planetaire supra-gemeenschap bestaat uit

commerciële bedrijven en niet-commerciële organen, die een grotere invloedssfeer hebben dan individuele landen. De westerse landen worden, net als andere landen, onderworpen aan de controle van deze supranationale structuren. De soevereiniteit van staten is echter een essentieel onderdeel van pluralisme en democratie op wereldniveau. De huidige dominante macht verplettert soevereine staten. Het proces van de Europese integratie betekent het einde van pluralistische gunste van een nieuwe supranationale macht.' (Le Figaro, 24 juli 1999)

Washington en West-Europa (NAVO) beramen de economische uitputting van de Sovjet-Unie (o.a. de oorlog in Afghanistan en de wapenwedloop), kochten veel van zijn functionarissen, vernederden de Russische ideologie en gebruikten alle mogelijke middelen om de interne instorting te bewerkstelligen.

In de jaren tachtig mobiliserden de Verenigde Staten, Duitsland en Engeland, in de wetsenschap dat de vernietiging van de Sovjet-Unie nabij was, en lanceerden de aanval op Joegoslavië, die goed op gang kwam met de van buitenaf geregisseerde afscheiding van Slovenië en Kroatië in 1991, exact op het moment dat de Sovjet-Unie instortte. Washington lanceerde deze aanval omdat de verplettering van Joegoslavië, en met name die van de haarschootelijk onafhankelijke Serviers, de sleutel tot het pacificeren van de Balkan is. En de Balkan is de

economische en sociale voorzieningen in die landen. Huisvesting, kinderopvang (24 uur per dag), medische en tandheelkundige verzorging, openbaar vervoer en vakanties waren in de voormalige Sovjet-Unie ofwel gratis ofwel gesubsidieerd, zodat alle arbeiders het konden betalen. Hogere opleidingen waren niet alleen gratis, studenten kregen toelagen als ze goede cijfers bleven halen. (Dit beleid was erop gericht om kinderen uit arbeidersklassen een kans te geven naar de universiteit te gaan. In het grootste deel van de kapitalistische wereld wordt tegenwoordig een beleid gebazelgd dat het tegenovergestelde effect heeft).

De beste culturele verworvenheden, zoals het grote Bolsjoi Ballet, stonden open voor gewone mensen. In het geval van het Bolsjoi bioscoop werd vervoer verzorgd, zodat werkende mensen de voorstellingen konden bijwonen.

Verschillen in welvaart bestonden ook in de Sovjet-Unie, maar ze waren niet te vergelijken met de verschillen die in het Westen bestaan of die tegenwoordig in de voormalige socialistische landen te vinden zijn.

Hypocrisie

Onder leiding van het Westen is de sociale bescherming uit het Sovjet-tijdperk in de afgelopen tien jaar omzeep geholpen. En nu heeft menier Brzezinski, een van de architecten van die vernietiging, de moed om de schuld op het systeem te schuiven dat hij heeft helpen verwoesten. Daarbij predikt hij de morele superioriteit van het systeem dat hij en zijn bondgenoten ervoor in de plaats hebben gezet, een systeem waarin sommigen als koningen leven terwijl anderen nau-

voert vooruitgang in de Balkan.

Deze vooruitgang betekent gelid worden door de bendelingen van het KLA (Kosovo Bevrijdingsleger), het betekent dat politiek onbetrouwbare mensen - etnische Serviers, 'zigeuners', Slavische moslims en antifascistische Albanen - worden verketterd in de media op hetzelfde moment dat ze uit de provincie verdreven worden, terwijl diegenen die moedig genoeg zijn om in Kosovo te blijven in constante angst leven en hun woningen gevaar lopen te worden. Hiervoor zijn allemaal bewijzen te leveren.

Wat Washington heeft gedaan met de Servische provincie Kosovo probeert ze nu te bewerkstelligen in Macedonië en de rest van Servië. Als het Washington lukt om het model Kosovo toe te passen op Servië, Macedonië en andere Balkanstaten, zullen de VS erin geslaagd zijn om de stabiele zuidelijke flank te creëren die ze nodig hebben om de 'lage intensiteit oorlogen' die ze op vele fronten al voeren tegen de voormalige Sovjet-republieken, op te voeren.

Joegoslavië is het schaalmodel van wat Washington in de voormalige Sovjet-Unie wil bereiken. Eerst werd Joegoslavië in stukken opgedeeld zoals ook bij de Sovjet-Unie was gebeurd. Tijdens dat proces her-scheep Washington exact dezelfde fascistische machtsblokken die de nazi's in de Tweede Wereldoorlog gebruikten, met name kerkelijke fascisten in Kroatië en extremistische islamieten in Bosnië.

De NAVO gebruikt nu regeringen van landverraders, die geïnstalleerd zijn in Belgrado en Skopje, en fascistische afscheidingsbewegingen die zijn gemobiliseerd onder de slogan 'Grooi-Albanie' dat al meer dan tien jaar door Washington wordt gevoed, om de resten te verpulveren, het machtsge Joegoslavische leger te neutraliseren en de volkeren van Servië, Macedonië en andere harden van historisch verzet fysiek te verwoesten.

Als Washington erin slaagt om de Balkan op deze manier te pacificeren, zullen de VS proberen het proces van de voormalige Sovjet-Unie te herhalen: volkeren die in opstand komen tegen Amerikaanse overheersing verzwakken tot geterroriseerde slaven geregeerd door lokale fascisten (voor het gemak als slachtoffers van onderdrukking aangeduid door pro-NAVO media) en dit alles onder de uiteindelijk dominante van de Verenigde Staten en haar bondgenoten, met name Engeland en Duitsland.

Plannen liggen klaar

Het essentiële aandachtspunt voor de poging van Washington om de wereld te koloniseren ligt in de Balkan. Als het nieuwe rijk zijn machtspositie in de Balkan, de zuidelijke flank van de voormalige Sovjet-Unie, kan behouden, vergroot dat de dreiging op Rusland honderdvoudig. Er

zou dan directe NAVO-interventie vanuit het zuiden zijn, vanuit bases in de Baltische staten, vanuit sommige voormalige Warschaupactanden, en toegesloten dreiging vanuit een aantal door de NAVO gecontroleerde voormalige Sovjetrepublieken.

Dit zal gerechtigd worden door een groots westerse mediacampagne, die de veroverzucht zal voordoen als een poging schendingen van de mensenrechten te beteugelen. Tegelijkertijd zal Washington verscheidene interne aanvallen instigieren met behulp van:

* Vijfde-Colonnetroepen die al ter plaatse zijn, gelid door Amerikaanse en Europese instellingen (zoals de Nationale Bevordering van Democratie) verspreid door de hele voormalige Sovjet-Unie.

* Door het Westen gemotiveerde aanvallen door islamistische strijders. (Het is opmerkelijk dat sommige Chechnya terroristen op dit moment als Albanse rebellen in Macedonië verchen)

* Verraad van functionarissen die door de militaire en economische overname van de voormalige Sovjet-Unie door Washington en haar bondgenoten zijn gecorrumpeerd.

Wat zou het creëren van 'model Kosovo' in de voormalige Sovjet-Unie betekenen voor de rest van de wereld? Ten eerste zouden Washington en haar bondgenoten de enorme grondstoffenvoorraad van de voormalige Sovjet-Unie kunnen plunderen. Ten tweede zou Washington als haar positie in de voormalige Sovjet-Unie gerechtigd is, alle aandacht kunnen richten op de grote Aziatische landen en een poging ondernemen om China en India in een groot aantal kleine protectoraats op te delen. Dan zou voor Washington de droom compleet zijn.

Is dit beleid in het belang van gewone mensen in Noord-Amerika en West-Europa? Eerder het tegenovergestelde. Ongecontroleerd vormt dit het grootste risico op een wereldwijde kernoorlog.

Verzet

Het verzet van Milosevic en het Servische volk tegen de uitbreiding van de NAVO in de Balkan, hun poging om de grote Russische beer, die verdoofd was door de instorting van de Sovjet-Unie, wakker te schudden is van het grootste belang voor de mensheid in het Oosten en in het Westen.

Door zijn weigering om mee te werken aan het Joegoslavische Tribunal in Den Haag heeft Milosevic een oproep voor verzet over de wereld gestuurd. We hebben meer mensen zoals Milosevic nodig. Daarom doet het Tribunal er alles aan om Milosevic te dwingen zijn opstandigheid te staken en mee te werken aan hun inquisitie.

Als de Russen en andere volkeren in de voormalige Sovjetrepublieken zich kunnen hergroeperen, cendacht kunnen bereiken en volksbewegingen kunnen starten met een beleid gericht op nationale eenheid gebaseerd op sociale rechtvaardigheid - een beleid dat het land beschermt door het overgrote deel van de bevolking te mobiliseren voor sociale rechtvaardigheid - zullen ze niet alleen zichzelf beschermen maar de hele wereld, ook het volk van de Verenigde Staten.

strategische zuidelijke flank van de voormalige Sovjet-Unie.

Verovering van de wereld

Er waren genoeg problemen in de voormalige Sovjet-Unie, maar die werden verdraaid door westerse politici. Een jaar geleden verklaarde Zbigniew Brzezinski, een Amerikaan-strateg, in een artikel genaamd 'Leven met Rusland' het bestaan van zware armoede in Rusland als volgt: 'De pijnlijke werkelijkheid is dat het communisme experiment het Russische volk heeft achtergelaten met een gederfde landbouw, een achtergebleven en op veel plaatsen primitieve sociale infrastructuur, een achterlijke economie die een steeds groter risico loopt van toemennende deïndustrialisatie, een verwoest milieu en een teruglopend bevolkingssantal.'

Ditzelfde argument werd ook gebruikt voor alle voormalige socialistische landen. Sinds de val van het communisme hebben de draconische maatregelen die zijn opgelegd door Washington middels het Internationaal Monetair Fonds ten grondslag gelegen aan de verwoesting van de

van holst en steijnen

From: Despotovic, Ruza <despot@wish.net>
To: <n.h.van.holst@freeler.nl>; Ksenija Sigulinski <sigu@worldonline.nl>
Sent: zondag 10 juni 2001 07:57
Subject: Fw: - Ljudska prava - Nazi war criminal involved in arms smuggling

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

From: Miroslav Antic <miroslav@antic.org>
 To: NATO <STOPNATO@listbot.com>; NSP <STOP-NSP@topica.com>;
 Sorabia@Yahoogroups.Com <sorabia@yahoogroups.com>; News
 <news@siem.rechnik.com>; BALKAN <balkannews@egroups.com>; SNN
 <news@antic.org>
 Cc: Sin <sin@antic.org>; LJudska Prava <ljudska_prava@yahoogroups.com>
 Sent: Saturday, June 09, 2001 12:48 AM
 Subject: - Ljudska prava - Nazi war criminal involved in arms smuggling

> Nazi war criminal involved in arms smuggling
 >
 > Zagreb (dpa) - A convicted Croatian Nazi war criminal was allegedly
 involved
 > in illegal arms smuggling between Argentina and Croatia, the Croatian
 Globus
 > weekly reported Wednesday.
 >
 > Dinko Sakic, former commander of the World War II Jasenovac concentration
 > camp, was sentenced in 1998 to twenty years in prison.
 >
 > Globus said it was in possession of documents that linked Sakic to some of
 > the top Argentinian officials, who illegally exported arms to Croatia
 > between 1991 and 1995 when a United Nations arms embargo was in effect
 > against the country and other follow-up states of the former Yugoslavia.
 >
 > Sakic was hiding in Argentina since 1945. He was extradited to Croatia in
 > 1998 where he was tried in connection with his role in the concentration
 > camp.
 >
 > Jasenovac, one of the worst concentration camps in former Yugoslavia,
 > claimed the lives of tens of thousands of Croatian Serbs, Jews, Romas and
 > Croat anti-fascists. Sakic was only 24 at the time.
 >
 > The camp was set up by the Ustashe, forces of the Nazi puppet state that
 > ruled Croatia during the war, and was liberated in the spring of 1945, by
 > Marshall Tito's partisans.
 >
 > Miroslav Antic,
 > <http://www.antic.org/>
 >
 >
 >
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